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THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

SPRING 1995



Citriculture and Southern California

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Historical Sites—

California Citrus State Historic Park



This contemporary view showing one area of the California Citrus State Historic Park was taken from the Gage Canal Co. Dam, looking northwest toward Mount Baldy and the San Gabriel Mountains. The orange grove along the arroyo was established in the early twentieth century and is one of the finest historic Washington navel orange groves in the world. (The park's Phase I buildings are to the left and behind the knoll.) Photograph by Cate Whitmore-Moses. Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.

Riverside's Mockingbird Canyon area, in the once-famous Arlington Heights navel orange district, is home to one of the state's newest parks. California Citrus State Historic Park interprets the contributions of citriculture and the people who invested and worked in it. Based upon an award-winning general plan, the park comprises approximately four hundred acres of prime citrus land, with many interpretive walking trails. Planning has moved ahead under joint-powers arrangements between the city of Riverside and the state, with significant input from outdoor museum professionals and historians from the University of California. About 180 acres are under commercial cultivation. Some of the groves feature exotic varieties; others illustrate historic and modern methods of grove care, including water-saving irrigation techniques. All groves are under a twenty-year commercial lease to a local partnership. The park's share goes toward interpretation.

Phase one of Citrus State Park opened last August, in time for the Sunkist centennial celebration. Sunkist Growers, Inc., became a major private partner of the park, contributing \$500,000 to construct an indoor activities center. Designed to

resemble a Progressive-era public park, all the structures are in the California bungalow variant of Arts and Crafts architecture. Future phases include a fully-functioning one-hundred-year-old packinghouse, interpreting and demonstrating industrial citrus packing operations, a workers' bunkhouse, a ten-acre growers' ranch, displays depicting early settlement, and a wealthy growers' estate. With the defeat at the polls of the state park bond measures, the Non-Profit Management Corporation, established to assist the state, has launched a private campaign to raise \$12 million to complete the park.

California Citrus State Historic Park, located at Dufferin and Van Buren avenues in southeast Riverside, is open daily from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. In addition to activities and events planned for the public, the park's gazebo, Sunkist Center, amphitheater, and Orange Court can be reserved for private gatherings.

VINCENT MOSES
Curator of History
City of Riverside

DATE DUE

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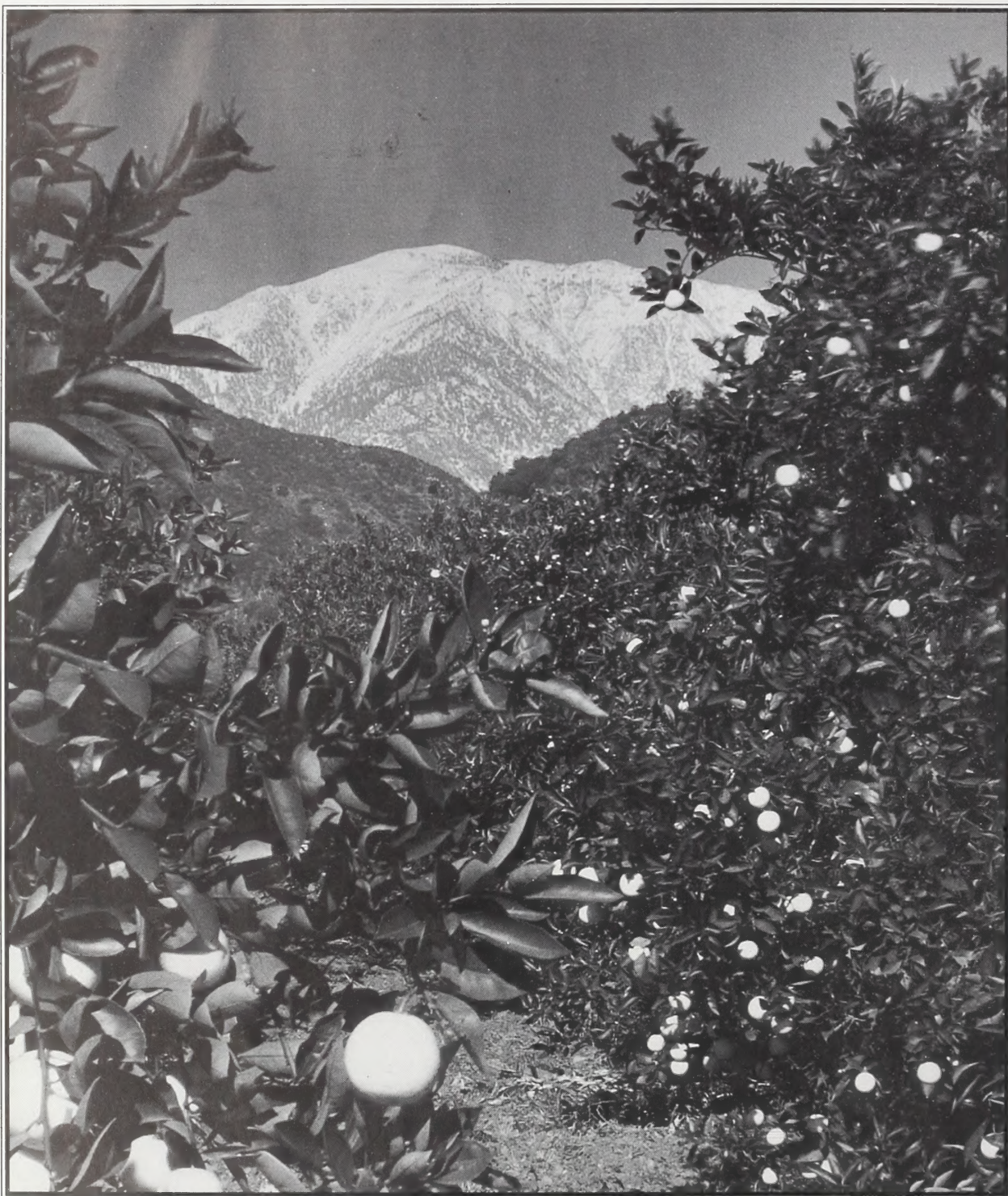
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Snow-capped mountain as seen through an orange grove in an upland valley east of Los Angeles, ca. 1920s. Begun in southern California during the era of Spanish missions in the late eighteenth century, orange growing by the early twentieth century had become one of the leading industries stimulating regional economic development and population growth. Moreover, orange groves became an inseparable part of the landscape, as well as the reputation and imagery, of southern California. Regional boosters, most particularly the ubiquitous Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, used the industry with a genteel, romantic, progressive aura to advertise the region's virtues. Ironically, the stunning regional population growth, economic diversification, and urban sprawl in the four decades after World War II all but obliterated the orange-grove landscape, causing citrus production to move elsewhere and local historical preservationists to struggle to set aside representative groves as testaments to the region's early history. *California Historical Society/Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Photograph Collection, University of Southern California.*

CITRICULTURE and Southern California

NEW HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

An Introduction by Hal S. Barron

As Carey McWilliams wrote in his classic 1946 study, *Southern California: An Island on the Land*, "It is difficult to emphasize sufficiently the importance of the citrus industry in the development of Southern California" (p. 213). Indeed, citriculture has been one of southern California's defining attributes, and its development is a central theme in the region's history. Many important figures in that history came from the citrus industry, and the marketing institutions they created exerted significant influence within the region and served as models for agricultural organizations throughout the United States. The cultivation of citrus has also shaped local patterns of land and water use, and the history of labor in the citrus belt is a critical factor in understanding the area's ethnic diversity and the relationships among different ethnic groups. Finally, through the iconography of the crop, which both sold the produce and attracted new settlers to the region, citrus has embodied many of the cultural meanings of southern California for the rest of the country.

In light of the multifaceted importance of the subject for understanding the southern California experience, the Henry E. Huntington Library sponsored a scholarly conference, "Citriculture and Southern California: New Historical Perspectives," on February 4 and 5, 1994. This conference, which I helped to organize, was made possible by the generous support of Sunkist Growers, Inc., in celebration of their centennial year. It brought together scholars currently working on this subject to share their findings and influence each other's thinking, and the resulting papers and comments provide the basis for this

special issue of *California History*. From an historiographical perspective, this represents the start of the first substantial analysis of the role of citrus in southern California's history since McWilliams's pioneering work almost half a century ago.

The articles are organized into three discrete but interrelated areas of concern. The first focuses on what might be termed the political economy of citrus and situates the development of the citrus industry in the economic history of the region as well as in the larger restructuring of American society into large-scale organizations that was characteristic of the Progressive period. This organizational revolution, as historians have labeled it, represents an important new paradigm for understanding the history of the first half of the twentieth century, and the first two essays explore the relationships between citriculture and this major transformation of American society.

Borrowing from Douglass C. North's model of American economic growth, which emphasizes the central role played by key agricultural exports, Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell argue that citrus was the leading economic sector in the development of southern California before the rise of defense industries during World War II. In contrast to real estate speculation, which historians have long assumed to be the basis of the region's wealth during this period, Tobey and Wetherell argue that it was the expansion of the citrus industry that brought significant capital and economic development to southern California and spearheaded the rise of corporate culture.

In a related vein, H. Vincent Moses focuses on the career of G. Harold Powell and the so-called "Powell Revolution" that he instituted as the first professional manager of the California Fruit Growers Exchange (Sunkist). A protégé of Cornell's Liberty Hyde Bailey, Powell was imbued with his mentor's advocacy of the Country Life Movement and his faith in scientific management and organizational reform. He found a willing and receptive audience for this organizational approach in the citrus growers of southern California and, together with them, fashioned a new style of corporate agriculture that represented a significant departure from older Jeffersonian agrarian ideals and sensibilities. Based on her own significant research, commentator Grace H. Larsen also sees Powell as an important figure but as someone who was less central and revolutionary than Moses's depiction. By the same token, even though many California citrus groves were organized as corporations and were dependent on wage labor, in her estimation, most were still operated by individual entrepreneurs as family farms.

The second major theme concerns labor in the citrus belt and the interrelated dynamics of community formation and ethnic identity. The creation and recreation of ethnic culture and the relationships between those processes and the work experience and the influences of the dominant Anglo-American society are subjects that have occupied many historians of immigration and ethnicity in the United States, and they hold particular import for understanding the impact of citrus on southern California.

In her article on rural society in transition to citrus, Lisbeth Haas examines the settlements around San Juan Capistrano in Orange County during the nineteenth century in order to reconstruct the fabric of community life before the expansion of citriculture. In a social and cultural sense, she argues, the development of citrus entailed significant transformations as an older, sacred sense of community that was multiracial and characterized by mutual obligation and cooperation was replaced by a community based on new and separate definitions of ethnic identity reflecting a politics of race fostered by the citrus industry.

In his analysis of women's work in the Mexican *colonias*, or citrus villages, of Orange County, Gilbert G. Gonzalez highlights the emergence of these new communities in the citrus belt. Although they were initially strangers from several different states in Mexico, immigrants to the citrus villages drew on a

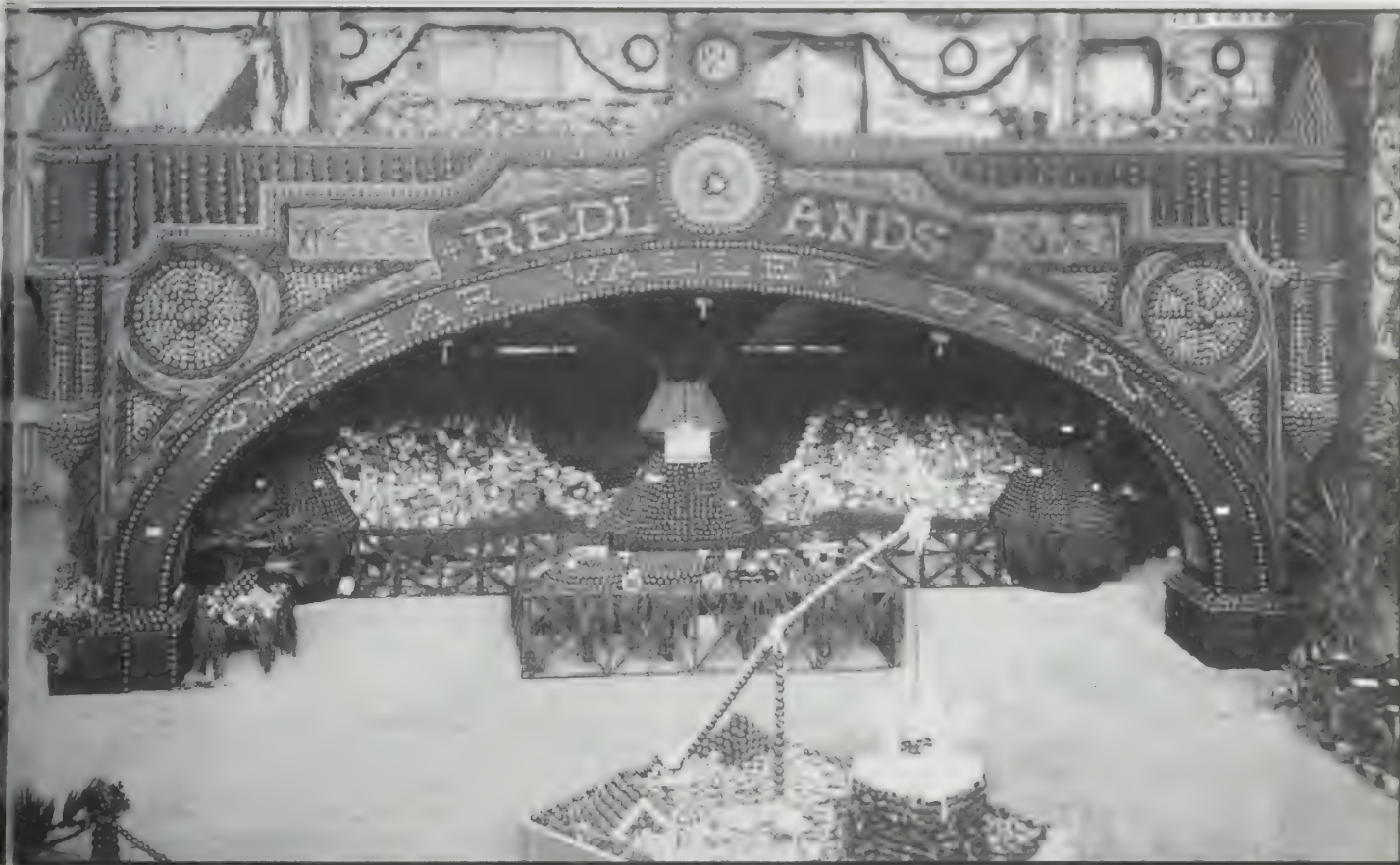
common Mexican heritage to create dynamic and vibrant communities that incorporated more familiar and traditional cultural forms as well as new influences from American popular culture and new forms of labor organization and political activity.

The development of community proceeded less autonomously at the Limoneira Company in Santa Paula, according to Margo McBane's essay. At Limoneira, the company organized work and living space according to its paternalistic self-image and its assumptions about what was appropriate for different classes, races, and genders. By exploring these divisions and distinctions in the work and housing of the different employees at Limoneira, McBane sheds light on both the citrus growers' conception of their enterprise and how those ideas were received and transformed by their employees.

The final theme stresses the fact that "agriculture" also encompasses "culture," and that culture is reflected in and communicated by the landscape and the products of the land. Informed by the work of historical geographers, anthropologists, literary critics, and others working within the interdisciplinary framework of American Studies, historians also have recently begun to pay much more serious attention to the material culture of the past. Michael C. Steiner highlights this important intellectual development in his comments on the last two articles, which he finds exemplary of this new approach.

In his essay, Douglas C. Sackman literally "deconstructs" and "unpacks" the cultural meanings of the orange. According to Sackman's analysis, the seemingly natural process of growing and marketing citrus was actually a much more complicated and culturally loaded endeavor that made the fruit into an artifact that was hybridized, or "burbanked," and then advertised and insinuated into ever expanding markets and uses. In particular, Sackman focuses on the motifs used in citrus advertising and examines the now commonly-held connection between orange juice and healthfulness, which was invented and fostered by the growers' association.

Anthea M. Hartig's paper examines the cultural meanings of citriculture as they were manifested in the citrus landscape and in the grove homes of the owners. By analyzing a series of illustrated essays from the *California Citrograph* during the 1920s and 1930s, which depicted exemplary citrus homes, Hartig is able to discern the cultural values and vision that informed the growers' perspective. Elitist and conservative, this ethos mimicked both the archi-



Redlands orange exhibit at the State Citrus Fair, held in Los Angeles in 1891. Even as early as the 1880s, citrus, particularly oranges, were prominent images in advertising and exhibitions involving California. Not only were they displayed as examples of a region's agricultural potential, oranges were often incorporated into the very design, construction, and decoration of exhibits. *California Historical Society/Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Photograph Collection, University of Southern California.*

tectural and class rhetoric of other landed gentries and celebrated the growers' power over the landscape as well as their self-image of benevolence toward those who worked for them.

Collectively, then, these works pick up the important subject of citriculture in southern California where McWilliams left off almost fifty years ago. But they also push ahead in novel and exciting directions by asking new questions and adopting fresh approaches. Each essay is part of a longer, book-length project that is currently in progress or soon will appear in print, and each connects in direct ways to important larger issues facing historians of Cali-

fornia and the West, rural life, immigration and ethnicity, women, and the landscape and material culture. Thus, the history of citriculture promises to be a fruitful field of inquiry for a long time to come.

Hal S. Barron is professor of history and chairman of the department of humanities and social sciences at Harvey Mudd College and a member of the history faculty at the Claremont Graduate School. A recognized authority on the rural history of the United States, he is currently completing a social history of the rural North between 1870 and 1930.

THE CITRUS INDUSTRY AND THE REVOLUTION OF CORPORATE CAPITALISM IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1887-1944

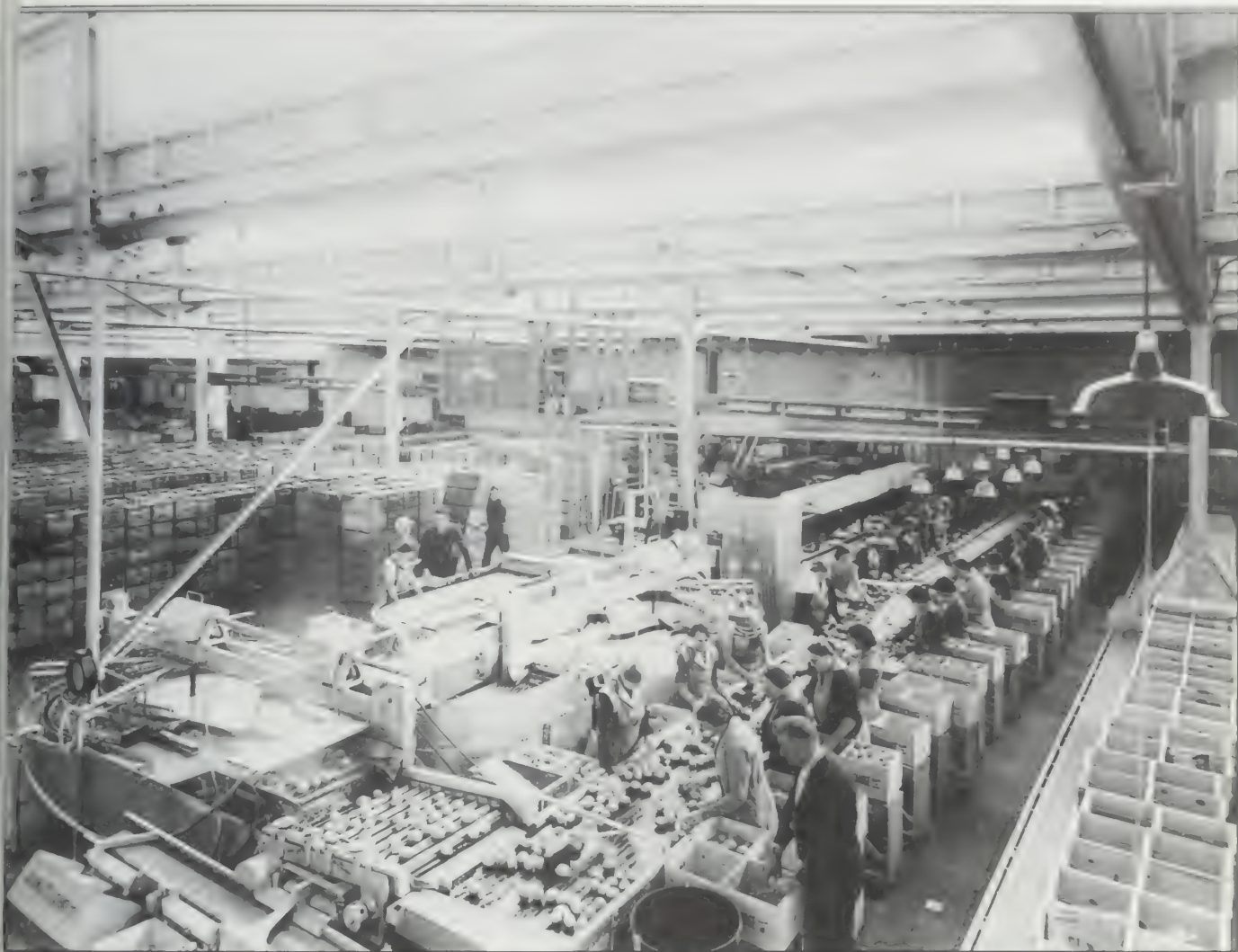
by Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell

Viewing the recent past of southern California from the height of its hectic 1940s wartime boom, Carey McWilliams saw clearly the key role of the picturesque citrus industry in the region's history. "It is," he wrote, "difficult to emphasize sufficiently the importance of the citrus industry in the development of Southern California." Citrus had fostered "the formation of land companies, irrigation companies, and development corporations with sufficient capital to undertake the huge task of converting a semi-arid region into an agricultural wonderland."¹ Valuable as his insight may have been, McWilliams understated the importance of citrus to the region. Citrus built more than southern California's agricultural wonderland; citrus built the foundations of the region's economic modernization before the great flood of defense funds began in World War II.

To appreciate citrus's role fully, we must conceptualize southern California's history in the half-century between 1890 and 1940 in terms of economic development in the context of the revolution in corporate capitalism. Historians have most often looked to Los Angeles's real estate speculators to explain the region's growth. General narratives, such as the recent sagas by Kevin Starr and Mike Davis, have reduced the region's history to conspiracies of greed by a manipulative, dishonest, real estate oligarchy.² Unhappily, accounts of southern California that focus on heroism and villainy describe, but do not explain, the region's economic history, largely because they implicitly rely on speculative, rather than investment-driven, scenarios.³ To explain the region's history we must look beyond the rhetoric of speculative growth to the reality of investment-led growth, using models of economic development. For these we turn to Douglass North's Nobel-Prize-winning explanation of industrial revolution in the United States, and Albert Hirschman's theory of develop-

ment that informed much of North's analysis.⁴ Together, North and Hirschman provide not only the conceptual apparatus for better interpreting southern California's history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also the analytical imperatives that lead to a fuller understanding of both the citrus industry's and the region's rise to western dominance.

North obliquely cautioned against explaining economic development in terms of personalities, and his injunction remains appropriate today. Although admitting that "institutions and national policies . . . [and] productive factors and ideas must be continually brought into view," North focused on "the 'anonymous,' impersonal forces of the evolving international economy" to explain the industrial revolution in the United States.⁵ For North, southern cotton was the staple export crop that spurred development in the Northeast by creating what Hirschman termed forward and backward linkages into transportation, finance, and industry. Linkages developed when manufacturers farmed out parts of their productive processes; this allowed them to lower their costs, then lower their prices, and so generate demand for their products. When an industry has others make machinery for it, it produces backward linkages; when it provides raw materials for still others to make finished products it produces forward linkages. When linkages increase the size of market, raise income, and expand demand, industrialization and economic growth become self-sustaining. The key to successful regional development is the selection of a foundation industry that maximizes linkages.⁶ Textiles drove the antebellum North into sustained economic growth. We believe that the citrus industry, with its staple export crop of fresh table fruit, was a similar foundational industry that powered southern California's economy in the fifty years before World War II.



Interior of the fully mechanized Escondido Lemon Association packinghouse, ca. 1934. Both an example, as well as a cause, of southern California regional economic development and modernization, citrus production in the early twentieth century emulated many of the practices of modern industrial corporations, and citrus groves and packing facilities came to resemble factories, with elaborate technology, a specialized workforce, and assembly-line processing. *Courtesy Escondido Historical Society.*

THE REVOLUTION IN CORPORATE CAPITALISM

Our citrus-based model of southern California's economic development departs from North's free-market model because the U.S. national economy in the early twentieth century differed in important ways from its antebellum predecessor, which North was studying. For one, tariffs insulated the citrus industry from international competition. Yet within this early twentieth-century national market, southern California citrus faced competition from Texas and Florida citrus, making it something of an independent nation in a competitive international econ-

omy. For another, the "impersonal economic forces" buffeting southern California at the end of the nineteenth century were very different from those of the early national period. Capitalism had changed since 1830.

In the early nineteenth century, the economies of the United States and western Europe were characterized by entrepreneurial or proprietary capitalism; small firms, managed by their owners, competed in an open market. By the end of the century, corporate capitalism had come to dominate most western economies; large corporations, run by professional managers, sought to capture entire markets. In the

United States, monopolies or oligopolies controlled major segments of the markets in finance, transportation, manufacturing, construction, and power.⁷ Managerial corporations, managed markets, and oligopolic domination of industries characterized the national economy in the early twentieth century.⁸

California's citrus industry typified managerial corporate capitalism of the early twentieth century. From 1887, when the first refrigerated railroad car left California loaded with oranges, until the early 1900s, growers and shippers engaged in fierce and often destructive competition. After growers in several places had success packing and selling citrus in cooperative ventures, growers rapidly began to adopt the cooperative as the solution to the numerous management, marketing, and horticultural problems they faced.⁹ When the Southern California Fruit Growers Exchange changed its name to the California Fruit Growers Exchange (CFGE) in 1905, it controlled

about forty percent of the state's citrus. By 1921 CFGE-affiliated growers produced more than seventy-three percent of all California citrus. Indeed between 1927 and 1939, the CFGE marketed more than three-quarters of all California citrus. With the share of Mutual Orange Distributors (MOD) reaching another ten percent, roughly eighty-five percent of all California citrus was controlled by an oligopoly.¹⁰ While historians have recognized that the CFGE dominated the growing and marketing of California citrus, they have not recognized the true nature of the CFGE because they have viewed the citrus industry as an agricultural, rather than an industrial, enterprise.¹¹ Reclassified as manufacturing, the citrus industry in the first half of the twentieth century ranked among California's largest industries in terms of employees, wages, and revenues. Similarly, historians have viewed the CFGE as an agricultural cooperative, and not as a managerial industrial cor-



William Wolfskill residence and orange grove, ca. 1870s, as photographed by Carleton E. Watkins. Citrus production was introduced to California in 1804 by the Franciscan missionaries in charge of the Mission San Gabriel, but the first commercial orange grower was William Wolfskill, a one-time fur trapper and mountain man, who set out his orange grove in 1841 at Los Angeles. Then in the early 1870s, when southern California was beginning to convert from cattle production to fruit and specialty crop agriculture, Wolfskill's high reported profits encouraged other growers to plant orange trees. By the end of the 1870s, major orange production centers were emerging at Pasadena and Riverside. *Courtesy California State Library.*

poration. Yet the CFGE's structure and activities were completely reshaped by G. Harold Powell along the lines of the managerial corporation in eastern manufacturing industries. Although Powell's influence on the CFGE and the citrus industry remains beyond the scope of our analysis, his role in the early history of the industry deserves comment.

For almost two decades, from his first trip to southern California in 1904 to his death in 1921, G. Harold Powell contributed to the substance and the character of the emerging economic and cultural giant the citrus industry was becoming.¹² First, as a U.S. Department of Agriculture scientist, Powell helped growers to harness nature's biological wrath during the "decay crisis" of 1905–1907, when alarming proportions of fruit spoiled in transit, and he wed the industry to the scientific expertise of the USDA. Second, as manager of the Citrus Protective League, the public policy and public relations organ of the industry, Powell fostered a climate of cooperation, not simply among citrus growers, but also between industry leaders and state and federal governments. In this respect, Powell proved to be a strong and eloquent spokesman.¹³ Finally, as general manager of the CFGE, Powell brought the managerial revolution in corporate capitalism to citrus. Neither a capitalist grower nor an industrial entrepreneur, Powell was the technological expert who became the professional manager; the emergence of such professional managers was the fundamental development that marked the evolution of corporate capitalism in the industrialized world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During his tenure as general manager of the California Fruit Growers Exchange, Powell brought a fledgling corporate entity to full maturity and shaped the cartel that made the rules that the industry, both in and out of California, followed almost to the letter.¹⁴ In 1905, the business of the exchange was selling fruit. In 1907, the exchange established a supply department that provided affiliated packinghouses with materials at cost, bringing the benefits of quantity buying to thousands of growers. In 1910, the year before Powell assumed the CFGE's helm, but one in which his influence was surely felt, the exchange purchased timber acreage in northern California, and so assured adequate supplies of wood for the millions of citrus boxes being packed annually in the south. The year Powell assumed managerial control of the exchange, he established a legal department to evaluate and advise exchange members on pertinent federal and state legislation, a logical continuation of the activities he had pursued as manager of the Citrus Protective League.

Perhaps most important, in 1913 Powell created a field department, which provided member growers with scientific and practical horticultural advice and direction that ultimately led to huge gains in productivity. In conjunction with the newly established University of California and USDA's Citrus Experiment Station in Riverside, which itself institutionalized the scientific expertise, support, and presence of the state's university and the federal government in the citrus industry, the field department brought quality control to the first link in the corporate agricultural chain. Powell oversaw other organizational innovations, such as the Orange Products Company (which processed by-products and juice) that further integrated the industrial enterprise of the CFGE. He witnessed an increase in the exchange's membership that solidified its position as the region's numerically and economically dominant agricultural trust. In 1911 seventeen district exchanges organized 131 separate packing houses; in 1919, 20 district exchanges, with 216 associated houses, packed and shipped more than two-thirds of all California's citrus fruits. Taken altogether, G. Harold Powell's contributions to the citrus industry were unmatched by any of its earlier or later leaders.

As the major player in southern California's largest industrial enterprise, the CFGE diffused the culture of managerial corporate capitalism that shaped the larger business culture of the region. Before citrus, there was no culture sufficiently strong to oppose corporate capitalism. Indeed, the growth of southern California occurred entirely within the period that corporate capitalism reshaped the nation's economy. The debates over the essence and philosophical foundation of California agriculture that historian Cletus Daniel has detailed—agrarianism and the family farm versus agribusiness and the corporate farm—swung decisively in favor of corporate agriculture in the early 1900s. Indeed, Daniel has concluded that the debate was over by 1906, a year after the CFGE assumed its new name and regional mission. Corporate agriculture and its attending ideal of individual economic success won out over the family farm and an agrarian way of life predicated on a social good.¹⁵ The citrus industry stood at the vanguard of the new regime, and it made southern California among the first regions in the nation to be shaped by the economic revolution that created modern corporate capitalism.

Yet it is not enough simply to say that the citrus industry embodied the revolution in corporate capitalism, or even that it was the first to do so in southern California. We still need a theory of economic development that can explain the region's growth

in ways that do not dismiss the well-established visionary character of the region's American elite. Historians Kevin Starr, Donald Worster, Donald Pisani, and Cletus Daniel do not see citrus as a cornerstone of the region's growth.¹⁶ We do, and for two basic reasons. First, viewing the corporate capitalism of citrus as the foundation industry of southern California makes theoretical sense. Second, the economics of citrus and, specifically, the sheer scale of production, revenues, profits, and land development that attended the expansion of the citrus industry in Los Angeles and its hinterland in the first four decades of the twentieth century belie a minor role. Citrus was simply too big an economic engine not to have powered the region's growth in a fundamental way.

A SOCIAL INVESTMENT MODEL OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

In Douglass North's export-based model of antebellum industrialization, cotton exports fueled the economic modernization of the United States. European demand for southern cotton boomed, and northeastern capitalists seized the moment, investing income from the carrying trades in enterprises that stimulated the building of social overhead and the growth of commercial shipping cities, such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Urbanization, an increasingly wide distribution of income, and democratic education generated demand and markets for local industry. As the market expanded, local manufacturing began to specialize. The textile industry stimulated supply and finishing enterprises in backward and forward linkages. Industrialization quickly diversified, transforming whole sectors of the regional economy.

North, however, emphasized unrestrained, free-market forces and almost completely disregarded decision-making as a part of expanding regional development, an omission that must be remedied in order to explain southern California's development. Linkages explain how industrialization becomes successful, once initiated, but they do not fully explain how a region starts the process in the first place. For North, northerners were just behaving rationally when they seized upon cotton; market forces did the rest. Explaining southern California's growth in the era of corporate capitalism requires more than understanding competitive market forces because, under managerial capitalism, the visible hand of professional corporate managers guides economic development and manages markets. The

vision, decision-making, and social organization of managers who guide investment are as important to the success of industrialization as market forces. In elaborating the social components of modernizing investment, Albert Hirschman provides a view that conforms more closely to the reality of early twentieth-century southern California than does North's free-market model. Here is a direction of research that historians of southern California have particularly failed to develop. They have documented nothing so well as the pervasive growth mentality among the region's leaders. They have documented less well the elite's strategies for industrialization, and have worked out almost not at all the social organization of decision-making. Water has received the bulk of historians' attention, despite evidence that industrialization based on local water supplies had begun before imported water supplies were developed. Further, they have focused nearly all their attention on Los Angeles, despite evidence that its hinterland developed independently and that the active cooperation of regional elites, such as their role in the formation of the Metropolitan Water District in the 1920s, contributed to the region's overall growth.¹⁷

In his analysis of the pattern of economic development, Hirschman saw the social organization of decision-making as the crucial factor in determining the success of an industrialization strategy because "the fundamental problem of development," as he wrote, "consists in generating and energizing human action in a certain direction."¹⁸ He focused on four aspects of the role of the modernizing elite: their vision of industrialization; their choice of an initial industry to start the development process; the social organization of their decision-making; and the example their capitalist culture provided to others in persuading them to accept the vision and choice. In order for industrialization to succeed, people must be able to take advantage of opportunities by deciding to risk capital through investment. Thus, a socially organized elite was more important initially than a widespread growth mentality, because industrialization sponsored by an elite would itself induce a growth mentality. Social change (industrialization) that creates new values (a growth mentality) constitutes something of a cultural backward linkage that, in turn, fosters the consensus needed for further social change. In order to generate a growth mentality, the initial strategy of the foundation industry must demonstrate a rationale for risk-taking that encourages other to invest. Critically, then, decision-makers must have an initial vision of industrialization, and



Left: Portraitured immigrant Eliza Tibbets, a practicing spiritualist who was known for cultivating a perceived likeness in China, Victoria, ca. 1880. Courtesy *Crucet Bonarick Museum*.

Below: One of the two parent Balboa navel orange trees Luther and Eliza Tibbets brought to Riverside in the 1870s, as photographed inside its protective enclosure, about 1920. Courtesy *California State Archives*. It was the Tibbets family, working with the United States Department of Agriculture, who initiated the cultivation of the superior, winter-ripening orange variety that thrived in the soil and climate of the inland valleys of southern California and for the first time gave California growers significant marketing potential outside of the state. Also in the 1870s, A. B. Chapman of San Gabriel introduced the summer-ripening valencia, which became the state's other early commercial orange variety.



they must be able to make decisions that conform with their vision. They must be capable of mobilizing social and political support and of defusing opposition. The necessary condition for successful industrialization is, therefore, the social organization of decision-making. An economy's first steps toward industrialization are thus really political and intellectual, reflecting the rules and vision of the modernizing social group. Recasting Hirschman's theory in the California context, if southern California were to modernize on the basis of the citrus industry, the corporate capitalist regime that the CFGE introduced to citrus had to work. Citrus had to be profitable, and many people had to benefit. Growers had to have a vision, an example, and a way to sustain both the vision and widespread economic benefits.

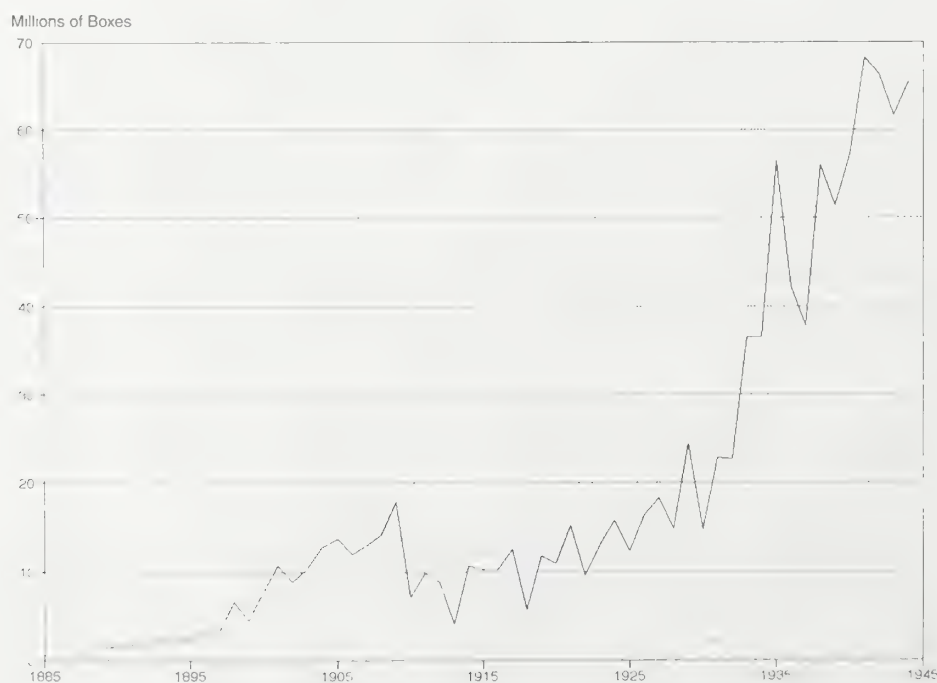
THE SCOPE AND SCALE OF CITRUS

Was citrus big enough to drive development of the southern California economy? Our reconstruction of the economics of citrus suggests that it was very big, big enough to play the role in the region that cotton played in North's model of ante-bellum industrial-

ization of the nation at large. In their 1942 survey of American agriculture, Barger and Landsberg asserted that "no other agricultural product even approaches citrus fruit in rapidity and scale of expansion."¹⁹ From one million boxes of oranges in 1887 to more than 65.5 million boxes of oranges, lemons, and grapefruit in 1944, despite the depression years of the 1930s, the California citrus industry experienced nothing short of explosive growth, as Figure 1 reveals.

Compared with all manufacturing industries in the United States between 1899 and 1937, citrus ranked ninth in its proportional increase (745 percent) in physical output.²⁰ An equally dramatic rise in the income citrus fruit returned to its producers accompanied that production. As Figure 2 displays, the income that California growers received between 1895 and 1944 exceeded \$3.6 billion (\$32 billion in 1991 dollars). From \$10.7 million earned in 1900, to \$83.2 million in 1920, to \$144.6 million in 1930, citrus literally sucked eastern money west. As a point of comparison, in 1920, manufacturing wages in the seven southern California counties of Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Ventura, and Santa Barbara totaled \$89 million; in 1930, after a decade of industrial growth sparked by

Figure 1
Estimated California Citrus Production in Millions of Boxes, 1887–1944



Sources: See note 10.

movies, oil, and aircraft, they reached \$196 million.²⁰ Even during the Great Depression, growers' revenues stayed consistently above \$90 million annually, except in 1933, when they dropped to a paltry \$69.2 million.

Transportation revenues must have returned to California as well. The \$3.6 billion in returns between 1887 and 1944 translate into a wholesale value of \$5.1 billion (\$49.7 billion in 1991 dollars) and transportation costs (and hence revenues for railroads) of \$1.5 billion (\$14.6 billion in 1991 dollars). How much of that money stayed in California is difficult to say precisely, but the railroad traffic citrus generated indicates that citrus fueled transportation linkages and their attending social overhead. In 1914, one-hundred-seven railroad stations in the seven southern California counties of Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Ventura, shipped 46,479 cars of citrus.²² While forty percent (42) of the stations were in Los Angeles County, the remaining sixty percent (65) were in relatively less populated inland areas, where the traffic was almost surely dominated by citrus. Shipping the 849.2 million boxes of citrus produced between 1914 and 1939 required more than

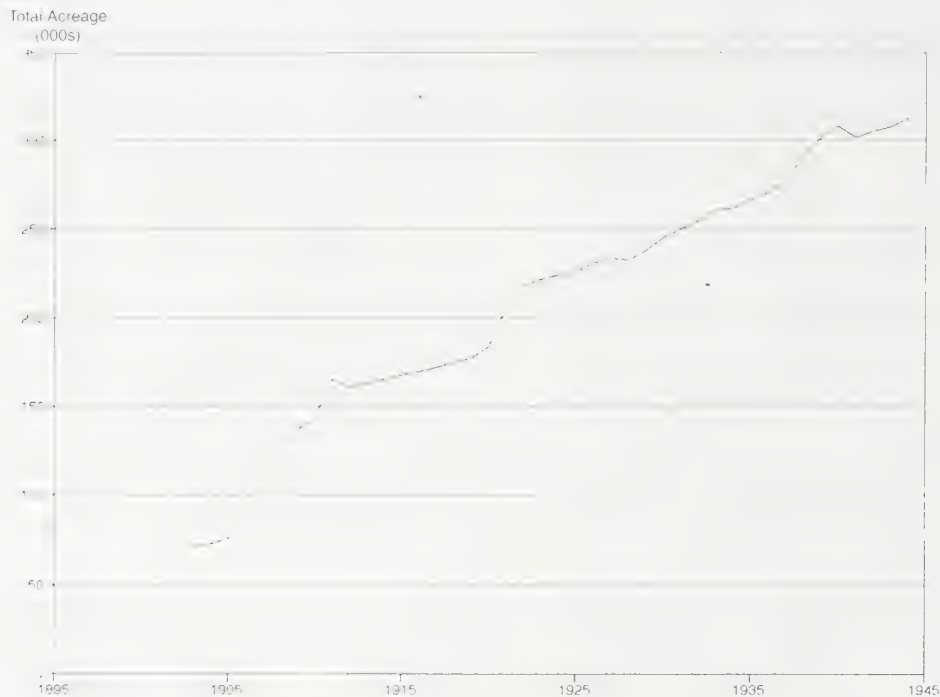
1.5 million railroad car loads. In 1939 alone, 31.4 million boxes of citrus left California in more than 111,000 railroad cars.²³ At fifty cars per train, at least six trains loaded exclusively with citrus made their way out of southern California every single day. Building new lines and maintaining old ones, in addition to operating stations, yards, and the thousands of refrigerated cars used annually, certainly claimed a fair share of the transportation revenues associated with citrus.²⁴ Assuming that railroads expended half of all shipping revenues in California, we can add another \$800 million to the \$3.6 billion in direct f.o.b. returns the citrus industry generated in California from 1887 to 1944.

As one would expect of this multi-billion-dollar economy, citrus groves were a prominent and extensive feature of the southern California landscape. From some 83,600 acres in 1903 to more than 329,700 acres in 1944, as Figure 3 reveals, the land turned to citrus production increased dramatically in the half-century before World War II. Citrus acreage in California was overwhelmingly located in the six counties that comprised Los Angeles's hinterland. The four core counties of Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, and San Bernardino contained more than

Figure 2
Estimated California Citrus Income in Millions of Dollars, 1895–1944



Figure 3
Estimated California Citrus Acreage, 1903–1944



Sources: See note 10.

sixty percent of all citrus land for most of the period, but with significant intra-regional changes. In 1921, for example, Los Angeles County alone contained some 92,500 acres of citrus, which that year represented more than a third of all California citrus land.²⁵ By the end of the decade, nearly 40,000 acres had been turned to other uses. Although Los Angeles County had more than 50,000 acres of citrus during the 1930s, that now represented less than twenty percent of all citrus land. Citrus land use in Riverside and San Bernardino counties held steady during both the 1920s and 1930s, suggesting that most suitable citrus land there had been developed early, but Orange County actually expanded citrus production from slightly more than 50,000 acres in 1923 to more than 70,000 in 1944. Whatever pressure population growth exerted then on the citrus industry to turn its land to residential use, growers continued to bring increasing amounts of fertile land into citrus cultivation throughout the southland.

Isolated references that indicate prices for an acre of productive citrus land of more than \$400 as early as 1905, \$1,000 by 1910, and between \$1,000 and \$3,000 in the mid-1930s initially strain credibility.²⁶ An analysis of real estate advertisements in the *California Citrograph*, the CFGE's trade magazine, from 1915 to 1945, however, confirm these scattered esti-

mates. Not only was the value of citrus land in southern California in the four decades before World War II very high, but the sheer quantity of that land and the high costs of bringing unimproved acreage into production made it an extremely valuable asset and undoubtedly created a capital market of considerable proportions.

Most properties advertised in the *Citrograph* (89.9 percent) were for lots, rather than acreage to be purchased in whatever size parcels buyers chose. Although the mean size of parcels topped fifty acres, the median size lot was only seventeen acres. The average price of an acre of productive (planted and bearing) citrus land was \$2,133. Land that was planted but unbearing cost less (\$1,378 per acre). Even unplanted citrus land averaged \$866 an acre. Prices rose steadily during the 1910s and 1920s, dropped during the Depression in the early 1930s, but rebounded to 1920 levels in the late 1930s. Even the Depression did not push the average price of an acre of citrus land in southern California below \$1,500.

As one might expect, various factors affected the price of citrus land: whether or not it was bearing, whether the property included a house, and, of course, where the land was. A regression analysis (see Table 1, Appendix) indicates that the basic price

an acre of unimproved, non-bearing citrus land as \$952. If the land was productive, the price increased by another \$916. If the property included house, buyers could expect to pay an additional \$14 per acre. The passage of time, interestingly enough, was not a significant factor in predicting price. As the size of lots decreased, however, the price per acre fell, although only nominally, which tends to support the contemporary assertion that most producers in southern California were small, resident growers. Location was the key determinant of price, but in unexpected and revealing ways. An acre of citrus land in Orange County cost approximately 1,214 more than one in San Bernardino; an acre in Los Angeles County was only \$499 more expensive; and one in Riverside County was \$695 less expensive. Why Orange County citrus land was so much more expensive than comparable acreage in either Los Angeles, San Bernardino, or Riverside counties is difficult to say. The advantage of simple proximity to Los Angeles's urban center cannot explain the difference, because Los Angeles acreage itself was less expensive. In conjunction with the clear desirability of small residential lots, location differentials suggest a lifestyle effect that we cannot directly measure. Intra-regional differences, however, should not obscure the fact that citrus land throughout the

region was extremely expensive and required a large capital investment. The buy-in, however, was worth the price.

Estimating profit is risky because not everyone did earn profits. As J. Elliot Coit warned prospective growers, citrus "pays handsomely where proper conditions are combined with knowledge, industry, common business sense, and capital. It does not pay in many cases where these things are not combined. . . . Some persons make very large, almost fabulous, profits growing citrus fruits. Other persons lose money consistently year after year." In addition to high startup costs, annual production costs were substantial. Presumably not all growers profited equally for the very reasons Coit enumerated, but more did than did not, as the increases in bearing acreage throughout the southland attest. In general, citrus was by no means a losing proposition.

Figure 4 displays per-acre estimates of income, costs, and profits from 1920 through 1943. They indicate, for example, that the owner of an average, fully productive, debt-free, ten-acre grove in 1925 would have realized a profit of \$2,250 after all operating expenses, including taxes, and packing charges, had been paid. In 1929, that profit would have topped \$2,800, roughly four times the per-



Escondido Orange Association packinghouse, ca. 1936. Courtesy Escondido Historical Society

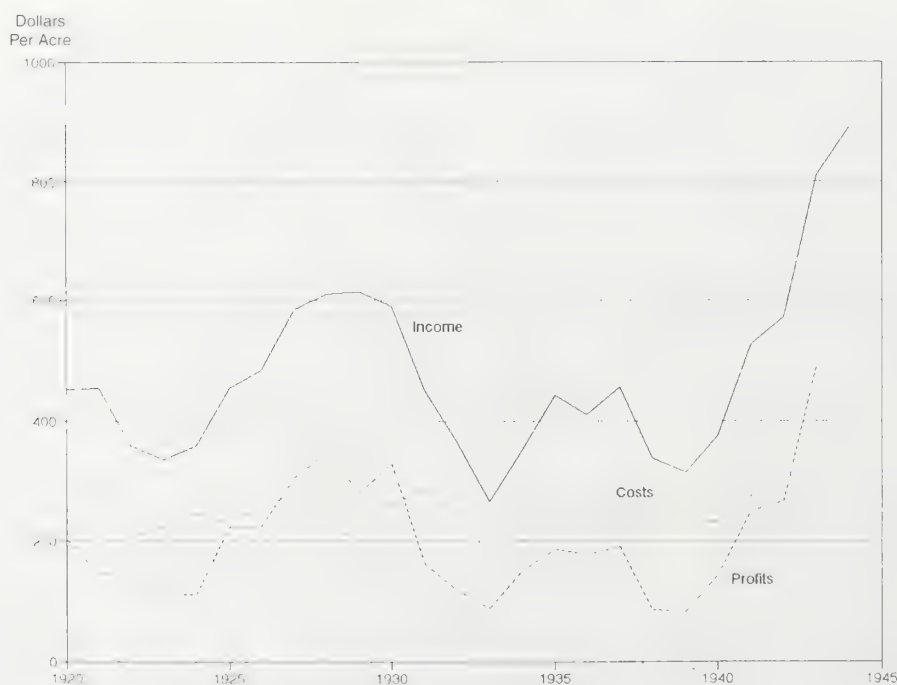
capita income in the country that year.²⁸ The lowest per-acre profit dipped in the 1930s was to \$83 in 1939. The outbreak of World War II drove up production, income, and profits to astounding levels. In 1943, when the California citrus industry was busy supplying military troops at home and abroad with oranges, lemons, and grapefruit, profits soared to \$490 an acre (nearly \$4,000 in 1991 dollars). Virtually from its inception, but certainly from the start of G. Harold Powell's reign at the CFGE, and despite the Great Depression, citrus growers made money.

Citrus was profitable in comparison to other investments. Only under extreme assumptions did growing citrus fruits not make economic sense, provided, of course, that one could make the initial capital investment. Table 2 (Appendix) contains an investment profile for a fully productive fifteen-acre, residential grove in San Bernardino County between 1921 and 1940. Using the regression analysis of *Citrograph* land advertisements (Table 1), we estimate the price of the grove to be \$38,724. We also assume that the buyer financed sixty percent of the purchase price for five years at 7.62 percent, which is one point above the prime, New York, short-term commercial rate in 1921.²⁹ Assuming further that the

owner could sell at any time, the grove's equity is included in the buyer's cumulative investment,³⁰ which at the end of twenty years stood at \$64,252. After five years of operating at a net loss while paying off the capital loan, the grower enjoyed an annual net income in excess of \$2,000, even during the Depression. Table 2 also shows an alternative scenario in which the buyer did not purchase the grove, but rather invested the down payment in instruments that paid 2.5 percent more than the prime, New York, short-term commercial rate, and rolled over principal and interest every year. After ten years, before interest rates plummeted during the Depression, the cumulative investment under the alternative strategy stood at \$31,020, but some \$12,419 less than under the citrus strategy. Indeed, despite the Depression, the citrus strategy led to an advantage over the straight investment strategy of \$19,431.

The scale and location of the citrus enterprise determined exactly how profitable citrus actually was. Table 3 (Appendix) compares four citrus and alternative investment strategies in San Bernardino and Riverside counties between 1921 and 1940. Cases I and II illustrate that economies of scale pos-

Figure 4
Estimated Per-Acre Income, Production Costs, and Profits,
California Citrus, 1920-1943



Sources: See note 10.

sole on large-scale groves in San Bernardino could offset high, even unrealistic, returns in competing investments. In both cases, the alternative investment earns five points over the prime commercial rate. But with either fifty (Case I) or one hundred acres (Case II), citrus proves to be the better investment strategy. With fifty acres, the citrus investment exceeds the alternative by \$32,328; with one hundred acres, the margin is \$64,657. Economies of scale also operated in Orange County, but the advantage is less dramatic than in either San Bernardino or Riverside counties, reinforcing the notion that much of the price of Orange County citrus land reflected the area's lifestyle advantages. In Riverside County, where an acre of citrus land was more than \$1,900, the citrus strategy proved better than a straight investment strategy, earning five points above prime. A fifteen-acre, residential investment (Case III) was better by \$1,244; the non-residential, one-hundred-acre venture (Case IV) showed a surplus over the competing strategy of an astounding \$175,391.

Our analysis of costs, profits, and competing investment strategies clearly indicates two things. First, citrus was a capital-intensive enterprise, pure and simple. Initial capital requirements, even where citrus land was relatively inexpensive, were high and necessarily excluded anyone who did not have generous quantities of cash on hand. Second, growing citrus was a profitable, and sometimes extremely profitable, venture. In comparison with a straight investment strategy, citrus proved to be the better course of action except when competing against a very high rate of return. Owners of small, residential groves could amass considerable equity, guarantee themselves a comfortable income, and even survive the Depression. Owners of large commercial groves could make a small fortune.

At the same time, the initial capital requirements of groves of one hundred or more acres would necessarily have limited the number of large growers in the industry. Becoming a large grower after the mid-1910s, even in Los Angeles's hinterland, was extraordinarily expensive. High profits increased the value of land to the point where only small parcels were affordable to most growers, and then only to those with money. Indeed, it may not be too extravagant to suggest that the high price of land in southern California today is not solely the result of population-induced demand. Although population pressure surely played a crucial role in driving up real estate values in the region, the floor from which those values rose was high to start, and it was high because of citrus.

The sheer cost of buying big groves also helps to substantiate Carey McWilliams's claim that the industry was controlled by a few commercial producers—certainly less than ten percent, and possibly less than five percent of all growers in southern California. McWilliams concluded that, "fabulously successful, these larger concerns dominate" the CFGE by virtue of having been "recruited" to serve as managers of the "central, district, and local exchanges." He believed that what made this possible was tacit acceptance of their leadership by small, rank-and-file growers. Since "most of the



State and county horticultural inspectors examine lemons being sold in a Los Angeles wholesale market. February 1929. Along with the citrus cooperatives, government scientists and inspectors in the early twentieth century became responsible for enforcing state fruit standards, as well as protecting the orchard industries from dangerous crop pests. From its inception, the citrus industry in California was characterized by a close relationship between government agencies and private growers, with public agencies providing many services central to the success of the industry. *Courtesy California State Archives.*

orange-grove owners are well-to-do retired people," he wrote, "they are quite willing that the commercial concerns should dominate the exchanges (whose policies reflect the special interests of the commercial growers) and control the industry."³¹ Whether most small growers were "well-to-do retired people" remains to be seen, but another scenario strikes us as more plausible. In the first two decades of the century, small growers became acculturated to corporate capitalism. Small growers accepted the corporate chain of command and the policies of the large commercial producers who ran the CFGE and MOD because they knew how to manage the industry, and profitably followed their lead. The culture of corporate capitalism was personally diffused through monthly meetings of exchanges and packinghouse associations, was disseminated in the pages of the CFGE's *California Citrograph* after 1915 and MOD's *Citrus Leaves* after 1921, and thus spread throughout the region.

CONCLUSION

Although much additional research needs to be done, our analysis shows how citrus could be the cornerstone of the region's growth. It meets all the criteria that would make it a central developmental force. It was profitable, sometimes wildly so. It distributed income across large segments of the resident population—both among citrus's growers and its labor force.³² Thousands of small growers profited from the corporate capitalistic regime of citrus in the first four decades of the century. Armed with substantial disposable incomes, they spent and invested and spent more, fueling consumer demand that southern California's thousands of small manufacturers and retail enterprises tried to meet. Growth spawned by citrus, in turn created a capital market for financing vast quantities of very expensive citrus land and specialized industrial facilities. Perhaps most important, citrus helped to create a growth mentality in the region, not just among the elites that Kevin Starr, for example, documents, but among the thousands of growers scattered across Los Angeles's hinterland. The exchange and association system underlying the CFGE's and the MOD's corporate structure gave growers both an institutional apparatus and regular opportunities to make economic decisions that would promote their own and the region's economic welfare.³³ Beneficiaries of enormous tax revenues by virtue of the extraordinarily high value of citrus land, as voters, growers in scores of citrus towns throughout the region could make

political decisions that would further promote growth and development.

Collective decisions that citrus growers made regarding labor also make more sense by taking into account the industry's participation in corporate capitalism. As Martin Sklar has shown, monopolistic impulses at the end of the nineteenth century stemmed from the desire to minimize competition among producers—something the CFGE did extremely well—and to maximize competition among laborers—something the "open shop" did equally well. Although corporate capitalism in the industrial northeast led to monopolies, the rise of labor unions, and labor unrest, southern California's citrus oligopoly "solved" the problem early by opting for a "captive," mostly non-white, labor force and a firm commitment to the open shop. While labor unrest plagued California agriculture in general for much of the twentieth century, the citrus labor force, overwhelmingly Mexican and Mexican American after 1917, remained relatively quiet.³⁴

Conventional wisdom has it that it was southern California's real-estate-development oligarchy that successfully invested in enough social overhead to induce migration of people and industry. Yet, historically and theoretically this is not enough. There must be some engine of growth beyond simply finding a place to live or water to drink. Douglass North saw this in the industrial spark that cotton provided to the Northeast. Gerald Nash saw it in the massive influx of defense spending that attended and followed World War II, before which southern California was an economically dependent colony of the East, or at best, San Francisco.³⁵ Historians have confined McWilliams's insight that the citrus industry sponsored land development to the region's inland agriculture and have not seen implications for urban growth and industrialization.³⁶ We think that this conventional view of southern California's history is too simple, and that a more complicated sequence occurred. Investment in social overhead did not precede all investment in productive activities. Rather, early investment in agricultural overhead, especially in irrigation and land development, led to the selection of the citrus industry as the most promising possibility for economic growth.

Reorganized into a managerial trust along industrial lines by the CFGE and MOD, the citrus industry provided the region's leading staple export, annually returning huge sums to resident growers for local regional investment and consumption. The success of citrus growing brought increasing portions of southern California's six counties into production through the 1930s. Citrus development was



A "Titus Fumigator," used to combat crop pests in citrus groves near Los Angeles, early twentieth century. Fighting pests was a constant struggle for California's citrus growers, beginning with a severe bout with the white scale, a pest invader from Australia in the 1880s that almost destroyed the state's orange groves. Along with other peculiar regional problems, the crop pest threat caused growers to rely heavily upon science and technology, to become more structured, and to intimately involve themselves with government scientific and agricultural agencies. It was a similar problem, spoilage caused by blue mold, that brought G. Harold Powell to the state and thus paved the way for his significant influence on the corporate reorganization of citrus production. *Courtesy California State Archives.*

not confined to the region's hinterland, however. The UFGA, headquartered in downtown Los Angeles, managed virtually every aspect of citrus in the hinterland. Orders of all kinds, concerning marketing, orchard culture, labor management and housing, packinghouse design, equipment and procedures, and product quality, went out from Los Angeles. Money flowed from around the nation to Los Angeles, out to the packing associations, and back to center-city banks.

As the southern California region's first success in corporate capitalism, the citrus industry thereby provided a profitable staple export, generated capital for regional investment, and built regional social overhead, infrastructure, and especially transportation for urban and industrial use. The rapidly expanding citrus industry also stimulated the capital market for real estate, distributed profits to large

segments of the resident population, recruited a large labor force of consumers, and provided the social organization for, and ideology of, regional development decision-making that lay behind the association and exchange system. Although the full story remains to be told, citrus, no less than real-estate subdivision and water development, helped to make Los Angeles the preeminent urban center of the twentieth-century American West. □

See notes beginning on page 120

Ronald Tobey is professor of history at the University of California, Riverside. Charles Wetherell is director of the Laboratory for Historical Research at the University of California, Riverside. They are currently completing The Orange Empire: a history of the citrus industry in California.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1
Regression Analysis of Citrus Land Prices, 1915-1945

Y = PRICE/ACRE (\$ CURRENT)	a	b	t	p
BASE PRICE	952		6.6	.01
SIZE (ACRES)		1.0	3.3	.01
YEARS PAST 1915		0.1	1.7	.08
BEARING (YES/NO)		916	6.8	.01
RESIDENCE (YES/NO)		714	4.3	.01
LOCATION (COUNTY):				
ORANGE		1,214	7.1	.01
LOS ANGELES		499	3.1	.01
RIVERSIDE		-695	-2.6	.01
SAN BERNARDINO		0	0.6	.56
OTHER		-426	-2.6	.01
R	.59			
ADJUSTED R ²	.34			
F	25.9			.01
DURBIN-WATSON	1.72			
N	417			

Source: *California Citrograph*, 1915-1945.

Note: The basic form of a multiple regression equation is $Y = a + b_1(X_1) + b_2(X_2) + \dots + b_n(X_n) + e$. It predicts the value of the dependent variable Y, here the price of an acre of citrus land in current dollars, from the values of the independent variables X_1 through X_n . The regression coefficients b_1 through b_n are the constants by which the actual values of the independent variables for a particular acre of land are multiplied, and the constant a is an initial value or base price. The constant e indicates error, which we assume to be zero. We have the independent variables: the size of the parcel in acres (X_1); time measured in years past 1915 (X_2); and seven yes-no variables X_3 - X_9 , which take the value 1 for a yes answer and 0 for no answer to the following questions: is the acreage bearing? (X_3); does the lot include a residence? (X_4); is the parcel in Orange County? (X_5); is the parcel in Los Angeles County? (X_6); is the parcel in Riverside County? (X_7); is it in San Bernardino County? (X_8); is it in San Diego County? (X_9). Along with the numerical values of a, b_1, \dots, b_n , we have t (test statistic) and p (probability) values for each of them indicating whether they are significantly different from zero. It turns out that all the independent variables except Years Past 1915 are significantly different from zero, and thus contribute to the equation in a statistically significant way. Therefore, using the numerical values in the table, the final regression equation is:

Price/Acre = $952 + 1.0(\text{Size of Lot in Acres}) + 0.1(\text{Years Past 1915}) + 916(\text{Bearing: Yes/No}) + 714(\text{Has Residence: Yes/No}) + 1,214(\text{In Orange County: Yes/No}) + 499(\text{In Los Angeles County: Yes/No}) - 695(\text{In Riverside County: Yes/No}) + 0(\text{In San Bernardino County: Yes/No}) - 426(\text{In Another County: Yes/No})$. As an example, the price per acre of a ten-acre lot bearing citrus land with a residence in Los Angeles County would be equal to:

$952 + 1.0(10) + 0.1(5) + 916(1) + 714(1) + 1,214(0) + 499(1) - 695(0) + 0(0) - 426(0) = \$952 + \$10 + \$5.0 + \$916 + \$714 + \$499 = \$3,091.50$, and

multiplying this by the number of acres (10) gives \$30,915 as the predicted price of the lot. The values R (.59) and the adjusted value R^2 indicate the extent to which the regression equation explains the variation in the data. Here, the adjusted R^2 (.34) indicates the proportion of the variation in the price of an acre of citrus land that may be explained by the variation in the independent variables; that is to say, thirty-four percent of the variation in the price of an acre of citrus land between 1915 and 1945 can be accounted for by variation in the size of the lot, whether or not it was bearing land, whether or not the parcel contained a residence, and by its location. F , here equal to 25.9, is a measure of the statistical significance of the entire regression equation; the corresponding p value of .01 indicates that there is one chance in one hundred that the regression analysis is incorrect. The Durbin-Watson statistic indicates that the regression equation is not unduly affected by the presence of the independent variables of a measure of time, in this case, years past 1915. The source of the data in this table is *California Citrograph*, 1915-1945.

TABLE 2
Comparison of Citrus and Alternative Investment Strategies, 1921-1940

CITRUS STRATEGY					ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY		COMPARISON
FIFTEEN-ACRE, RESIDENTIAL GROVE, SAN BERNARDINO					FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS		
PURCHASE PRICE (1921)					INVESTED (1921)		
\$38,724					\$15,490		
DOWN PAYMENT							
\$15,490							
AMOUNT FINANCED							
\$23,234							
INTEREST RATE (%)							
7.62							
TERM (YEARS)							
5							
ANNUAL PAYMENT							
\$5,761							
YEAR	LOAN PAYMENT (\$)	PRODUCTION PROFIT (\$)	NET INCOME (\$)	CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT (\$)	INTEREST RATE (%)	CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT (\$)	ADVANTAGE TO CITRUS STRATEGY (\$)
1921	5,761	2,144	(3,617)	15,863	9.12%	16,902	(1,039)
1922	5,761	2,323	(3,438)	16,719	7.02%	18,089	(1,369)
1923	5,761	1,644	(4,117)	17,224	7.57%	19,458	(2,234)
1924	5,761	1,676	(4,085)	18,113	6.48%	20,719	(2,606)
1925	5,761	3,374	(2,387)	21,080	6.52%	22,070	(990)
1926	n/a	3,364	3,364	24,444	6.84%	23,579	864
1927	n/a	4,608	4,608	29,052	6.61%	25,138	3,914
1928	n/a	5,225	5,225	34,278	7.35%	26,986	7,292
1929	n/a	4,210	4,210	38,488	8.35%	29,239	9,249
1930	n/a	4,951	4,951	43,439	6.09%	31,020	12,419
1935	n/a	2,798	2,798	54,069	3.25%	38,234	15,835
1940	n/a	2,136	2,136	64,252	3.06%	44,821	19,431

Sources: See note 10.

APPENDIX

TABLE 3
Comparison of Four Citrus and Alternative Investment Strategies
in San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, 1921-1940

I				II			
COUNTY		SAN BERNARDINO		SAN BERNARDINO			
LOT SIZE (ACRES)		50		100			
PURCHASE PRICE (1921)		\$93,380		\$186,704			
DOWN PAYMENT		\$37,352		\$74,702			
AMOUNT FINANCED (7.62%)		\$56,028		\$112,056			
ANNUAL PAYMENT (5 YEARS)		\$13,892		\$27,785			
COMPETING INTEREST RATE (%)		Prime + 5		Prime + 5			
CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT				CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT			
AFTER YEAR	CITRUS STRATEGY (\$)	STRAIGHT STRATEGY (\$)	CITRUS ADVANTAGE (\$)	CITRUS STRATEGY (\$)	STRAIGHT STRATEGY (\$)	CITRUS ADVANTAGE (\$)	
5	61,121	59,713	1,408	122,243	119,427	2,816	
10	135,651	94,198	41,453	271,302	188,395	82,907	
15	171,087	130,709	40,378	342,173	261,418	80,755	
20	205,029	172,701	32,328	410,059	345,402	64,657	

III				IV			
COUNTY		RIVERSIDE		RIVERSIDE			
LOT SIZE (ACRES)		15		100			
PURCHASE PRICE (1921)		\$28,299		\$117,260			
DOWN PAYMENT		\$11,320		\$46,904			
AMOUNT FINANCED (7.62%)		\$16,979		\$70,356			
ANNUAL PAYMENT (5 YEARS)		\$4,210		\$17,445			
COMPETING INTEREST RATE (%)		Prime + 5		Prime + 5			
CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT				CUMULATIVE INVESTMENT			
AFTER YEAR	CITRUS STRATEGY (\$)	STRAIGHT STRATEGY (\$)	CITRUS ADVANTAGE (\$)	CITRUS STRATEGY (\$)	STRAIGHT STRATEGY (\$)	CITRUS ADVANTAGE (\$)	
5	18,409	18,096	313	104,441	74,984	29,457	
10	40,768	28,547	12,222	253,501	118,287	135,214	
15	51,399	39,612	11,787	324,371	134,135	160,236	
20	61,582	52,337	9,244	392,257	216,866	175,391	

Sources: See note 10.

"The Orange-Grower is not a Farmer"¹

G. HAROLD POWELL, RIVERSIDE ORCHARDISTS, AND THE COMING OF INDUSTRIAL AGRICULTURE, 1893-1930

by H. Vincent Moses

"This is one of the wealthiest towns in California and the very heart of the orange business. . . . The business has developed on an enormous plan. . . . Around this place are 20,000 acres of oranges representing an investment of 30 million dollars."

G. Harold Powell, Letters from the
Orange Empire (1904), 34, 37

At the turn of the century, Riverside, California, existed almost exclusively for the production of Washington navel oranges. Supported by scores of mobile and propertyless migrant workers from the periphery of capitalism, Riverside possessed great wealth and a carefully projected image of refined gentility. The town's grower elite personified economist Thorstein Veblen's leisure class, engaging regularly in such noble pursuits as polo, golf, and tennis. Riverside's citrus packers and shippers sent more than five thousand rail carloads of oranges to eastern markets every year, returning premium prices from the consistently high quality of their fruit. Yet along with other citrus shipping areas of the state, they complained that as much as twenty-five percent of all their fruit decayed while in transit to eastern selling points. If that was true, despite the lucrative nature of the industry, growers were losing hundreds of thousands of dollars. Over and over again, they hammered the United States Department of Agriculture and the University of California for scientific assistance in solving this vexing and costly problem. Finally responding in January 1904, the Department of Agriculture dis-

patched its most able and celebrated transportation and refrigeration investigator to Riverside on a reconnaissance expedition. G. Harold Powell, protégé of Cornell University's Liberty Hyde Bailey and a rising star in the Bureau of Plant Industry, came with a well-honed team of equally youthful and precocious agricultural scientists dead set on solving the growers' decay problem.²

In February, Powell wrote to his wife, Gertrude, from the new Glenwood Mission Inn in Riverside. His hectic day had involved many introductions to influential people, he said, including "the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade and a delegation of packers and growers." Further, Powell boasted, "there were not less than ten million dollars invested here by the men present." He confidently assessed the prospects of this situation for his career. "You can hardly appreciate how much this means," he told her, "as there is no class of people in the east who approach the orange growers in intelligence and large business affairs."³

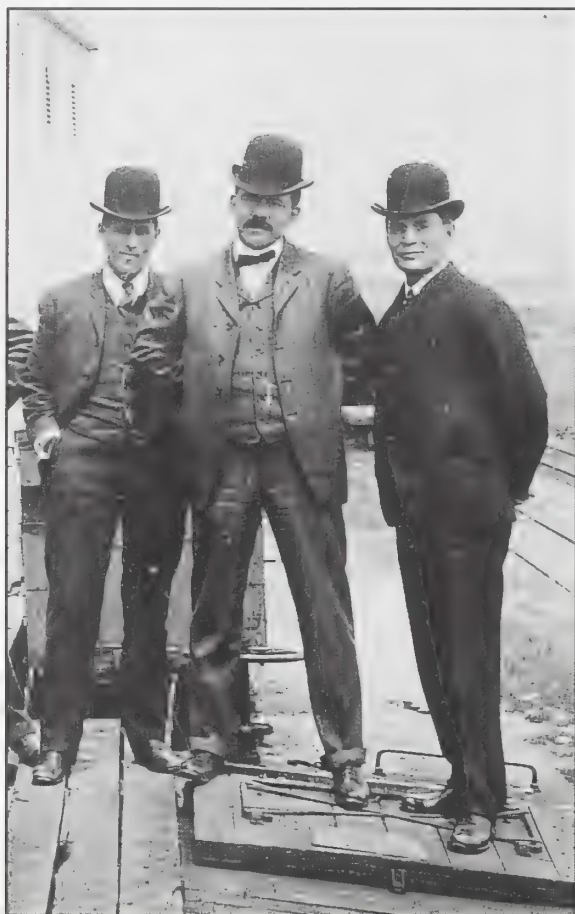
These insightful personal observations proved more prescient than either he or Riverside's orchardists realized. In short order, Powell and his team



By the early twentieth century, with the citrus industry firmly established in southern California, towns such as Riverside, Redlands, Ontario, and San Bernardino cultivated an aesthetic image. Picturesque panoramas such as this one, with a snow-capped Mount Baldy rising in the distance, were typical of the inland valley landscape. These scenes also inspired much orange-crate label art, several examples of which appear on the covers and elsewhere in this issue. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Photograph Collection, University of Southern California.*

determined the cause and the solution to the growers' problem. Within four years his recommendations transformed the entire industry.⁴ He proposed industrial solutions involving labor practices, packinghouse machinery and management structure, and general business methods. Growers and packers adopted his suggestions almost on the spot. Not a single one in any documentation I have found opposed him on agrarian principles. They accepted Powell's industrial interpretation of their problems, even though most had expected him to approach the decay issue as a fruit pathology question.⁵

Powell's work with the growers holds the key to one of the primary historiographical mysteries surrounding twentieth-century agriculture. In most conventional analyses, farmers and rural regions openly and in a mobilized fashion fought urban industrialization. As Jacksonian free-market capitalists, they were dragged kicking and screaming into twentieth-century modes of organization and social order by a coalition of federal, state, private, and academic forces, often as late as the New Deal era.⁶ On the other hand, Harvey Mudd College's Hal S. Barron, like historian Lawrence Goodwyn, main-



G. Harold Powell (1872–1922) stands, center, with B.A. Woodford (left) of the Azusa-Covina Fruit Exchange, and Walter Barnwell, an assistant freight agent for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

tains that the ultimate hegemony of corporate industrial capitalism over Jacksonian free-market entrepreneurial capitalism was evident earlier, with the election of William McKinley over William Jennings Bryan in 1896.⁷ McKinley's victory, Barron surmises, marked "the emergence of large-scale organizational society." For Barron, historians still have not determined how farmers reacted or interacted with these large-scale forces in the early decades after the turn of the century.⁸

California, and California orange growers, constitute a laboratory within which to test the interaction of farmers with the organizational revolution. California was one of the first regions of the nation to be conceived and to develop within the tumultuous rise of corporate capitalism. I have found fruitful sources for the assessment of citrus growers' attitudes toward large-scale organizational society. Their dialectical interaction with Powell in the decay

study confirms that at least one segment of American agriculture joined the organizational revolution from its very outbreak. Orange growers formed a self-aware class of new agricultural capitalists, no less self-assured than Goodwyn's self-motivated anti-corporate Farmers' Alliance of the 1880s.⁹

By the early 1890s, Riverside orange growers thought like and behaved like full-fledged industrial capitalists. Over the period from 1890 to 1920, they shaped citrus production in southern California into a vertically integrated cartel of great economic prowess and efficiency, rivaling any in the industrialized Northeast. Unlike their anti-industrial dirt-farming brethren in the Farmers' Alliance and Populist People's Party of 1892, Riverside growers and their cohort group in other citrus towns met historian Eric Foner's definition of "Reconstructed Republicans," more at home with cooperation and organization than with the rugged individualism of traditional Jeffersonian yeomen.¹⁰ While elsewhere large segments of the farming population were in outright rebellion against industrialization, citrus growers embraced it.

In the beginning, even advocates of family farming believed that citrus production would save farming as a way of life in California.¹¹ In irrigated citrus production, they saw the long-sought-after hope of a state dominated by small family farmers upholding republican values in a classless countryside. The relatively lucrative fruit cultures offered a viable alternative to the capital-intensive, large-scale "bonanza" wheat farms. A five-acre orange grove, for instance, often returned profits equal to the average two-hundred-acre Midwest farm. Given this fact, the development of a middle-class agrarian society in California seemed assured by the citrus industry.¹² Riverside appeared to many, including some of its founders, to embody the agrarians' dreams of a classless countryside of small freeholder yeomanry. Riverside, however, emerged by 1895 as the per-

capita wealthiest town in the United States. As the heart of the emerging southern California citrus belt, Riverside in the 1890s nestled serenely within 10,000 acres of navel oranges, representing a cumulative total investment by 1904 of thirty million dollars.¹³ In 1896, Riverside's prosperous orange growers voted overwhelmingly for Republican presidential candidate William McKinley, flying in the face of their farming brethren in the Midwest and South and aligning themselves instead with the forces of industrialization.¹⁴ Four years later, the total dollar figure accrued from ten years of orange sales reached \$21,025,490.¹⁵

By the time Powell visited the city in 1904, Riverside growers had already fought and resolved difficult irrigation and water-rights battles, creating in their wake associative and cooperative solutions that helped lay the legal basis for California water doctrine.¹⁶ They had also established the most effective producer-owned agricultural marketing cooperative in the United States, enabling them to lift the region into an accelerated economic take-off. The California Fruit Growers Exchange (Sunkist) operated more like a citrus trust than an instrument of agrarian reform.¹⁷ With Powell's leadership, growers also successfully lobbied the legislature for creation of the Citrus Experiment Station in Riverside by the University of California. These same growers supported the innovation of modern packinghouse technology by two local competing machinists, Fred Stebler and George Parker, resulting ultimately in the conversion of citrus packing to full-blown assembly-line organization.¹⁸

The labor-intensive nature of citriculture, moreover, pulled a succession of diverse immigrants to the city and region, adding new dimensions to California's well-documented tradition of ethnic diversity. First came the Chinese, then the Japanese, and finally the Mexicans looking to escape revolution in their homeland. Yet Riverside's approach to agricultural labor, like the remainder of the commercialized fruit-growing communities, reflected the class structure of industrial capitalism and the racial politics of the era.¹⁹ Their acceptance of the prevailing Social Darwinian assumptions allowed growers to rationalize the industrial nature of their labor system. What happened to the agrarian utopia of small family farms making a modest profit while sacrificing for the greater community good predicted by reformers? In fact, Riverside's orange growers

diverged from the rank and file of America's farmers and even the agrarian reformers in California and reorganized their production along models derived from modern corporate organizations.

Since historians Ellis Hawley and Martin J. Sklar identified and described the rise of what scholars have called "corporate liberalism," or the advocating of administered markets under corporate control, much scholarship has gone into elaborating its impact on the political economy of the nation and into defining its boundaries of influence.²⁰ The creation of a pro-corporate sector of capitalists, corporate liberalism, according to Sklar, arose in the wake of what business historian Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., identified as the rise of a "new form of capitalism." According to Chandler, the new capitalism ushered in the Second Capitalist Revolution, bringing "into being a new economic institution, the managerial business enterprise, and a new subspecies of economic man, the salaried manager."²¹ This analysis, however, has never been extended to agriculture. Farming has generally remained outside the analysis of corporations and the coming of the new capitalism. Historians have generally seen farmers early in this century as reluctant to accept industrial methods because they considered those methods and the values they represented a threat to farming as a way of life.

The leading advocates of corporate liberalism, however, did not limit their efforts to the world of northeastern factories and giant industrial corporations, and here begins the answer to the conundrum posed by Hal S. Barron. According to many scholars of the Progressive Era, thinkers and modernizing politicians such as Teddy Roosevelt, Liberty Hyde Bailey, Kenyon Butterfield, and Benjamin Ide Wheeler turned their attention, as well, to America's rural areas. The countryside, they argued, had to be modernized also. By definition, that meant the industrialization of American agriculture through the application of scientific methods, better education, and cooperative organization along corporate lines. While, according to historian David Danbom, vast numbers of farmers resisted these attempts to industrialize agriculture, a group of dedicated government, academic, and corporate thinkers pushed ahead with the program, undaunted by the opposition of farmers or anyone else.²² Led primarily by the United States Department of Agriculture and President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission,

these agrarian industrializers hoped to make the nation's unorganized, individualistic farmers as efficient and modern as their urban industrial counterparts. According to Danbom, agrarian modernizers believed the country's status as a world power and its ability to reach its full economic potential depended upon bringing agriculture into line with the forces of efficiency and production embodied by the new corporation.²³ Beverly T. Galloway, G. Harold Powell's boss at the USDA's Bureau of Plant Industry, reckoned in this regard that "the farm and the factory must go side by side, in order to bring about the greatest progressive, intellectual, and industrial development."²⁴

As the youthful and ambitious Powell found upon his arrival in Riverside in 1904, however, no agrarian resistance materialized among the citrus fruit growers in southern California. Instead, these aggressive horticulturists were "anxious to cooperate and appreciate scientific experiments more than any other class" he had met.²⁵ They were concerned above all with promoting their own business interests, which to them also defined the present and future well-being of the region. At stake, however, would be nothing short of the direction agriculture would take on a national level. Would it remain the stronghold of the family farmer practicing agriculture as a way of life while adhering to republican values? On the other hand, would it continue as the realm of Jacksonian small entrepreneurial capitalism, clutching onto a sense of independence and autonomy in the face of organized industrial capital? Or did these palpably pro-corporate orange growers represent the next definition of farming in America?

ORANGE GROWERS AS REVOLUTIONARY CAPITALISTS

For decades after he proclaimed it in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis," which celebrated western settlement as the shaping force of American democracy, dominated the scholarly interpretation of the American West. Beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, many historians began to dispute Turner's specific findings, and more recently, over the last two decades a coterie of "New Western Historians" have rejected Turner's framework of analysis altogether.²⁶ To these often passionate historians, the western region has become alternately a province

"plundered" by outside interests and a lost opportunity for advancing egalitarian democracy. Generally, neither the original Turnerian framework nor these recent critics saw western development as the product of a self-conscious local leadership elite working from a positive value structure to generate the region in its own image. More often, in the "new" histories at least, western history has appeared as a saga of villainy and outside greed intent upon exploiting the West by means of extractive industries, in a self-serving manner, on behalf of eastern corporate and political interests.²⁷

By the nature of the semi-arid environment of California and much of the Far West, however, settlement of this region required much more intense cooperation and capital than other more humid areas. Even Turner recognized these changed circumstances. In this region, he argued, settlement had to abandon pioneering individualism in favor of collective action.²⁸ Turner felt that, from the onset of settlement, the arid region would have to develop as an industrial domain and not as an extension of the fee-simple empire of rugged, individualistic small farmers. "The pioneer of the arid regions . . . must be both a capitalist and a protégé of the government," Turner argued.²⁹ His new West would produce a kind of collective "social," rather than "individual," democracy. William Smythe, a leading evangelist of irrigated agriculture and irrigation technology, concurred with Turner. Smythe, as historian Donald Worster claims, "pointedly celebrated irrigation as an agricultural counterpart to industrial organization." In the book *Conquest of Arid America*, whose very title suggested the militant qualities of his crusade, Smythe referred to the irrigated West as industrial, not agrarian, foreshadowing what California's citrus-growing region was fast becoming.³⁰

Orange growers followed the revised Turnerian and Smythean models. As primary users of irrigation water, growers led the battle over water rights in California, writing legislation to modify the riparian doctrines of English common law. In particular, Riverside growers pressed their claims in the legislature and the courts over several decades in the latter half of the nineteenth century.³¹ Citriculture, above all other agricultural enterprises, validated the faith of irrigation evangelists such as William Smythe, Elwood Mead, and Ray Lyman Wilbur. Citrus growers, therefore, aided by agrarian reformers such as Judge John W. North, the founder of River-



The original staff of the Citrus Experimental Station, ca. 1913. Among those pictured are director John Webber, far right, and his successor, Leon D. Batchelor, front row, third from left. *Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.*

side, and the California Irrigation Congress, pushed in the courts and the legislature for private forms of capital ownership and government mechanisms to assist irrigators in stabilizing water law and distribution rights. They envisioned their efforts as a means of ensuring equitable land distribution and economic development.³²

Carey McWilliams's first-hand account, composed two generations ago, of the powerful role of the citrus growers in the development of water management and law, confirms that special problems surrounding the formation and cultivation of the citrus industry—particularly those associated with marketing a perishable product across long distances—compelled pioneering growers to adopt a high degree of associative effort. Moreover, citrus growers, as a result of these problems and their cooperative efforts to solve them, achieved levels of technological development substantially in advance of other agricultural enterprises in the country. They

engineered innovative methods of irrigation, experimented with and developed frost-protection methods, organized and lobbied the state for scientific research to solve the many pest-related problems engendered by citrus monoculture, helped evolve revolutionary cooling and refrigeration processes, and above all, proactively organized and promoted a national market for California citrus using modern industrial forms of business organization.

McWilliams's observations of early organization among growers takes on more significance when viewed from the perspective of the influential men who embraced corporate liberalism. Their quick and decisive organized moves placed them at the forefront of industrial agriculture and imply that they were very early in taking up a dialogue with large-scale organizational society. By contrast, the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist People's Party organized for the purpose of restoring the older world of small-scale, competitive entrepreneurial

capitalism tempered by egalitarian measures, and not to build a new industrial superstructure among America's farmers. The citrus-grower elite, on the other hand, fought vigorously and finally successfully to bring that superstructure about in southern California.

Rapid organization of southern California's citrus industry under a corporate form originated and was sustained because the social class that developed it came from the heart of the new capitalism. Many of the growers were, in fact, captains of industry. This view has been substantiated by no less than eyewitness observers such as Charles Fletcher Lummis, Professor and Dean of the University of California College of Agriculture E. J. Wickson, and Professor J. E. Coit, as well as writer Carey McWilliams.³⁴ Contrary to Turner's earlier frontier tamers, few of those who became citrus growers had ever been real dirt farmers. Instead, McWilliams argued, "the greatest number" of them came from the stores, counting-houses, shops, and offices of their homes in the eastern states," or were "[l]awyers, who had fled the stifling air of the courtroom."³⁵ Judge North's Southern California Colony Association, for example, which in the 1870s established Riverside and navel-orange culture, listed among its membership five lawyers, a similar number of physicians, a druggist, and six successful businessmen.

Founders of the citrus-belt colonies, particularly in Riverside, were principally transplanted Yankees and middle-westerners. This proves important from the standpoint of corporate agriculture, since the impetus for the birth of Alfred Chandler's new form of capitalism originated with the increasingly industrialized Northeast and, according to Eric Foner, primarily through the reconstructed Republican Party, by the 1890s the party of the new corporate industrialists.³⁶ Moreover, the leadership elite "in all the citrus-belt towns" arose out of mainline evangelical Protestantism—Congregationalists, Northern Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians.³⁷ From the vantage point of their evangelical backgrounds, the imposition of order constituted part and parcel of a civilizing mission, as they saw it, including formation and organized disciplining of a mass labor force from the pre-industrial periphery of capitalism.

From the outset of the citrus industry in Riverside, as McWilliams and others have indicated, the growers "made more extensive use of modern business methods . . . than any other aspect of American agri-

culture."³⁸ Citrus growers, particularly in Riverside as heirs of the world left by the earlier evangelical bourgeoisie, provided the self-assured leadership to meet the organizational society head-on in southern California. In Riverside, several men exemplified the conclusions of McWilliams, Coit, Wickson, Cleland and other eyewitness observers and, by their contributions to the industrialization of citriculture, confirmed the corporate liberal thesis in agriculture, at least citrus agriculture. Among the local leaders were Ethan Allen Chase, C. E. Rumsey, Stephen H. Herrick, and L.V.W. Brown.

Ethan Allen Chase moved to Riverside in 1891 at fifty-nine years of age from Rochester, New York. There, he and his brothers had built one of the largest nursery businesses in the state, specializing in orchard stock. Chase had no intention of leaving that business to embark upon a new one in the Far West when he first visited the citrus colony. Over the next twenty years, however, Chase turned his considerable talents to the work of growing and marketing navel oranges. In 1901, he and his three sons, along with three other partners, established a closed-stock corporation, capitalized at \$800,000, to buy the best citrus land and to grow the best fruit that could be scientifically cultivated. Their National Orange Company quickly gained a first-rate reputation in eastern markets. By 1904, the Chases owned more than 1,600 acres of navels in the Riverside-Highgrove district and 1,200 acres in nearby Corona, south of Riverside. Chase played a significant role in supporting the work of G. Harold Powell from his arrival in Riverside in 1904 through Chase's death in 1921.³⁹

Millionaire Cornelius Earle Rumsey, former treasurer of the National Biscuit Company, arrived in Riverside around 1899 and immediately gained prominence among growers and shippers, as he had in the board rooms of eastern corporations. Rumsey earned a reputation for experimentation in citrus production and for participation in local civic improvements. In 1905, he delivered a lecture at the Loring Theatre on civic improvements entitled "Evolution of a Tourist," in which he expressed his attitude toward the community and orange growing. "My first purchase," he said, "was ten acres of ten-year old Navels, costing \$18,000. Five years . . . show an excellent investment. Then the fun to plant, to take no man's ready-made, hand-me-down grove, to redeem sage brush and sand and glorify it as oth-

s had done, to have a hand in creation, to say 'Let it blossom'; and it was done! To say 'Let it fruit'; and it was done! To look at the transformation and feel that you have helped make California. . . . Riverside has given the joy, and has paid the bill."⁴⁰ Rumsey joyfully welcomed G. Harold Powell and promoted his work with vigor from the very beginning of the Powell method for curing the decay problem. Rum-

sey even built a custom packinghouse dedicated to careful handling of fruit according to the Powell method.

Stephen Henderson Herrick, a well-known Iowa banker, migrated to Riverside in the mid-1880s. A founding member of a number of packing and water companies, Herrick helped pioneer the prototype local citrus marketing cooperative, Pachappa Orange Growers Association, which later evolved into the California Fruit Growers Exchange. He also served as president of the Citizens National Bank of Riverside, the East Riverside Land Company, the East Highlands Water Company, and as a member of the board of the Gage Canal Company. Herrick's Iowa Syndicate funded the construction of Riverside jeweler Matthew Gage's visionary and technically sophisticated irrigation canal to its first terminus at the Tequesquite Arroyo. His sound-money policies won him a high reputation among the nation's bankers and Riverside's growers.⁴¹

L.V.W. Brown, son of Riverside co-founder Judge E. G. Brown, attended Stanford University and Cornell College of Agriculture, excelling in horticulture and entomology. Brown helped provide a warm welcome to fellow Cornellian G. Harold Powell upon his arrival in Riverside in 1904 to undertake decay research on behalf of the growers. Brown became one of the first to adopt Powell's careful handling methods in his packinghouse. One of the largest and most enterprising growers in southern California, Brown farmed hundreds of acres of his own and managed hundreds more for others. He served one term as a city trustee and was elected mayor in 1921.⁴²

Chase, Rumsey, Herrick, Brown, and fellow growers were joined by the Riverside Trust Company, Ltd., a British syndicate that funded the extension of Gage's canal south to its ultimate terminus near Corona. This British corporate enterprise irrigated over 3,000 acres of groves with Gage Canal water from 1891 through 1928. The Arlington Heights District, which they farmed, constituted one of the finest navel orange and lemon regions in the world. Along with the British syndicate, Riverside's Yankee growers were, as Powell said in 1904, "people of large affairs." Time after time in his letters, the class-conscious Powell marveled at the apparent savoir-faire and business acumen of these growers. Wealthy, well educated, and determined, they possessed, in Powell's eyes, a refined sense of confidence and moral rectitude.



Millionaire Cornelius Earle Rumsey, ca. 1905, confirmed the argument that the orange grower was not a dirt farmer. Owner of the Alta Cresta Citrus Company in Riverside, Rumsey recognized the wisdom of Powell's handling methods and in 1908 built a new packinghouse that he dedicated to the USDA Powell, and the careful handling of citrus fruit
Courtesy City of Riverside Museum

Industrialization and consolidation did not put them off as it had those in the state with a more agrarian outlook on agriculture and its role in society. One of their own, Fred Reed, son of the elder John Henry Reed, revealed growers' pro-urban class consciousness when he argued from his local whig perspective that:

Had the leaders of this colony been of the usual type of conservative eastern or European farmer there would not have been any story of their achievements worth telling. . . . but the use of irrigation and the production of new crops and products made a clean page in the history of agriculture. . . . They were able to apply their minds to overcoming new problems and under quite new circumstances.⁴³

Eyewitness accounts, in fact, nearly all emphasized that turn-of-the-century Riverside orange growers were not typical farmers. Reed, obviously reflecting a class bias representative of these same growers, reveled in the thought that citrus men, unlike more traditional farmers, were not shackled to superstition.

RIVERSIDE ORANGE GROWERS AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH

Riverside's contributions to the industrialization of agriculture were matched by the town's role in the accelerated economic take-off of southern California.⁴⁴ The chief catalyst for both came in the form of a serendipitous discovery in the 1870s of a winter-ripening navel orange, enabling Riversiders to build a powerful export economy for themselves and the region.⁴⁵ Within ten years, this orange, perfectly suited for the natural conditions in southern California's inland valleys, altered the direction of California agriculture and spawned a second "gold rush," one that proved more enduring than the first.⁴⁶ The regional growth model of Nobel Prize-winning economic historian Douglass C. North makes clear how such phenomenal change could occur from the introduction of two orange trees. In refutation of economist W. W. Rostow, who previously argued that regional economic growth can occur only within urban-industrial matrices, North argues that under certain conditions agricultural commodities, produced for export to other regions or nations, have provided the principal catalyst for "economic growth, the development of external economies, urbanization, and eventually industrial

development."⁴⁷ Finally, in reply to Rostow and others, North concludes that it is not a matter of "agriculture versus industrialization" but successful integration into national and international market via an export commodity (or commodities), that determines a region's "ability to achieve sustained growth and a diversified pattern of economic activity."⁴⁸ Economic "take-off" and growth, North argues, are further assured by investment in technological and educational infrastructure, based upon home-owned capital, coupled with investment in education and science. Subsidiary and residentiary industries arise around the export commodity, and labor and capital flow into the region to take advantage of these developments.⁴⁹

University of California, Riverside, historians Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell, however, do not believe that North's free-market model alone can account for the rise of the citrus industry and the economic take-off it provided the southern California area. Since citrus agriculture arose within the "Second Capitalist Revolution," they urge the application of North's Nobel Prize-winning model as modified by Albert Hirschman's *Strategy of Development*, on which North bases his propositions.⁵⁰ All things being equal, Hirschman considers an organized social cohort of leaders more important to the industrialization and modernization of a region than raw market forces. For him, according to Tobey and Wetherell, the social cohort's vision and subsequent selection of an appropriate industry for the region will direct its potential for industrialization and will induce a growth mentality in the region.⁵¹ Along with Tobey and Wetherell, I believe the citrus growers constituted such a social cohort. The navel orange provided the product, but the growers brought the right pro-corporate industrial mentality to the business.

The way citrus growers are viewed and subsequently interpreted affects the way southern California history is researched and presented. In this regard, the prevailing model for the reading of southern California holds that this area remained a dependent colony of the industrial Northeast, which exploited it by means of extractive industries, until World War II. At that time, defense contracting brought the necessary manufacturing base and infusion of funds to industrialize the region. Until the 1940s, the theory goes, neither citriculture nor any other agricultural endeavor had been able to break this dependency on outside capital nor to forestall



As Riverside grew, it attracted well-known personalities such as Eddy Peabody, a famous vaudeville banjo player, who packed fruit under his own label, "Banjo Brand." Peabody wintered at his Riverside estate, shown above, ca. 1930, approached by a stately palm-lined avenue and surrounded by a sea of groves. *Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.*

the plunder of the area's resources.⁵² The dependent colony theory, however, does not take into account the phenomenon of the Washington navel orange and the people who grew it.

Riverside, in fact, served as the focal point for a growing, seven-county political economy dominated by citrus growers and even larger than Powell first imagined. This regional political economy arose from the lucrative export sector created by the Washington navel orange and related varieties of commercial citrus, including the summer-ripening Valencia orange and the lemon of southern California's coastal plain and nearby valleys. Rises in land values led to a rapidly enhanced economic infrastructure. Citrus production induced "formation of land companies, irrigation companies, and development corporations," and the resident growers who made this growth possible intended to keep their money working at home.⁵³

CORPORATE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CITRUS ENTERPRISE

In 1893, Riverside growers launched a corporate vessel, the Southern California Fruit Exchange, for dealing with their mounting production and marketing problems. By 1905, this producer-owned and managed cooperative organization went statewide, changed its name to the California Fruit Growers Exchange, and began the process of founding local affiliated cooperatives throughout the state. Between 1904 and 1913, the pioneering entrepreneurial leadership of the exchange engineered a campaign to bring the industry under a full-blown corporate format in order to take advantage of economies of scale and efficiency. They fought to bring picking, packing, and marketing under the thumb of the exchange through the local associations. By standardizing the grades of fruit and the methods of

packing, they sought to end the chaos in the market and raise the reliability of their product in the same manner as manufacturing enterprises were doing for non-perishable goods. The exchange registered its trademark, "Sunkist," in the United States Patent Office on January 5, 1909.⁵⁴ The same year, Powell wrote to his supervisor at the Bureau of Plant Industry, B.T. Galloway, regarding the strength of the exchange: "These people out here are going to stand together. They have the habit and have learned the benefits. They can pay any amount and can do anything that business judgment suggests. They will sell \$15,000,000 of fruit this year, and they can do anything a bank, a railroad, or any other corporation can do. Nerve isn't lacking in the Exchange fibre."⁵⁵

Statistics from exchange's magazine, the *California Citrograph*, indicate that by 1915, with G. Harold Powell serving as the corporation's first professional non-grower manager, the CFGE effectively controlled seventy percent of the fresh oranges and almost one hundred percent of the fresh lemons shipped from California, giving the exchange a virtual monopoly position in the industry. By that time, the exchange had integrated backward, creating the Fruit Growers Supply Company, its own capitalized buying agency and supplier of raw materials, and had just entered the citrus by-products business in Ontario (later moved to Corona). In every aspect of the enterprise, CFGE had achieved what Chandler identified as first-mover status. The exchange no longer competed with other growers and commission merchants on the basis of price but rather fought for market share and profits. Despite General Manager Powell's lament in 1913 regarding the ongoing problems with unregulated competition in the distribution business, the CFGE's position in the markets of the nation presented a stark contrast to the marketing chaos of the 1890s, which had led to the founding of the cooperative in the first place. An analysis by University of Minnesota economist W. W. Cumberland in 1917 revealed that the organization stood on the economic principles of modern corporate business enterprise. The exchange sought to distribute risk and build a marketing network capable of transforming citrus fruits "into staple commodities of everyday and universal consumption." Moreover, Cumberland described the exchange as

"composed of three kinds of organizations: one to pack the fruit, one to sell it, and one to furnish the facilities for selling." "The growers," he said, "own the packing associations, the packing associations own the district exchanges, and the district exchanges own the central exchange. Therefore the growers own the entire exchange system."⁵⁶ If such standing made the CFGE a vertically integrated "trust," growers saw it as a good trust, in the Roosevelt sense of the term, and not a monopolistic exploiter of the consumer.⁵⁷

In 1915, the CFGE represented thousands of member growers. Most of the 208,000 acres under cultivation, moreover, belonged to rank-and-file growers holding an average of five to ten acres. According to W.W. Cumberland (a dyed-in-the-wool agrarian modernizer) and data collected by the Citrus Protective League and the California Fruit Growers Exchange, 12,000 to 15,000 growers of citrus fruits in California employed 25,000 laborers. At the time, the league estimated that the industry provided a living for about 150,000 people.⁵⁸ While, according to McWilliams, Lawton, Cumberland, and others, a few commercial ranches, primarily corporations owning thousands of acres each, dominated the exchange, generally a person owning thirty acres was regarded as a large grower. As Cumberland stated in 1917, "these figures seem insignificant to one familiar with the size of the ordinary farm in the United States but it must be remembered that on a value basis even a five acre orange grove at \$2,000 an acre compares very favorably with the ordinary middle western farm." Furthermore, Cumberland reasoned, "growing Citrus fruits is, then, distinctly a capitalistic enterprise. . . . To purchase enough desirable property for a satisfactory citrus enterprise there are required a good many thousands of dollars, so it cannot be thought of as an industry that offers many attractions to the poor man."⁵⁹ It did, however, offer attractions to the machinist, the banker, the lawyer, the doctor, the business tycoon, and other adventurous entrepreneurs seeking to build up businesses and services around it. Moreover, the industry pushed investment in educational infrastructure and waged an incessant campaign to build a reliable year-round wage labor force.

IN USE FOR 20 YEARS At WHITTIER CITRUS ASS'N HOUSE PARKERS' BOX MAKING MACHINE

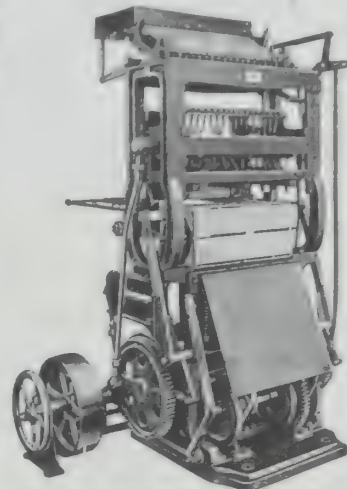
*Has Served Association Well
and At Little Expense*

Some of the many boxes made by this machine are shown in the accompanying photograph. The boxes are made of corrugated cardboard and are of the standard size for citrus fruit.

We have found that this machine is very economical and makes boxes very quickly. It is also very durable and has been in use for many years. The boxes made by this machine are of the standard size for citrus fruit and are very strong and durable.

What more proof can be desired than that?

And yet there are any number of other endorsements just as strong to be had by simply asking almost any packing house manager in California or Florida.



Model of the Parker Box Making Machine as shown at the Whittier Citrus Ass'n House.

This machine is made of heavy iron and is very durable. It is also very economical and makes boxes very quickly.

ILLUSTRATION

Parker Machine Works
(since 1904)
Riverside, Calif.

A 1920s advertisement for Parker Machine Works, Riverside. Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.

RESIDENTIARY INDUSTRIES, THE CITRUS PROLETARIAT, AND AN EDUCATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

California's citrus industry met two other tests in the theoretical model of Douglass North. It generated subsidiary and residentiary industries, and it spawned a sophisticated educational infrastructure to back it up and to educate its children.⁶⁰ As an organized, labor-intensive business enterprise, citrus also produced a system of industrial labor far in advance of any other in agriculture at the time. The citrus culture of the West moved rapidly and consciously toward specialization and division of labor, while plowing the income from its chief export sector back into the region. In this way, and by contrast to the cotton culture of the South, the orange growers of southern California stimulated further regional

economic growth and thereby moved more people into the mainstream of the market economy through a wide distribution of income. Growers' investment in social overhead and infrastructure, including mechanisms for mass distribution, led to an ever-widening export base of high-income-yielding horticultural commodities, calling forth commensurate retail and service industries.⁶¹

From McWilliams's vantage point, the phenomenal prowess of the area's economic dynamo had to be attributed to the success of the California Fruit Growers Exchange. Other intensive horticultural industries in California soon followed the lead of the exchange in organizing themselves into successful export cooperatives. Almond, walnut, raisin, avocado, and deciduous fruit growers of the state had, by Powell's arrival, attained established positions in the market and were contributing to the growing

investment in the region. In Riverside, several subsidiary and residentiary industries arose out of the primary citrus export sector. They serviced the needs of the growers and took advantage of the massive amounts of capital citrus was bringing into the region.

One subsidiary industry dedicated to handling the packinghouse needs of growers, what Hirschman would have called a backward linkage, assumed world-wide significance. The advent of machines in California's garden—the conversion of manufacturing from custom-smithed machines to machine-shop-made equipment—converged with mass shipment of perishable citrus commodities in Riverside. In the early years of the twentieth century this convergence produced a major business enterprise that was both subsidiary and residentiary. Two men grappled, fought, and in the process built manufacturing empires. Mechanical wizards Fred Stebler and George Parker turned Riverside, California, into the world center for the manufacture of citrus packing equipment. Amalgamated as the Stebler-Parker Company in 1921, their business offers yet another piece of evidence for the modern industrial nature of California's citrus industry. At the behest of packers, the rapid evolution of the packinghouse from field industry to assembly line thus occurred quickly and decisively in Riverside between 1905 and 1929.

The fruit-processing equipment market Stebler and Parker struggled to control arose swiftly in the wake of Powell's scientific studies on the origin of, and remedy for, decay of oranges in transit to eastern markets. In particular, Powell demonstrated that spoilage in transit could be virtually eliminated through proper picking and processing methods, including the type of clippers used in picking, the size and construction of picking bags, the use of sanitary field boxes, care in transport to the packing shed, and careful handling in the packing process. Once in place, Powell's prescription saved growers an estimated one and one-half million dollars per year in 1908 dollars. Within four years of Powell's initial pronouncements, ninety percent of the citrus packinghouses in the state had radically altered their practices and machinery to meet his careful handling recommendations.⁶²

By the end of World War I, the labor practices of California's citrus producers also clearly reflected the corporate industrial nature of their enterprise. Gen-

eral Manager Powell's annual reports for 1920–21 articulated the Fruit Growers Exchange's policy. It embodied practices fundamentally similar to the basics of the Colorado Plan of corporate welfare developed by the Rockefellers to contain labor unrest among workers in their companies. Powell sought year-round residential labor by means of company housing, auto camps, Americanization programs, and a minimal social net for workers and their families. Large corporate ranches within the industry were the first to implement these practices, followed by the district and local exchange associations through cooperative provision of housing and other minimal services. A series of articles in the 1918 *California Citrograph* detailed the approach of exchange members to residential labor on some of the state's largest citrus ranches, in particular the Rancho Sespe and the Limoneira Ranch of Ventura County. Luxury housing when compared to most in agricultural industries, these camps featured such amenities as communal baths for Japanese male workers and bunkhouses designed by Pasadena Arts-and-Crafts architects Charles and Henry Greene of Gamble House fame.⁶³

As Cornell economic historian Cletus Daniel reasons in *Bitter Harvest*, unlike the remainder of American farmers, California horticulturists moved rapidly out of their love affair with agrarian values and the Jeffersonian ideal to embrace the new corporate liberalism of the early twentieth century.⁶⁴ By the 1880s, according to Daniel, the commercial nature of general California agriculture drove farmers in the state to view farm labor as a factor of production and not as an intrinsic part of Jeffersonian republican tradition. Following on the heels of the transcontinental railroads and an expanding urban market in the East, citrus and other intensive fruit crops overtook the bonanza wheat farms of California's early American period. These industries, citrus most prominently, and to the consternation of California agrarian reformers, pursued modern industrial approaches to their business after the early 1890s. In this regard, growers soon adopted industrial labor practices not unlike those of the scientific managers of America's heavy manufacturing enterprises. Aided by their academic and governmental allies, growers found ways and means to justify the wholesale use of labor from the periphery of capitalism.⁶⁵

While most citrus workers came from pre-industrial folk cultures with little or no experience with

modern industrial conditions or methods of combating those conditions to improve their own status as workers, some, like Japanese field workers, were quick to strike and petition the AFL for membership.⁶⁶ This led citrus growers, under the leadership of Powell, to adopt a labor policy that would control and stabilize the highly mobile citrus workforce. Subsequently, during Powell's tenure as general manager of the fruit exchange, large commercial ranches began housing their single employees and families in permanent quarters, while rank-and-file growers relied upon the cooperative associations to provide their crews with housing.⁶⁷

Powell's reforms were principally geared to ensuring the availability of the trained, skilled, resident workforce required to handle the crop in a way that would minimize spoilage of a highly perishable product.

If citrus growers comprehended the industrial nature of their labor needs, they certainly grasped the urgent call for a body of scholarly experts dedicated to furthering the industry through advances in all aspects of citrus culture, including finding solutions to industry-threatening pest problems. Accordingly, they pushed this investment activity in many directions and at all levels, including persistent



The California Iron Works, Riverside, in an early twentieth-century photograph. Fred Stebler, CIW's proprietor, manufactured fruit processing machinery under this name until 1921, when the works consolidated with Parker Machine Works after losing a patent litigation with Parker. During the years that Parker and Stebler fought to dominate the citrus industry's industrial realm, Riverside-manufactured machinery handled eighty-five percent of all fruit shipped from southern California. *Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.*



Like musician Eddy Peabody, William Porter, a wealthy Colorado resident, also made Riverside his winter home. His Mediterranean Revival estate on Hawarden Drive, shown in this 1930s view, epitomized the suburban architectural style favored by early-twentieth-century California orange growers. *Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.*

orts to foster high-quality education in elementary and secondary public schools, public and private colleges, and the University of California. At the university level, they fought for increased funds and better staffing for both the College of Agriculture and the general campuses. In particular, growers successfully agitated for establishment of an agricultural experiment station in Riverside to pursue the research needs of the citrus industry.⁶⁹

Officially dedicated on February 14, 1907, the new Citrus Experiment Station expanded in 1917 through the lobbying efforts of Powell and the CGGE. By 1920, he and cohort H. J. Webber, the fellow Cornellian he had backed as director of the newly expanded station, had formed a virtual interlocking directorate between the University of California and the California Fruit Growers Exchange. The symbiosis benefited both organizations. On the one hand, Powell pushed appropriations and other bills for the College of Agriculture through the legislature by bringing the heavy weight of the entire industry to bear on state government, while Webber saw to it that the industry's many pest and other technical problems were solved in a timely fashion by the best scientific minds that the university could apply to the work. The Citrus Experiment Station became one of the most productive investments in scientific and educational infrastructure the region made during this time.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION:

By World War I, California's citrus industry, which had arisen amid the nation's revolution of corporate capitalism, clearly represented an industrializing segment in American agriculture. In fact, Daniel insists that in California after 1900 "family farming survived only as a marginal appendage of a rural economy dominated in fact and in spirit by agribusinessmen as single-minded in their pursuit of profits

as the most unwavering urban capitalist."⁷¹ By 1920, orange growers had endowed southern California with an industrial capitalist infrastructure, including vast numbers of workers from the periphery of capitalism, and had reshaped the region into a distinctive, though fabricated, image of civilized Mediterranean elegance. They had developed a fantastically successful export sector around the navel orange and other citrus varieties, built residentiary industries and financial institutions, and invested heavily in education and knowledge, all activities endemic to modern industrialized economies and prerequisites for accelerated economic development. The reconstructed Republican men and women, grandsons and granddaughters of the Second Great Awakening, who came to grow citrus in southern California at the end of the nineteenth century, represented a vanguard of the corporate liberal revolution. No other interpretation quite explains their rapid and successful takeover of the region and their leadership in its accelerated economic take-off.



See notes beginning on page 131.

H. Vincent Moses is curator of history, City of Riverside, and since 1983 has served as chief historian for the general plan and initial development of the California Citrus State Historic Park in Riverside. His expertise also lies in developing and implementing plans for collecting and interpreting southern California's inland cultural diversity. Dr. Moses is the author of several museum-sponsored publications, whose subjects include the Chinese in Riverside, as well as a forthcoming article on the citrus industry in the Business History Review. He recently completed his dissertation, "The Flying Wedge of Cooperation: G. Harold Powell, California Orange Growers, and the Corporate Reconstruction of American Agriculture, 1904-1922," at the University of California, Riverside.

The Economics and Structure of the Citrus Industry

Comment on Papers by H. Vincent Moses
and Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell

by Grace H. Larsen

The long duration of southern California's spectacular appeal is well known. One of the region's major industries, citriculture itself has had an inspirational effect not alone on entrepreneurs, but on such varied groups as poets and other creative writers, artists of various types, technicians, health and home seekers, reformers, and plant lovers, to name but the obvious. The remarkable aesthetic and economic attractiveness of the industry lured people to it from many walks of life. John Muir, whose health evidently depended on his work in his beloved mountains, and who as a young man in Wisconsin fled farming, work he hated, felt tempted to acquire an orange orchard in the San Gabriel Valley. G. Harold Powell, an ambitious professional horticulturist with deep roots in the apple culture of New York that he greatly enjoyed, fell in love at first sight with this citrus region. He adjusted his career design to make his permanent home here.

To describe and explain the many dimensions of the California citrus industry, historical sources abound. Historians can only be thankful for the accumulation and preservation of its records as a result of the foresight and perseverance of library staffs, such as those of the Huntington Library, the federal government, and state universities, as well as those of cities like Pasadena, Pomona, and Riverside. Libraries continue to seek donations from private owners and to encourage them to provide access to their files. Numerous individual researchers, including some represented in this collection of papers, have also expanded awareness of sources. I recall the rejoicing at a symposium at Davis in 1992 on "Rural

Farm Women in Historical Perspective." A young woman on the program who was interested in gender and citrus culture in Ventura County stated that she had gained permission to work in the long-stored business papers of the renowned Limoneira Company managed by Charles C. Teague, who also served as president of the California Fruit Growers Exchange for three decades. It was quite a coup on her part and it is nice to find her, Margo McBane, among the authors at this conference.

The two papers that are the subject of this commentary, one prepared jointly by Ron Tobey and Charles Wetherell and the other by H. Vincent Moses, contain several provocative observations, highly useful in further questioning some basic assumptions within the historical literature on California. In a cover letter of their paper sent to me, one of the co-authors noted that their perspective and mine were admittedly different. This is true, and no doubt other viewpoints are held by other readers of this issue. This should allow for a good debate.

My own thinking as a historian about California citriculture owes much to my research when associated with Professor Henry E. Erdman in the U.C. Berkeley Department of Agricultural Economics. My work with him on the origins and development of California agricultural marketing cooperatives made me aware of the pioneering efforts of thousands of the state's producers of various crops and livestock in creating organizations that served their mutual interests and the challenges they encountered in maintaining them.

In their presentations the speakers cited the stud-



The presence of women in citrus history, at first glance, might seem to be restricted to their sweet or sexy images associated with oranges. Initial research, however, makes it apparent that real women, such as Eliza Tibbets and other ranchers, contributed to the industry in a variety of ways yet to be evaluated. Many women, of course, toiled alongside men in the more mundane business of picking and packing fruit. In this early-twentieth-century photograph, three of the five citrus pickers are women. *Courtesy California State Archives.*

of Alfred D. Chandler and Martin J. Sklar as two of the key ones for their analysis. The theme of Tobey and Wetherell's paper is that citrus built the foundations of the region's economic modernization in the fifty years before 1944. Cautious as historians are when dealing with causation, they will want to have answers to the questions that Chandler brought up in the introduction to his book, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*: when, where, how, and why? Professors Tobey and Wetherell referred to their manuscript, as yet unpub-

lished, entitled "The Economics of the California Citrus Industry, 1887-1944." It should be very useful in comparing the contributions to powering this area's economy made by the citrus, oil, movie, tourist, and other agricultural industries, as well as their inter-relatedness.

In their work, neither Chandler nor Sklar dealt with the agricultural economy. There is a problem in reclassifying an agricultural enterprise as a manufacturing enterprise and the California Fruit Growers Exchange, a marketing cooperative, as a manager-

ial corporation. Agricultural economists have pointed out that the agricultural economy is different from manufacturing. It is a competitive one that depends on government intervention with respect to price and supply management. Such intervention came into place and has prevailed since the latter part of the era covered by Tobey and Wetherell's paper (1887–1944).

An agricultural marketing cooperative is also different from other privately owned corporations. Throughout California, as farmers began to organize to market their products, they became frustrated in trying to operate their businesses in accordance with their ideas under existing laws and financial procedures. With their attorneys they proceeded to construct more appropriate laws and drafted new forms of legal instruments, such as articles of incorporation, by-laws, and membership contracts. They also developed a revolving finance method to serve their special needs. Their revolving fund plans proved to be so advantageous that most agricultural cooperatives adopted one or more plans of one form or another. All plans provided for a flow of capital from members in proportion to patronage and an orderly method of returning the flow of capital to contributors. Thus the members who both owned and used the business retained control of it even as new members joined and others departed.

From my perspective, I question the authors' assertion that the structure and activities of the California Fruit Growers Exchange (known since 1952 as Sunkist Growers, Inc.) "were completely reshaped by G. Harold Powell along the lines of the managerial corporation in eastern manufacturing industries." First, I do not find a reference in the paper to a major reorganization in the structure of the exchange from 1905 to 1958, the date of another big revision, with the allowable exception that in 1907, before Powell's tenure, the exchange established its first affiliate, the Fruit Growers Supply Company. The local associations owned it, and to finance it members worked out the several details of the cooperative's first revolving fund plan. Its roots lay deep in the experience of earlier growers. In bringing together the pieces of the idea of their completed plan and in adapting it for use in the exchange, Powell evidently played no role. Nor can he be credited with preparation of the second revolving fund, designed

to finance the affiliate next added to the exchange in 1915. He did bring to the exchange an interest in developing by-products from lower grades of citrus. The Exchange Orange Products Company of 1915 fared poorly during his life, although so-called by-product plants of the exchange eventually began to utilize a major portion of the citrus crop.

My impression from reviewing Powell's career as general manager of the exchange is that he contributed greatly to its status and it to his stature. He continued to work in this position along the same lines as his predecessor (except that he raised salaries) and worked zealously within the structure and purpose of the exchange as he found them. From the time he began his horticultural assignment in 1904, he made it a part of his business to find out how the exchange and other western fruit-marketing associations were organized, what their legal features were, and how they functioned. He published his findings in an article for the 1910 *United States Department of Agriculture Year-book* and in his book, completed in early 1913, *Co-operation in Agriculture* (see especially pp. 239–49). In the book, he described the system of distribution and marketing in operation (which he covered in less detail in the article) and included examples of the types of legal paper used by the exchange. He did not believe that success of a cooperative depended on any one form of organization, but he favored the articles of incorporation, by-laws, and contracts of the exchange. The USDA, in its work with farmers, often circulated the same forms, not because of their superiority but, admittedly, their accessibility.

In style of management, Powell drew on his experiences in the Bureau of Plant Industry. He talked often of his mode of administration, using words that can be found in early reports of the bureau. The idea was to hire good people, assign them responsibilities that fostered their best efforts, and support them. Many staff members in the departments of the exchange made significant contributions in their areas of responsibility—in advertising and in bud selection, for example. As happened in the USDA annual reports and also in those of the exchange, the accomplishments of a particular staff person or grower who was inventive could be credited to the chief or manager under whose name the report was issued.

to the observation by Tobey and Wetherell that Powell wedded the citrus industry to the scientific expertise of the USDA, I would suggest that no marriage was required. With fruit spoilage caused by the mold threatening the industry, the citrus people were the aggressors in demanding help, as USDA reports expressed it. On this occasion—an enormously important one for morale within the industry but not the only crisis the industry experienced and survived—Powell earned their admiration and confidence. He quickly discerned the origin of the blue mold decay that turned buyers from the fruit, and he offered the remedy. To crowds who came to hear his message, he demonstrated how they must improve their method of physically handling the fruit. His recommended procedure would, he convinced them, prevent the exterior skin injuries that hosted the disease from the time of harvest until the fruit reached the buyer.

The Powell Revolution, as it was called from 1904 until about 1909, resulted from this brilliant and creative horticultural work. It embraced the haste with which the entire citrus industry—including cooperative members of large and small acreages, association employees, independent producers, and shippers alike—more carefully handled the fruit and immediately enhanced their income. Compliance with his admonitions (which were not “orders”) reflected their intelligence, pride, and commitment to their own success. Without their willing compliance, there would not have been a Powell Revolution. Before Powell’s time, a citrus leader had been urging more careful handling procedures, but many growers seemed more preoccupied with blaming the losses on inferior growing conditions in districts other than their own.

Even as the exchange increased in size and its departments became more proficient, restrictions



The British-owned Arlington Heights Citrus Company, Riverside, was among the first of California's commercial citrus ranches to implement G. Harold Powell's call for year-round residential housing for laborers. Shown here is the Japanese and Mexican workers' housing, ca. 1915, built by Arlington Heights. *Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.*

existed within the cooperative on separation of ownership and management and on Powell's becoming the "visible hand" that replaced the invisible market mechanism with respect to production and distribution. Not least were the level of intelligence within the membership and its business and industry experience. As Powell stressed in his article and book, growers had already established a success record in improving the productivity of their orchards and the quality of their fruit. As they organized their cooperative, they took care through their legal instruments to protect themselves as owners.

Within the exchange, the citrus producers' local associations continued to be its foundation. They differed from locality to locality but were owned and controlled by people acquainted with one another. They built and operated the packinghouses where their marketable fruit was received and prepared for shipment. Despite differing opinions, they worked out at their meetings procedures for picking, hauling, grading, pooling terms, and packing their fruit. In many locals, members had equal votes. They received benefits from their locals via the central and district exchanges in proportion to the business each contributed.

It was the local associations that created and determined policies of the district exchanges. They, in turn, became members of the central exchange and authorized its activities in consultation with their local associations. District exchanges used the marketing facilities and information provided by the central to set the asking price and route the fruit to market, in consultation with their local associations. By mutual consent, the central exchange reserved authority to regulate practices of material importance to the entire membership. As the exchange's sales departments gained a better means of knowing the condition of the markets, they suggested markets and prices for the fruit.

In addition to this structure and the revolving finance method, safeguards protecting grower control included their access to the cooperative's books, observation of packinghouse operations, and attendance (nonvoting, unless they were authorized representatives) at district and central exchange meetings. The cooperative's contracts provided members with annual withdrawal clauses—from locals, from district exchanges, and from the central.

Those who believed the promises of outsiders of higher returns or who opted out of the exchange for other reasons could join other citrus cooperatives or independent shippers.

To aver that the cooperative provided individual members with a more effective and beneficial method of distributing and marketing as a result of their collective action is one proposition; to assert that it controlled production and prices, quite another. If in its marketing operations, the largest cooperative competitor of the exchange, the Mutual Orange Distributors, collaborated with it, the agreements should be documented. One such widely publicized effort under the aegis of the state market director, who campaigned for more even distribution of agricultural products, collapsed when Powell persuaded the exchange not to participate.

Most of my comments on the paper presented by H. Vincent Moses in conjunction with the Tobey and Wetherell paper at the citrus conference were unusable for his substantially revised paper for publication. In the original paper his emphasis was on the "Powell Revolution," interpreted by him to include Powell's role with the exchange board of directors in completing the corporate consolidation of the citrus industry, and by example the reconstruction of California's agriculture. More important, in his view, the exchange ultimately facilitated the corporate reconstruction of the nation's agriculture.

The revised paper retains the author's subscription to the Tobey and Wetherell proposal that the California Fruit Growers Exchange reorganized the citrus industry into a managerial trust along industrial lines. Moses did not mention the Powell Revolution as such, and gave more attention to Riverside, its orange growers, and to the Washington navel orange than to Powell. In phrasing his observations, he made somewhat more use of the term industrial agriculture than corporate agriculture or corporate capitalism.

In his enthusiasm for establishing the importance of the subjects of his study, Moses has shown a tendency to reach expansive conclusions. Given the title of his paper, I found it disappointing that he relied so disproportionately on secondary accounts. He said that his premises and conclusions owed much

historian Cletus Daniel, and that most assumptions—therefore presumably his—about the nature and role of the California citrus industry grew out of the writings of Carey McWilliams. Several of Moses's topics require investigation of original sources to obtain verifiable information on the issues relevant to them.

In developing one theme that implies the distinctiveness of Riverside orange growers, Moses claimed that during the years 1890 to 1920, "they shaped citrus production in southern California into a vertically integrated cartel of great economic prowess and efficiency, rivaling any in the industrialized Northeast." Before Powell's appearance in Riverside, they "had . . . established the most effective producer-owned agricultural marketing cooperative in the United States, enabling them to lift the region into an accelerated economic take-off." They also were particularly early in resolving irrigation and water rights issues. While the text wavered between giving exclusive credit to Riverside growers and including citrus people in other regions, it singled out those of Riverside as being in advance of others in thinking and acting like "full-fledged industrial capitalists."

How distinctive were the Riverside orange growers? Regarding irrigation and water rights, sources to compare early developments in areas outside of Riverside (also, labor practices before industrial agriculture) are available in the recent book of Norris Hundley, Jr., *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s–1990s*. They seem to indicate similar developments. With respect to the response of Riverside growers to urban industrialization or large-scale organizational society in comparison to the response of producers in citrus as well as in other agricultural industries in other parts of the state, the paper lists among its sources (see note 9) two that repay attention: Edward J. Wickson, *California Fruits and How to Grow Them* and the *Pacific Rural Press*.

From its first edition in 1889, Wickson's book carried descriptions of experiences and, to some degree, the outlook of fruit growers throughout the state. In the fourth edition (1909), pages 294–303, he paid high tribute to the orange and the climate producing it, as well as to citriculture within southern and northern California, for establishing a way of life that would seem to have been as fine as imaginable.

Beyond this work were the weekly pages of the *Pacific Rural Press*, which Wickson edited from 1875 to 1923. Because of its notable quality and wide circulation in this period, the journal provides historians with a splendid source of information on all kinds of agricultural endeavor and those engaged in it, not alone fruit growers. A close reading of it permits tabulations that would also help to unravel what Moses posed as "one of the primary historiographical mysteries surrounding twentieth century agriculture."

The depiction of the citrus marketing cooperative founded by Riverside growers, the Pachappa Orange Growers Association, which Moses identified as having become the California Fruit Growers Exchange, is subject to many challenges. More research is needed to reconcile conflicting versions of the early stages, dating from at least the early 1870s, in the development of cooperative marketing among citrus producers, and in the origins of the exchange.

More than one local association in addition to Riverside's—the Claremont California Fruit Growers Association formed in 1893, for example—may claim the honor of being the first California citrus cooperative and thus the founder of the exchange. The validity of such a claim may depend on the definition of the association's purposes and policies and/or possessing records to prove that from an early date it had a method of distribution and marketing adopted by the exchange. The interruptions in the functioning of the early industry-wide organizations contributed to the difficulty of establishing a direct line of descent in the ancestry of the exchange established in 1905.

To support his observations on the nature of the exchange, Moses referred to the small treatise of W.W. Cumberland published in 1917, *Cooperative Marketing, Its Advantages as Exemplified in the California Fruit Growers Exchange*. From my perspective, the portrayal in it of the exchange resembled that in Powell's book rather than the modern corporate business enterprise described in Chandler's book used for this paper. Both Cumberland and Powell believed they were presenting new information on agricultural marketing arrangements. Each admired the high degree of organization of the exchange, but neither discussed it as a firm with a decision-controlling, salaried managerial hierarchy, or one



Riverside County citrus groves, ca. 1930, showing both mature groves planted early in the century and young trees in the expanded foreground orchard. *Courtesy California State Archives.*

with many distinct operating units in widely dispersed locations, or with a considered, systematic strategy of product diversification.

In characterizing the citrus industry as a distinctly capitalistic specialty enterprise, Cumberland cited the year 1877 as the starting date for the industrial era of citrus products. Both he and Powell called attention to the industry's investment in research and the profits to agriculture in general from public support through the work of the USDA and state experiment stations. Within the citrus industry, the production of lemons represented diversification. Powell and Charles Teague, especially, wrote of its complexity as compared with that of oranges, its later start, and the greater amount of intelligence required to realize success in it. An account of experiences of growers who diversified their citrus plantings would appear to be an important one.

If the exchange is viewed as the model followed by other agricultural industries, an assessment should be made of the Fruit Growers Supply Company from its records. What were its benefits over time to members of the cooperative? It was established ostensibly to reduce costs of wood boxes that the packinghouses used. Not all local associations

chose to join it, and individual growers decided for themselves whether to purchase from it for their own needs such supplies as tools, equipment, grove materials, and services.

The designation of Riverside in this paper as the focal point for a seven-county political economy dominated by citrus growers invites a comparison of Riverside with other citrus-belt districts. Early in Powell's career as exchange general manager, the University of California searched for a site for a new citrus experiment station to be under a newly appointed director, Professor H.J. Webber. The university sent teams to survey the citrus areas and to recommend a site. Their reports contain informed descriptions of the districts and also serve to reveal the intense local pride in each. The final decision not to remove the station from Riverside to the recommended one in the San Fernando Valley formed part of a dramatic story in the station's history. For Moses's paper, perhaps more intriguing (if confirmable by evidence), was an opinion of Dr. John Eliot Coit, a university horticulturist, that Powell, who held financial interests in Riverside, influenced the decision.

An especially interesting and informative seg-

ment of the paper, the careers of leading Riverside growers, left the impression that they worked to some extent in their orchards. We could wish fervently for facts to replace assumptions on the extent to which all manner of owners of citrus groves (including family members) or managers in charge of orchards worked in them and on what tasks. Studies on working conditions and on housing provisions at any district or local associations made for persons employed to harvest, haul, grade, and pack are equally important. To add to the wish list, what facts can be gleaned from the exchange's records on the alleged domination of it by the leaders who held large acreage?

The message that the orange grower was not a farmer appeared in a *Sunset Magazine* article published in 1911. In effect, it was illustrated advertising designed to draw immigrants, including, interestingly enough, women, into citriculture with evidence of material rewards and the pleasures derived from earning them. The academic work of Cumberland made almost the same claim regarding the rewards and pleasures. He remarked that the loneliness of rural life was reduced by the small size of holdings; five to ten acres was the most common size, thirteen to fifteen the average. Businessmen, he observed, owned their groves as a homesite. The industry provided "a peculiarly clean, independent and interesting form of outdoor life amid comfortable, beautiful and healthful natural surroundings." Presumably, on small holdings, owners could do most of the required work, yet have leisure time. Although both drew attention to the capital involved, the *Sunset* article, unlike Cumberland's study, did not mention the risks, the haunting threat of "worst ever" windstorm, freeze, heat wave, insect invasion, or the ideal conditions that resulted in overproduction—in brief, low prices and "red ink."

Moses's hints in his paper about his worries should not go unnoticed. Here and there in the paper, he touched on the loss resulting from large-scale organizational society to agrarian principles, free market entrepreneurial capitalism, dirt-farming traditions, and republican values. In his book, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890–1916*, Professor Sklar consistently distinguished between corporate and organized farmer enterprise. Yet, with respect to corporate liberalism,

he stated (p. 437): "Although corporate-liberal thought designated the organized group (corporation, trade union, cooperative) as the basic unit of the economy, it still made room and affirmed support for individual enterprise (including the family farm), and it still defined the individual as the basic unit of the body politic and society."

An issue in itself is the extent to which agricultural cooperatives accomplished the improvements in rural life that advocates foresaw and later claimed. Writing in 1942, Barger and Landsberg, in a work cited in the Tobey and Wetherell paper, reported that "of farm output as a whole, perhaps one-fifth is sold through cooperative marketing associations."

The use of terms to describe farmers could be another study. What do we call Mrs. Mackenzie, introduced in the *Sunset* article? Apparently a minister's wife from Riverside, she bought and planted citrus land as an investment for her children. After being advised during a trip to the College of Agriculture in Berkeley on how to work her soil, she hired a man to plow and followed him up and down the furrows all day for five days to make sure he carried out her instructions. Perhaps there is more information about her in Riverside to contribute to the answer.

As to the question of whether people in agriculture were "close to the soil," through the period of the two papers, farming was still largely conducted by individual entrepreneurs. Even in California, trendy labels notwithstanding, family farms (incorporated or not) under the control of the men and women who owned them, outnumbered those under corporate ownership and control. If, however, history is an argument without end, so, apparently, is the definition of a family farm.

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Mission Memories



The citrus industry adopted labels that invoked images drawn from romantic tourist literature. These images rarely represented the rural society in which the mission remained an important institution and site of historical events and memories for descendants of Spanish-Mexican California and Indian peoples in the state. This label, used by grower A.B. Chapman of San Gabriel, most likely depicts Mission San Juan Capistrano. *Reproduced with permission from California Orange Box Labels: An Illustrated History (1985), by Gordon T. McClelland and Jay T. Last, courtesy of Hillcrest Press, Inc., Santa Ana, California.*

San Juan Capistrano

A Rural Society in Transition to Citrus

by Lisbeth Haas

California missions appeared on the colorful papers that were wrapped around oranges, and they were commonly placed on citrus packing crates as company labels that invoked imaginary histories of benevolent encounters between Spanish missionaries, California Indians, and the enchanted countryside. These images were similarly used to entice settlers and tourists to the state, and provided a sense of local history to new residents. The writers, travelers, and advertisers who contributed to develop the mission myth that was behind these images associated the mission with hierarchy, harmony, stability, and antiquity. They created the idea of an idyllic past that was subsequently cultivated by the citrus industry, real estate developers, and railroad interests to sell land and products.¹ During the 1880s the new image of the missions replaced the notion that they were places of depravity and suffering for the Indian populations. Even reformers interested in defending the land rights of mission Indians now described the missions as institutions that had imparted education and ideals to Indian peoples.²

San Juan Capistrano is a former mission that was converted into a Mexican pueblo in 1841, and whose residents largely remained descendants of California Indians or colonial and Mexican families well into the twentieth century. This article traces that rural society, which has been obscured by the popular image of the mission, and also examines histories of the mission pueblo told by Juaneños and *californios* during the period before industrialized agriculture dominated, and for whom the mission was a living institution and a site of history and memory. For this long-established population, the

mission remained an economic, social, and cultural institution during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. I examine society in San Juan Capistrano as it underwent the transition that brought citrus production and other forms of industrial agriculture and wage labor to the fore.

The transition to citrus culture in San Juan parallels the social processes of rural change produced by industrialization elsewhere: common lands and water rights were eroded, and individuals became more reliant on wage labor on the lands of others, which was often seasonal and involved many family members. During the transition from ranchos to family farms to industrialized agriculture, most people remained tied to the land and worked seasonally. Some family members migrated to jobs elsewhere but moved back and forth between the family's land and their other work. After 1910 a majority of these farmers abandoned subsistence and dry-farming—that is, water-conserving farming on non-irrigated lands—for wage work. The citrus industry has been known for the creation of its own labor force by recruiting immigrants from Mexico and elsewhere, but it was the decisive change in southern California's rural economy between 1880 and 1910 that created the initial labor force to begin large-scale citrus production.

The conditions for industrialization in this region were first established through the abrupt challenge to Mexican rural society after the acquisition of California and the Southwest by the United States in 1848.³ In the rural area that became Orange County in 1888, through the early 1860s *californios* held title to most of the land and to approximately three-fourths of the goods or assets, the most valuable of

which were in the form of cattle. By 1870, however, *californios* retained only 11 percent of the total land value and 9 percent of the assets. In contrast, immigrants from Europe and migrants from the United States had acquired 87 percent of the land and owned 90 percent of the assets.⁴

These land losses were initiated by laws passed as early as 1851, when the Americans who had formed part of California's gold-rush migration secured a federal law that required Spanish and Mexican land grants to be validated by a special U.S. land commission. While most grants were recognized and patented, the process took an average of seventeen years. In the meantime, as early as 1853, California state laws began to elaborate the rights of squatters to settle and claim rancho and Indian lands that had not yet been validated. The land rights of Indians had been systematically violated during the Spanish and Mexican periods, but Indians in California experienced even harsher legal practices in American society and suffered further atrocities. Violence and epidemics in the first decade of American rule decimated the Indian population, causing an eighty-percent decline during the 1850s alone.⁵ The federal government rarely recognized the usufructory and

natural land rights of California Indians. Luiseño to the southeast of San Juan Capistrano were granted some of their territory as reservation land in the late nineteenth century, and many Juaneños and Indians from other missions also settled there. But the overwhelming majority of California Indians, including most Juaneños who lived in San Juan's village and rural environs through 1860, lost their land during this decade.

All sides—*californios*, native peoples, American squatters, and other claimants—fiercely litigated over land. Even as they did so, the law codified and sustained a new economic system whereby land itself became the source of profit for those with capital to invest, and money became crucial to sustain and improve the social position of a landowner. Land had not been a marketable commodity in Spanish and Mexican law; instead, it was possessed only in indivisible units, or shares-in-common, and passed down by inheritance to male and female family members. In 1860, most land titles to the colonial and Mexican ranchos that surrounded San Juan and other California pueblos were still unpatented by the U.S. government. Without a cleared title, it could not be divided and its monetary value remained lower



Salvadora Valenzuela, center, Paisana of California, or "An Educated Mission Indian Woman." Wearing an embroidered coat and fur cape and posed among her daughters and granddaughters, Salvadora was photographed in Pala, an Indian village and reservation some distance from San Juan. Similar photos of Salvadora include remarks noting that her name was recorded as "Salvadora Valenzuela, Paisana of California, a Cupeño Indian, Pala," and "Mrs. Rosinger of Bakersfield—an educated Mission Indian Woman." These comments emphasize variously her Spanish surname, her Cupeño ethnicity, and her countrywoman status, and reflect the mission's important role as a place that imparted culture and education. Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. N22259

the worth of personal assets, held primarily in cattle. Once land titles had been cleared by the American courts, land was brought into market exchange relations, and the value of land in two townships in this area rapidly rose from \$172,000 in 1860 to \$591,021 in 1870.⁶ But in southern California, *rancheros* lost most of their access to cash other than land when their cattle and other livestock died during years of flood and catastrophic drought in the early 1860s. They sold or lost the greater part of their land during that decade to cover debt, taxes, and the cost of endless land litigation.

In San Juan Capistrano, this process of bringing land into the system of commodity exchange (the precondition for industrial agriculture) had a particular dimension: the smaller lots that had been granted to *Juaneño* and *mestizo* town dwellers in 1811, when the mission had been formed into a pueblo, remained in the possession of the families of original grantees far longer than the rancho lands. Hence, land in the town offered far greater possibilities for subsistence production of agricultural goods to sustain a local economy as it became reoriented around a combination of farming and small enterprises, skilled labor, and cash crops grown and marketed on a distinctly non-industrial basis. The pueblo economy also continued to be viable by the use of common pueblo lands for farming and grazing, enabling some residents to raise goats and sheep and trade goat milk, cheese, and goat and sheep meat, and others to raise bees and trade honey, or to grow tobacco and roll and sell cigars.⁷

As inhabitants' access to San Juan's common lands slowly eroded, mission and long-time *californio* residents in the pueblo proper retained ownership of their own lands through the 1880s, and *californios* and *adobios* also acquired new land from the public domain under the homestead laws; they constituted one-third of all homesteaders in the area in 1877. Hence, through the 1880s, the largely pre-industrial village economy that involved the interplay of agricultural production and trading, sharing, and selling services and goods remained common. The account book of Father Mut gives us a view into this local economy between 1866 and 1886, the twenty-year period when he was resident priest at the mission.⁸ Mut regularly purchased soap, wine, candles, lard, butter, coffee, sugar, oil, and starch from the local merchants, who were primarily newcomers to the region. But his purchases of meat, fish, pork, ham, and bread for daily consumption were from long-

time residents, such as the town *cochinero*, *quindero*, and fish vendor. With access to the mission fields in San Juan, in San Luis Rey to the south, and at the inland Indian villages of Pala, Temecula, Pauma, and *el rancho los Cahuillas*, Father Mut never needed to purchase fruit, and only one to three times over a twenty-year period did he purchase vegetables, beans, garlic, onions, potatoes, wheat, flour, and wood.⁹ On an irregular basis, he bought corn and hay for the horses. Between 1875 and 1879, alfalfa was the mainstay of the field products Father Mut sold; from the mid-1870s to 1886 he also occasionally sold beans, wood, and orchard products. He rented orchards and fields in San Juan and San Luis Rey to Chinese, *californios*, and other tenants in the early 1880s. He also rented rooms at the mission to families and individuals. Some paid cash, but most renters exchanged work or skills for their stay.

In this still highly localized economy, when goods and services were not the product of women's household labor they were provided by townspeople. Mut's account books suggest the range of work for wages and traded goods or services common in late-nineteenth-century San Juan. He employed a washerwoman, seamstress, cook, and servant, all of whom received a monthly wage, and he occasionally employed artisans. He purchased shoes from the *zapatero*, or shoemaker, and occasionally hired a clockmaker, a locksmith, a carpenter, and someone to whitewash the church. This was an economy that had enabled the worker, artisan, farmer, and farm laborer to engage in a variety of jobs such as those held by Luis Cojo, a fisherman who sold fish on a mule-drawn, two-wheel vending cart and also cut gravestones and painted buggies.¹⁰

Once the railroad was built to San Juan in 1889, however, commercial agriculture became more feasible for those few merchant-farmers and land speculators who had settled in San Juan and had capital to invest. Hence, during the 1890s and early 1900s much of the pueblo land was acquired by merchant-farmers and land speculators. By 1889, J. E. Bacon, a lawyer, judge, and land speculator, had purchased most of the former mission land, and he also owned eight town lots and part of Rancho Niguel, on which he grazed thousands of sheep. M. A. Forster, the son of an Englishman who had integrated into *californio* society through marriage and who still owned three large ranchos acquired in the late Mexican period, also possessed



San Juan Capistrano, ca. 1895. The town remained rural in character, with a population of approximately five hundred, until the early twentieth century, when much of the pueblo land was converted to agricultural use. Walnuts and citrus orchards would become prominent in the landscape shortly after the photograph was taken. *Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. P20269*

substantial property in the town. By 1889 Forster owned five lots in town and possessed eight hundred head of cattle, farm machinery, thoroughbred horses, colts, and mules on his extensive rural lands. Domingo Oyharzabal, a Basque who immigrated from France to San Juan via South America, owned four town lots and thousands of acres on which he grazed sheep. The merchants Salaberrie and Company and Max Mendelson owned three lots each and thousands of dollars in merchandise. All five of these large landowners had acquired partial interest in other lots through purchase or in payment for loans. During the 1890s the largest transfer of acreage took place among the merchant-farmers and a small number of newcomers. By 1898, for example, most of the Bacon property had been purchased by Oyharzabal, Salaberrie and Company, or L. F. Moulton. Moulton had also acquired large parcels of rural land for grazing sheep and farming. Mendelson had sold portions of his property to Henry Stewart, his partner in other real estate transactions.

The merchant-farmers' investments in land improvements produced enormous changes in the local economy. By 1900 merchant-farmers and farmer-

speculators generally possessed farm utensils and machinery, many wagons, horses, cows, chickens, and other animals, and tens of acres in nut and fruit trees (with acreage in walnuts larger than in citrus for the ensuing decade). They ran diversified farming ventures. They used some of their lots for high-value crops and created more economically dynamic modes of farming and, in the process, changed land values and the orientation of agricultural production. They used other lots for the dry-farming common among the subsistence and small farmers growing beans, wheat, barley, corn, and alfalfa, along with garden vegetables and orchard crops.

A sharp difference emerged in the value of properties owned by the merchant-farmers and *californio* landowners. The value of land owned by the widow Refugia Ríos, for example, had increased by a mere \$15 between 1886 and 1898, while one of Oyharzabal's town lots, on which he planted trees and irrigated, had increased in value by \$1,450.¹¹ The small rise in the value of the Ríos property was the result of the lack of investment on her land. Few *californio* farmers and landowners had acquired new sources of wealth after the devastation of cattle during the

1860s, and many were unable to invest in new crops, diversify their farms, or irrigate their land. *Californio* and Indian farmers typically possessed a little furniture, perhaps a watch, and the kinds of goods that enabled them to engage in subsistence farming or commercial farming on a moderate scale: a wagon, a few horses, a cow or a mule, or sometimes even a dozen head of cattle or a dozen chickens.

The farm operations of Espiritu María R. de Olivares, a widow who administered the farm she had inherited partially from her husband, is typical of the poor farmer working on unimproved land held in shares-in-common. This land had originally been the property of Antonio Olivares, who at his death in 1777 had bequeathed one-eighth of the undivided property to each of his children. One of these children was Espiritu's husband, Francisco Olivares. For a few years after he married her, Francisco farmed the land of her mother, for it was a common practice for adult children to live with or on the property of their parents. Later, the Olivareses moved into Francisco's family's two-room adobe, where they lived with his three sisters. Another sister, who maintained a large vegetable garden for the family's subsistence, lived on the property in a wood-frame house with her husband. Espiritu had known the Olivares family ever since she was a small girl in San Juan, and she lived with them for six or seven years before Francisco's death in 1886. Upon his death, Espiritu assumed responsibility for the cultivation of the approximately eleven acres of family land near the mission in San Juan, most of which was not irrigated. During the first year, she hired Lucio Yorba, a local man, to sow a crop of corn on a share basis. She and the Olivares family each received half the crop, which amounted to one wagon load of corn each. The next year, she hired Diego Mendoza to sow the crop in exchange for living and eating at the Olivares home, and the following year she hired Ramón Padilla to sow the crop on a share basis. These workers were among the many *californios* in San Juan who shared the poverty of landowners like the Olivares family. But all three men were among San Juan residents who moved to the American town of Santa Ana, center of finance and trade for Orange County, where they sought more lucrative work. Hereafter, José Higuera sowed corn and barley under Espiritu Olivares's administration of the farm, until six of the heirs sold their shares to Max Mendelson and Domingo Oyharzabal, San Juan merchant-farmers and sheep growers. Mendelson

subsequently took Olivares and an eighth heir to court in a suit over the legal division of the property.¹² In 1900 Espiritu Olivares and her brother-in-law were still farming in San Juan, but by 1911 Oyharzabal had acquired all the original Olivares lots and adjoining property, which he had improved for cultivation.

The above case illustrates the difficulties of dry-farming and the often-poor yield from crops grown on unimproved lands. A second example of a family economy in the era before citrus and industrial agriculture dominated the regional economy, making subsistence farming and attendant jobs nonviable, is exemplified in the case of Delfina Manriquez de Olivares, born in San Juan in 1896. Delfina Manriquez's family had lived in San Juan since the generation of her great-grandfather, and on both sides of her family her relatives owned land in town and its vicinity into the twentieth century. Despite her immediate family's ownership of a homestead farm, Delfina later argued that "at that time [ca. 1905] the people were awfully poor; we all were poor . . . but we always had enough to eat."¹³ Delfina was born on her family's ranch, where her father planted beans, corn, tomatoes, chilies, and other vegetables for the family's subsistence. With the help of an Indian woman named María Gomez, Delfina's mother canned their field and orchard products and paid María Gomez in produce and canned goods. Unlike prosperous farmers, the Manriquezes did not have cattle or sheep, but M.A. Forster, for whom Delfina's father sometimes worked, lent them a cow so they would have milk, cheese, and butter. The Manriquez family made little, if any, money from the farm. The family's cash income was accumulated by working as pickers during the walnut season, as was that of most of San Juan's *californio* and Indian families. With that money, they would go in a wagon to Santa Ana, stay overnight with an aunt, and buy shoes and clothes for the year.¹⁴ Delfina's mother also worked as a midwife; she gained respect and standing in the community for her skill and labor, for which she was sometimes paid in cash, sometimes in kind.

Juaneño Indians constituted a large portion of the population of San Juan until they moved to Luiseño villages to the southeast in the early 1860s to avoid further exposure to epidemics, disease, and violence perpetrated against them. In these villages they engaged in subsistence and cash-crop farming and seasonal wage labor that took some of them back to

San Juan, at least seasonally. On the reservations of Pala, Pauma, and Temecula, they grew corn, wheat, barley, melons, olives, peaches, and grapes. After 1891 many added the cash crops of tomatoes, yams, onions, chili peppers, squash, and watermelons, and to a lesser extent, capital-intensive citrus and nut crops, to their established trade goods of honey, poultry, cattle, and horses.¹⁵ Within San Juan, Indians worked these same crops, herded cattle, and sheared sheep. The marriage ties they developed with *californios*, Mexicans, European, and American settlers forged close ties among residents in this small town. Their children generally identified themselves as Juaneños, or as members of other Indian groups when one of their parents maintained a strong relationship to villagers in the interior and to particular practices, beliefs, and Indian languages.

HISTORIES OF THE MISSION PUEBLO

In local myths and legends that were told during the era before citrus was dominant, San Juan was configured as a sacred place and historic community. The mission figured largely in collective memories articulated during the period from 1880 through 1910. Its built space embodied the past and facilitated continuous cultural practices that helped define San Juan as a community throughout the period when rural subsistence farming was common.

As an institution, the mission fostered community through conferring such inherited responsibilities as bell ringer, cantor, and guardian of the children. When local residents performed these duties and skills, they produced elements of an ongoing community life. The positions of bell ringer and cantor were passed down from father to son or through a male relative. The related jobs of midwife and guardian of the children were also often passed from mother to daughter. José de Gracia Cruz, a Juaneño born in San Juan in 1848, lived his entire life



Domingo Moro, standing, right, was a Juaneño Indian policeman in Pala. This Charles Lummis photograph was taken when Moro visited relatives in San Juan. Pala was the largest of a group of reservations in the area southeast of San Juan, where Mission Indian peoples engaged in a rural economy. Many Juaneños and Luiseños owned land on reservations and lived in San Juan by the 1890s. Moro's work suggests the wider work opportunities in places where Indians and *californios* constituted a significant landowning group. Their work opportunities dwindled when they lost the land. Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. N42042



This C.C. Pierce photograph, ca. 1880, shows a funeral procession leaving Mission San Juan Capistrano. The mission figured prominently in the collective memory, daily experience, and ritual life of San Juan residents. Religious and social life were intertwined in such officials as "guardian of the children," and church bellringer, who provided prayer for children during illnesses, prepared them at death, and rang the little bells that announced a child's passing. *Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. N41702*

in the town and had relatives living in San Juan and in the Indian village of Temecula. He inherited the job of bell ringer from his father, who taught him the appropriate rings for feast days and other occasions that received public announcement. The work of father and son extended from the 1840s through the 1920s.¹⁶ Paul Arbiso, Gracia Cruz's nephew, became the bell ringer at the mission sometime after the death of José de Gracia Cruz in 1924. Arbiso provides the details of how each major rite of passage, from birth to baptism to marriage and to death, was announced to the community. If a person "passes away and the people don't know it, just by the sound of the bells they know if it's a man (three rings) or a woman (two rings). . . . Then, if it's a little baby, they ring the little bells." Emphasizing the closely connected social life within this small town, Arbiso

said, "if the town knows that man has been sick, they know when he's passed away."¹⁷

Many legends told from the 1860s through the 1910s reinforced the idea that, through the proof of miracles, San Juan was a historic community and a favored place within the spiritual universe. One tale described a miracle attributed to the midwife and *curandera* (healer) Polonia Montano, the "captain of the children of the pueblo" who officiated at children's births and deaths, especially important because there was no resident priest at the mission between about 1890 and 1910. During a prolonged drought that coincided with the 1890s depression, Montano was called upon to pray for rain. For three days in succession she made a procession to the sea with children from San Juan. Singing hymns and litanies and praying the rosary, they carried a dais on

which they had placed a crucifix and a picture of Saint Vincent, with *milagros* (miniature metal figures) fastened to the saint's picture. On the third day, so legend has it, it began to rain even before the procession returned to town.¹⁸

The community's sanctity was also affirmed in a legend about the mission's statue of the Virgin Mary. Because a regular priest was absent from the mission during this period, a visiting priest decided that the statue should be taken to Mission San Gabriel for safer keeping. As the statue was carried away from San Juan, a crowd of town residents followed it, shedding tears and crying out their lamentations. When they tried to erect the statue in the church at Mission San Gabriel, it repeatedly toppled over and would not stand up in place. A priest observed a miracle in this inexplicable occurrence and ordered that the statue be returned to San Juan. Almost too heavy to bear as it was carried away from San Juan, the statue was now light enough for the carriers to run with it out of Mission San Gabriel.¹⁹

Not everyone shared a sense that the old traditions and beliefs continued to have meaning once rural society became oriented around industrialized agriculture. Some felt, for example, that the calendar of seasonal work in walnuts and citrus replaced the religious calendar. The bell ringer Gracia García related that he met a woman one morning walking along the street on her way to pick walnuts. He told her, "It is going to rain, for tomorrow is *el día de San Francisco* (the feast day of Saint Francis)." She said that "used to be," but those miracles no longer happened. It did rain, however, and Gracia García related his encounter with the woman to the priest, Father O'Sullivan, affirming the continuity in sacred time. O'Sullivan found that the older people believed it rained within the octave of the Feast of St. Francis because St. Francis would strike his cord against the heavens.²⁰ For some villagers, by 1920 the reorientation of time around the walnut and citrus crops and related work had replaced religious cycles.

THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRYSIDE

After 1900 the economic disparity increased dramatically between *californios* who still owned land but invested comparatively little for improvements, and the large owners of town land who invested thousands in trees, irrigation, and sheep. The rise in the value of town land between 1900 and 1911 was

greater than the rise in land value during the previous twenty-five years, and those who held onto their land had to produce enough income to pay the higher taxes on this more valuable property. Simultaneously, the increasing availability of wage labor in agriculture, and the decreasing recourse to a family economy rooted in diverse jobs, seasonal farm labor, and subsistence agriculture, tied work lives more closely to year-round wage labor, even though home-grown garden and orchard produce, chickens, and small livestock continued to provide an important part of most families' food through the 1930s.

Some families were engaged earlier than others in year-round wage labor to the exclusion of farming. Their search for work produced a movement out of town by many individuals. By 1900 a large majority of the *californio* and Indian populations in San Juan were working in the seasonal harvest of walnuts, and they began to work other crops in Orange County; their seasonal jobs enabled them to continue to reside in San Juan, where many owned a family home. During the late 1910s and early 1920s, walnut orchards in San Juan were increasingly replanted in citrus, and women and young adults transferred their seasonal employment to the citrus packing plants established in San Juan in the latter part of the 1920s.

The trends in farming that occurred in San Juan also took place elsewhere in Orange County. Whereas the cereals, other grains, hay, and potatoes grown by small farmers accounted for sixty percent of the value of the county's agricultural product in 1910, by 1920 the value of these crops had dropped to twenty-five percent of the total value of the county's agriculture, and the value of citrus and nut crops had risen to seventy-five percent of the county's agricultural product. Citrus, nut, and beet crops constituted the industrialized sectors of agriculture, and the production of these crops spiraled after 1900. The increased production and value of the county's fruit and nut crops largely accounted for the sharp rise in the county's agricultural product from \$2.5 million in 1900 to more than \$6 million in 1910 and more than \$25 million by 1920. By 1930, more than seventy percent of all the farms in the county were fruit farms.²¹ The industrialization of agriculture produced changes in the countryside of Orange County that are evident in the records of San Juan: the value of the land increased, and land was accumulated by investors and farmers with capital.

The new conditions governing land values, crop

specialization, and the emergence of an industrial form of production were nowhere better exemplified than in citrus farming. Citrus orchards were high investment ventures. The ten-acre orange farm required an average investment of \$15,810, whereas a ten-acre non-citrus farm required an investment of only \$4,810.²² Citrus production in Los Angeles, Orange, and San Bernardino counties raised the per-acre value of land there to the highest in the state by 1910. Citrus farms were small, averaging between ten and twenty acres, but citrus farmers developed the marketing mechanisms that made the industry "the

most highly organized of all agricultural pursuits." In 1895 the growers of Orange and six other counties formed the Southern California Fruit Exchange, a marketing cooperative. Whereas oranges had previously been sold by the individual grower to a buyer or commission merchant, by 1917 four-fifths of all the citrus fruit in California was sold through the exchange. The cooperative's advertising campaigns had expanded the market and effectively made citrus, long considered a luxury food, part of the national diet.²⁴ The exchange brought the small farm into the large corporate enterprise.



In Orange County, as elsewhere in southern California, the citrus-packing workforce has been predominantly Mexican Americans and Mexican citizens since World War I. Women packers in Riverside, shown in this 1949 image, were representative of a rural population drawn from surrounding communities. *Courtesy City of Riverside Museum.*

Prior to the dominance of industrialized agriculture, *californios* and Juaneños had lived from subsistence and cash-crop farming and the exchange of labor and services in combination with work for cash, but during the early 1900s most families began to live from wage labor, which made for a sharp break within family histories before and after citrus predominated. Joseph Yorba, for example, had worked on his uncle's farm as a young boy, but with the exception of one acre of land, his family lost their property by 1910. With the wages of two sons and their father they were able to buy a house. Yorba's father and older brother paid the monthly mortgage, and Joseph Yorba, in his mid-teens, earned one dollar a day for nine hours of work and paid for the household's food.²⁵ Their employer, M. A. Forster, had walnut and orange orchards, raised horses, cattle, and hay, and farmed lima, black-eyed, and pink beans. The young Yorba and his father worked year-round on these crops. Yorba was a laborer all of his life. As an adult he worked hauling and threshing barley and beans, and he later became a union worker in a mine near San Juan.

Paul Arbisio's grandparents, to cite another example, had lived in San Juan during the Mexican period. His father's side of the family were laborers by the late nineteenth century, while his mother's side farmed an 1841 pueblo land grant until the late 1880s, when most of it was sold to Randolph Cook, who subsequently made substantial investments on the property. In 1906 Arbisio was orphaned without an inheritance and began to work on the Cook ranch, where he harvested and pressed barley. When still a youth, he also worked washing dishes at the Mendelson Hotel. After World War I, and for most of his married life, he worked on the Williams farm.

Victoria Doram, a Juaneño Indian woman, inherited a house in San Juan from her Indian godparents and raised her own family in this house, but their stable residence did not preclude her working in the kinds of employment *californio* and Indian women often performed to sustain their families.²⁶ Doram's husband, fifty years her senior, worked as sheep shearer from the late nineteenth century through the late 1920s. During the 1920s, for example, he would leave San Juan with Victoria's godfather and four other Indian and mestizo men and would move north through Bakersfield to the Oakland-San Francisco area, on to northern California, swing into Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana, and back through Nevada and eastern California to

Arizona and Calexico. He would be gone six months at a time, and Victoria was left at home with eight children. She worked as a laundress who took washing at home. She also washed dishes at the Mission Inn restaurant, and for food she raised a vegetable garden, as well as chickens, goats, and ducks. She also migrated seasonally with her children, brothers, and their families to pick apricots, peaches, and walnuts. Victoria Doram's story emphasizes that wage labor in this rural society was often accompanied by poverty. Individuals and whole families worked multiple jobs for employers outside their communities, and the wage work even of two adults and their children was barely enough to sustain the family.

Doram's story also suggests a continuity in San Juan's social world from the preindustrial era: the small lot provided garden products and other subsistence foods, and within the close community of long-time residents a sense of history and community persisted and shaped interpretations of the past and present. Whether San Juan's residents remained in the village or migrated to nearby American towns and citrus camps, they increasingly lived in areas structured around a race politics that segregated Mexicans and Indians at the workplace and in residential areas. The dark skin, use of the Spanish language, and Indian ancestry of many *californios* and Juaneños meant they were subjected to new policies of school and workplace segregation at the very time their history was being appropriated through the mission citrus emblem.

Whereas the histories told by *californios* and Juaneños between 1880 and 1910 focused on the mission pueblo as a sacred community, later representations of community contested the racist attitudes and vacuous appropriations of Indian and Spanish-Mexican history by defining and expressing their collectivity through American ethnic politics. The Club Hispano Californio, for example, founded in the late 1920s, secured the renaming of San Juan streets, selecting place names that acknowledged the historic presence of individual families (hence, Yorba and Rios streets), the common irrigation ditch (hence, La Zanja), the original road through town (El Camino Real), the town center (La Plaza), the mission (Mission Street), and the cluster of former neophyte homes (Los Indios).²⁷ This renaming did away with earlier street names like Broadway and Main imposed by the merchant-farmers when they dominated economic and political change within the



Esperanza Fidelio, right, drying chilies at Pala, ca. 1935, photographed by Josephine Cook. Chilies and other fruit and vegetable crops had been produced on this land since the mid-nineteenth century. Accounts from the 1850s through the 1880s speak of women who took chilies, frijoles, and maize from Pala to Mission San Juan Capistrano to prepare meals for the priests. *Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. PO15306*

own, in favor of restoring names that articulated longer-held notions about the meaning of community and place. Many members of the Club Hispano Californio were simultaneously members of the Mission Indian Federation. The federation pressed for Indian civil and land rights from the early 1920s onward. In addition, many of San Juan's residents were involved in union and civil rights politics during the 1930s. They supported the Orange County citrus strike of 1936, and other agricultural strikes of the era. Citrus, in short, integrated this historic population into the central currents of American politics. This produced, in turn, a re-imagining of community and history.

See notes beginning on page 111

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Women, Work, and Community in the Mexican *Colonias* of the Southern California Citrus Belt

by Gilbert G. Gonzalez

By the 1930s, hundreds of Mexican communities, ranging in size from the huge urban Los Angeles *colonia* to tiny hamlets hidden within vast agricultural and mining districts, were scattered throughout the Southwest. In 1940 at least two hundred Mexican communities of various sizes sprinkled the central and southern sections of California. "Hardly a town of any size or pretensions," observed Dr. Ernesto Galarza, "—Delano, Hanford, Brawley, Sacramento, San Diego, Fresno—failed to acquire between 1900 and 1940 its Mexican *colonia* on the weathered side of the railroad tracks."¹

The small-sized rural *colonias* can be appropriately termed villages. The category "village" has not been used previously in the literature on Chicano community history. Yet for countless southwestern Mexican settlements, village is a fitting description. It is particularly appropriate when surveying the history of southern California Chicano communities between 1910 and 1950, the formative years in twentieth-century Chicano history. Various forms of village-like settlements formed an integral part of that widely dispersed settlement pattern known as the "*colonia* complex."

This analysis is intended as a historical sketch emphasizing the activities of women within one village form: the numerous southern California citrus-worker villages established between 1910 and 1930 that were home to as many as 35,000 laborers and their families, with a total population of roughly 75,000. Given the wide geographic dispersion of the many villages, it is impossible to examine each in detail. I have therefore chosen as a case study the fourteen citrus-worker settlements in Orange County, a major agricultural region. Ranging in population from three hundred to one thousand, the fourteen

settlements are numerically significant, yet manageable enough for drawing out those qualities that distinguished citrus villages.²

Conditions of life in the villages varied from merely poor to extremely poor. Few, if any, residents reached the lower rungs of middle-class status, and those who did so were invariably merchants. Picking and packing were the principal (and many villagers would say the only) occupations open to Mexican residents.³ With yearly family incomes ranging from \$600 to \$800 (when combining the incomes of all adults and working children), it was virtually impossible to rise far above the subsistence level.⁴ Yet, substantial numbers of families were purchasing homes in the tracts. One 1931 survey found that half the families in Placentia "and practically all in Atwood and La Jolla were buying their own homes."⁵ Similar figures were reported for La Habra's *Campo Corona* and *Alta Vista*⁶ and the Stanton and Independencia villages.⁷

Making ends meet on meager salaries required inventiveness, creativity, and adaptability on the part of the settlers. Examples ranged from the construction of their own homes to the tending of small livestock for food. One observer noted that the Mexican "family income [has] extended beyond limits usually thought possible."⁸ Unsurprisingly, the Mexican community did not require a disproportionate share of welfare assistance before the Depression. In 1930, the county dispensed \$10,065 "to the needy," of which only \$2,107, or about twenty percent, went to Mexicans; the remainder went to Anglo-Americans.⁹ An editorial in the *Placentia Courier* congratulated the local Mexican communities for their low reliance on relief, stating, "Mexican residents have their own relief organizations which are functioning."¹⁰ A long-



La Habra Comité Patriótica and queen, Mexican Independence Day, September 16, ca. 1920. Courtesy Tony Luna.

me resident confirms that the villagers cooperated to help out those who fell below the minimal income level. His statement underscores the editor's comments: "I don't recall cases of families going on welfare . . . if for some misfortune a family's needs were not met, the community would get together and collect from among themselves to help the family."¹¹ A teacher in a Mexican school offered a similar observation: "The charge that Mexican laborers are an excessive burden upon the community does not appear to be true in the La Habra Valley."¹² Her experiences in La Habra led her to an opinion that differed from the then-common stereotype of Mexican profligacy. Mexicans, she commented, "exhibit a degree of thrift unknown to many of the average critics of Mexican thriftlessness."¹³ Most families purchased staples, such as beans, rice, flour, sugar,

coffee, and lard, in bulk. The more important purchases, especially clothing, textiles, and bulk food items, were made in town, usually in the commercial centers of Santa Ana, Fullerton, or Orange. One-hundred-pound sacks of beans or flour, forty-five-pound cans of lard, and five-pound coffee boxes were stored and used daily in food preparation.

Chickens, goats, ducks, and perhaps a pig or two were prevalent in village yards, supplying a principal source for meat. One study found half of the homes in a Santa Ana village had a milk cow.¹⁴ The same study reported that one in five county village families had a goat to provide its milk supply.¹⁵ Where possible, a wide variety of vegetables, including corn, squash, chilies, lettuce, string beans, chayote squash, and cactus, were planted in home gardens. Herbs used for cooking, medicinal teas, and



These two images, both circa 1920, show typical *colonia* housing provided by the Citrus Growers Association for its Mexican workers. The single residence is probably in Ventura County; the row of homes, Los Angeles County. Courtesy California Citrograph.



poultices sprouted in lard cans standing in the yards. Other recycled cans held geraniums or mums, and these were separated from cactus or chili plants. The relative geographic isolation of several of the villages, and their inability to meet all their nutritional needs by raising animals and gardening, required purchasing some provisions from grocery trucks that were managed by Mexican merchants who drove through the village once or twice a week. Fresh, cheaper cuts of meat (usually tripe for a weekend *menudo* and pigs' feet for *pozole*), vegetables, fruit, eggs, bread, pastries, and other small items were

used by homemakers to fill in for other goods when these were unavailable or too expensive.¹⁶

Families, particularly the women, institutionalized a pattern of activities in the home, including the tending of vegetable and herb gardens, recycling materials for additional uses, and canning. Pedal-powered sewing machines were a common and much-used household item employed to sew flour, rice, and bean sackcloth into window coverings, quilts, bed sheets, table covers, shoe-pockets, kitchen towels, handkerchiefs, or other needed items. Angelina Cruz remembers that her mother could "do

anything with her sewing machine." Making bedreads, dresses, shirts, pants, socks, table covers, sweaters, and scarves was a common chore for the elder Arce. Mrs. Arce could reproduce a dress simply by examining it closely and then recreating the garment from memory.¹⁷ In the villages, shirts, pants, and dresses made from store-bought materials saved considerable expense, and when children outgrew them, clothes were passed on to a younger sibling or to another family.¹⁸ When clothing wore out, a patch renewed the item's utility. Men also engaged in sewing, but in cases within the sphere of men's employment. Some pickers preferred the hand-sewn sacks made by an Independencia resident, Don Onorato, over factory-made sacks, which were ill-suited to their body dimensions. In various villages, Don Onorato's sacks were popular because they adjusted easily to height, weight, and arm length, thereby lessening the burden to the picker. More important, the locally made sacks were considerably less expensive than the sacks sold at the packinghouse.¹⁹

Canning foods, especially cactus, added to the colonia residents' cost-cutting, as did the brewing of beer. During Prohibition and afterward, many homes had a brew-pot to ferment hops, malt, sugar, yeast, and water into a tasty, smooth, strong beer. The steady supply of beer was bottled at home and was shared during frequent visits from neighbors, friends, and relatives and for the many birthday, baptism, confirmation, and wedding parties. Brewing was not confined to home use; small-scale bootlegging was also practiced in the villages. At La Jolla, for example, at least eight individuals sold beer.²⁰ Home-brewing chores were added to the usual housework, such as meal preparation (this invariably included handmade tortillas), washing, ironing, sewing, housekeeping, and child care. If the woman worked in the packinghouse, cleaned house for a "high-tone" lady, or ran a small store, these were over and above her customary responsibilities at home.

Women were the storytellers, recalling the age-old stories of Mexico, some of which were handed down from pre-Columbian times, and many of which referred to the supernatural.²¹ In addition to managing the home, practicing thrift, producing handi-crafts, and preserving the oral traditions, women were responsible for religious celebrations, such as the *Posadas* and the *Día de la Virgen de Guadalupe* (December 12), as well as for processions, such as the *Día de los Muertos* (All Soul's Day) and Sunday church fairs called *jamaicas*. Women, therefore, cre-

ated and acted within the oral and visual cultural life of the camps and in no small measure shaped the material and cultural quality of life, all of which helped to overcome, to some degree, impoverished conditions.

Numerous business enterprises operated by women also served the villages. Common enterprises included selling homemade lunches to single workers or preparing foods to sell at *jamaicas*. Occasionally, women ran boarding houses for traveling agricultural pickers and packers. Small family-operated stores selling sundry goods were a common and an accepted sphere of labor for women. The *Placencia Comercial Mexicana*, a store founded in the late 1920s by José Aguirre and operated by Doña Martina Aguirre and her daughter from 1934 until its closing in 1943, provided people with smaller staples. Six small Campo Corona/Colorado stores, one of which was owned by a partnership between a woman and three men, maintained villagers with goods. At La Jolla, the local pool hall was owned and operated by a woman, and at the end of the citrus era, a former packer, Irma Magaña, founded Pee Wee's Market, a grocery she ran for nearly twenty years. Villagers had no objections to women operating as merchants, even full-time merchants, as long as they also fulfilled their traditional domestic responsibilities, which they often did while tending store.

In the small homes, the kitchen was the heart, where the family clustered, not only for meals, but for social activities. The kitchen, and therefore the cooking, was almost always the province of the wife or her daughters, who relied on both fresh and processed ingredients. Tortillas, beans, chili sauces, and a variety of dishes, especially those using chicken, were the mainstays of the villagers' diet. Seldom was an evening meal eaten without fresh tortillas. Tortillas could be made from corn or flour; older women preferred to grind lime-soaked corn on stone *metates* (grinders) to prepare the dough for the griddle. Traditions changed over the years, however; flour tortillas, which require less preparation than corn tortillas, became the main homemade variety. Not only were meals served to the immediate family, but when neighbors, relatives, and the children's playmates happened by, as they frequently did, they were welcome to enjoy the family's hospitality.²²

For large families, washing laundry was not an easy matter, as it was nearly always done by hand. Children's clothing soiled easily in the dirt streets, and pickers' overalls seldom seemed clean. Wash-tubs, washboards, and long wooden stirring sticks

remained constantly damp from their frequent use on back porches. The ashes from wood fires for heating water never seemed to cool completely. Occasionally a family purchased a secondhand electric washing machine, which reduced the chore time somewhat for its owner and for those relatives and neighbors eligible to borrow the machine for the minimal cost of electricity.²³ After drying the laundry on backyard clotheslines, the finer clothing required ironing. The clothes were now ready for the next cycle of wearing, washing, drying, and ironing. Laundry was just one of many areas of villagers' labor that the women shouldered.

Women were frequently employed in the packinghouses, but this required the permission of their parents, or if they were married, their spouses. If they were mothers, child care was indispensable, and was often provided by in-laws (or *comadres*), trusted neighbors, or, if they were willing, their husbands.²⁴ Many women packed citrus while also raising families and providing and caring for the home. Irma Magaña thought back to her packinghouse experience and recalled that "all my friends and cousins, we all worked as packers."²⁵ Some women packed on a casual basis, others considered it a full-time occupation. Seldom did women work and live independently. Even if they were single, their wages supported their parents' families, and even packers who were married women often set aside a portion for their parents.²⁶

The work was demanding and straining, resulting in a very tired work force at the end of the day. "I mean," recalled Julia Aguirre, "we were exhausted."²⁷ Legs and backs ached as the day dissolved into the evening hours, when the "second shift" of cooking, washing, and cleaning house took over.²⁸ Irma Magaña thought back and remembered that after work she, like others, "stayed home, made dinner, did the wash, and made beer for my dad."²⁹ After years of packing, Angelina Cruz's mother suffered rheumatoid arthritis, a condition that she and several former packers claimed was caused by packing. Other work—the chores at home, especially washing—probably contributed as well to a prevalence of arthritis among former packers.³⁰

Girls, too, worked in an informal apprenticeship system in the packinghouses. Angelina Cruz began packing at fourteen on a part-time basis alongside her mother; five other such pairs labored at the Placentia Orange Growers Association packinghouses. By her eighteenth birthday, Angelina was a skilled veteran, but she never reached the *campiona* level of

her mother, who could pack a hundred boxes per nine-hour day. Angelina vividly recalls the experience: "You were so absorbed in packing that you lost track of time . . . you just kind of lost yourself."

Packinghouses usually employed a set crew of women year after year, and filled in with replacements when necessary. The packers came to be well known in the houses in which they worked, and, like the men, they quite often moved from Valencia navel orange-growing areas, and not infrequently into the central California navel region. Following the growing season, a migration of packers paralleled the movement of agricultural pickers. There was no uniform movement of both groups; some made the seasonal trek annually, others occasionally, or seldom, if ever. Yet, migration was not uncommon, and thus it became a fairly accepted part of the citrus worker's life.³² Rarely, however, did the Mexican pickers and packers venture outside of those communities established for them. Citrus workers moved from citrus village to citrus village when migrating and when doing so, hired on with foremen or packinghouse managers who knew them well enough. Managers came to know the available and experienced local and distant personnel by hiring them for more than one season. An informal seniority system functioned, and the same work force seemed to reassemble year after year. As in many other occupational lines, packers had a strong respect for their occupation. Julia Aguirre felt that the packinghouse offered "a greater opportunity for women" and provided "a sense of importance and purpose . . . I learned about my own rights."³³ Furthermore, she added, "it was better, a lot better than picking cotton. . . . [Picking cotton] was miserable. . . . [In comparison] packing oranges was heaven. . . . It was a step ahead . . . at least we had a stable life."³⁴ Those who performed the job well, especially the *cieneros*, or *campionas*—those who could pack one hundred boxes—received considerable respect, which translated into a camaraderie enjoyed exclusively by women.³⁵

Women packers often earned wages equal to those of men, thereby allowing a measure of economic and social independence. Consequently, female packers developed a separate identity from women who remained at home. But, when employed, packers also enjoyed a distinctive social life within the packinghouse. Birthdays, wedding engagements, or other special events were often celebrated in the packinghouse with potlucks and parties. Packers shared information regarding employment through informal grapevines, notifying each other about



Workers at the packinghouse, Placentia, California, ca. 1940. Courtesy Julia Aguirre.

high packinghouses were scheduled to increase their packing crews. As fictive-kin or as blood relatives, women tended to gather together when seeking employment, when employed, and when traveling to local and distant packinghouses.

Despite all the efforts to overcome poverty in the *colonias*, conditions in the home were understandably meager. A composite description of thirty-five randomly selected Orange County households surveyed in a 1940 welfare study captured the quality of homelife. With few exceptions, the homes had no heat "other than that provided by the kitchen stove."³⁶ Because many lived in houses heated by woodburning stoves, woodcutting in the distant hills and hauling wood home were chores commonly practiced by men; some resorted to selling cut wood to help support the family.³⁷ The survey further noted that "relatively few homes have inside

toilets or baths; although most have running water" and electricity.³⁸ Refrigeration (if any) was provided by block ice, and cooking was either by gas or wood. The rather large size of households—on the average six persons, or two persons per bed—required all available space for sleeping.³⁹ Each community had several exceptionally large families occupying modest homes. One family of thirteen in La Habra's Campo Colorado occupied each room, including the closet, for sleeping; a Richfield family numbering fifteen lived in a four-room house. While community conditions were poor, residents either made do with very little, or family and community supported them in times of extreme need. Shorter-term, but no less critical, needs often were met at small, local, Mexican-owned grocery stores that offered credit payable the following payday.⁴⁰

Generally, most families in the *colonias* enjoyed

sufficient diets, but cyclic unemployment and low wages often depleted precarious food supplies, and many families periodically sank below minimal nutrition standards. In addition, the poor conditions in the villages, dirt streets, lack of flush toilets, and inadequate plumbing and heating prevented basic sanitation practices. Disease and illness found a double entry. Consequently, health problems disproportionately attacked the Mexican communities. One illness, tuberculosis, proved especially deadly, affecting Mexicans three to five times more than the larger community, according to reports. In 1930, forty-four Mexicans died of TB in Orange County between January and September, nearly tripling the death rate outside the Mexican communities. The cases of TB at La Habra's Wilson School in 1935 indicated the widespread problem. Four children there were quarantined and thirty more "given a preventative regime."⁴¹

Death claimed a larger number of Mexican village infants than those in the rest of the towns, illustrated in statistics from 1934, when of Orange County's one hundred infant deaths, sixty were of Mexican children. Other diseases also took their tolls. Trachoma, a contagious eye infection, spread through the Campo Colorado/Corona in 1927, affecting twenty-five children. Meanwhile, only one child in the non-Mexican district of the community was so infected. When serious illness struck, villagers depended on the county hospital; lesser health problems were combatted with folk medicines. Women specialized in health care and were knowledgeable about childbirth, as well as the supernatural causes of and cures for illnesses. Villages generally had the services of a *partera* (midwife) and a *curandera* (curer), both of whom practiced a traditional medicine that employed teas, roots, flowers, poultices, leaves, prayers, and charms. These skills were passed on from one generation to the next.

The processes of birth and death also were domestic affairs attended by family and neighbors. Birthing was commonly performed at home, with the assistance of a midwife. In some villages, a lone medical doctor or two complemented village medicine. These physicians usually charged low fees, always made home visits, and seemed to care about the people's welfare. John Arce recalls that a Dr. Foster was the favorite of the Stanton, Independencia, and nearby villages for helping them through an illness or childbirth.⁴² Wakes and funerals, like births, were nearly always held at home, where rosary and other prayers were recited individually and in unison, led either by the mission priest or a revered villager, usu-

ally a woman. Wakes generally began in the evening and lasted throughout the night and into the morning. Food, refreshments, coffee, and liquor were served to those who came to pay their respects.

No sooner had the villages constructed a routine than the Depression brought more adversity to an already difficult life. Some families were forced into a relentless, often fruitless search for survival, causing some fathers to break down and cry unashamed before friends and relatives. Mrs. Jennie Romoff, Americanization supervisor for the Anaheim High School District, who included six *colonias*, observed "deplorable" Depression conditions. "Some of the Mexican families are in dire straits, with fathers, mothers, and children poverty poor and always hungry. . . ," she reported. "Mothers. . . [draw] small hand-wagons, with two or three children toddling along with them, go up and down the alleys, searching the garbage cans and the grocery stores for any kind of cast-off food. . . . What is garbage to a well-to-do family is food to these hungry Mexicans."⁴³ Things were "pretty tough, pretty tough," recalled Fred Aguirre.

Because I remember that at least half of the people didn't work because they couldn't find work. Then they paid you hardly nothing. People were always going down to [my parents'] store to beg my dad. That I remember a lot—to beg my mother. They begged them for food. They would say "As soon as we get a job or we get a job [we] promise we're going to pay you. . . . A lot of them paid but a lot of them didn't . . . [but] we ate out of the store, at least we had the store."⁴⁴

Several sources indicate that about forty percent of Mexican families were forced into some form of public assistance.⁴⁵ Available credit in village stores was stretched to the limit. At the end of the Depression, Placentia's *Comercial Mexicana* held sixty accounts due, ranging from a few dollars to \$60. Only half were ever paid.⁴⁶ Other forms of help came from within the community, such as self-help lodges that raised modest funds for destitute families.

Outside of the community, however, the Mexican became a scapegoat for depression-caused troubles. In 1931 and 1932, local and county governments seeking to cut budgets became caught up in the national movement to deport Mexicans.⁴⁷ Induced through threats of relief cutoff sweetened with an offer of free transportation to Mexico, about two thousand Mexican immigrants left Orange County. The majority left in nine train loads, but some went by private car. Families debated whether to leave,

and instances of sharp conflicts surfaced between those wishing to stay and those willing to repatriate. Compared to other industries, the citrus industry in general was not particularly hard hit by the Depression, but for those workers who declined repatriation, competition from other newly unemployed workers cut into employment opportunities, adding already low wages into a decline.

The villages' struggle against poverty was dealt a further blow when tragedy struck in March 1938. Several days of relentless rain inundated vast stretches of Orange County, causing the worst flooding in the region's history, washing away large sections of Richfield and La Jolla and portions of Stanton and Anaheim's La Fabrica colonies, and sending twenty adults and children to their deaths. In the storm's aftermath, the tumbled mass of houses that had been torn from their wood or cement supports stood at odd angles in the muddy streets and irri-

gation ditches. Despite the devastation, the pattern of self-reliance and resilience once again pulled the communities together. Shopkeepers donated food; families and neighbors shared homes, food, and clothing; labor unions donated money, supplies, and their labor; the Red Cross provided goods, services, and funds. Meanwhile, Atwood and La Jolla once again temporarily reverted to tent towns. Eventually, through community support and federal aid, the devastated villages were rebuilt with better facilities, including indoor toilets and gas for cooking and heating.

Mexican residents were the poorest social group in the citrus belt. Yet by pooling their resources, utilizing materials others considered useless, sewing clothes and other items from recycled materials, building their own homes, producing their food, and caring for themselves in a communal fashion, they managed—but never defeated—the formidable lim-



While families held firmly to long-established cultural ways, they were also influenced by their interactions with American teachers and mainstream educational experiences. Here, a group attending Americanization classes at La Habra, 1921, gathers for graduation ceremonies. *Courtesy California Citigraph.*

itations of subsistence wages, substandard living conditions, and natural and economic disasters.

The Mexican community knew well that, except for the lowest-paid positions in the sugar refining industry, employment in factories, restaurants, department stores, and shops was closed to all but the dominant community.⁵⁰ A lid on their possibility for economic and social progress forced the Mexican community to function as cheap labor. Legal restrictive covenants segregating residential zones mirrored the division of labor. In public parks, swimming pools, theaters, restaurants, bars, dance halls, clubs, and societies, Mexican immigrants and their families were either systematically excluded or segregated. At Anaheim's public park, for example, a corner section with a sign "for Mexican use only" was cordoned off by a chain-link fence. On weekends, a police officer patrolled the grounds, warning potential transgressors to stay within their assigned areas. Cross-cultural dating was out of the question and inter-marriage rare.⁵¹ In sum, the Mexican community was isolated socioeconomically, and subject to the political decision-making of the dominant community. Ironically, the citrus industry at large enjoyed many of its most prosperous years while this social practice was in force.

Most immigrants were strangers to each other, coming from several states in Mexico; yet they founded a dynamic and creative community with distinctive life, organization, traditions, and customs. The old-world heritage of the people provided a firm and trusted foundation for their community life in the United States. The Mexicanized Spanish language, Mexican patriotic and religious observances, and folk art flourished. New cultural patterns in the forms of labor unions, baseball, music, language, American food, customs, patriotic practices, and political action were either selectively integrated or engineered by outsiders into the Mexican atmosphere.

Villages had the qualities of an extended family. The routines of daily life, the rituals of birth, baptism, marriage, and death, the problems of adequate shelter, nutrition, and health care, and even the maintenance of family ties and friendships were neighborhood concerns. One educator who was active in the La Jolla village observed that in "La Jolla a very friendly spirit prevails, because the inhabi-

tants know each other well; many are related. Therefore, there are many good times at home."⁵² Residents of the villages verified the observation, contending that the village was home, neighborhood, playground, and social center, within which, as one villager commented, "it seemed everyone was a relative."⁵³

In time, an immigrant's extended family network merged with other families. Marriages, baptisms, and close and trusting friendships served to broaden family ties already cemented in *compadrazgo*, or co-parenthood. Thus the La Jolla resident's comment that "everyone was a relative," easily could have applied to the villages throughout the region.⁵⁴ Local villages were bound to others in the region through the same kinship and *compadrazgo* system, forming a type of regional network. This local and regional network obtained in other areas of village life, notably in recreation, entertainment, patriotic and religious observances, and unionization. Since villagers knew one another, a locked door was a rarity, and all were welcome to a particular family's celebrations.⁵⁵ Life was relatively straightforward and stable, although it was marked by poverty, seasonal unemployment, high incidence of illness, substandard housing, and social segregation from the Anglo-American community.

In spite of their humble conditions, the villagers' lives were ennobled by their efforts, to a degree successful, to create an independent way of life. Chafing under the burdens of segregation and feeling the sting of legal oppression, the residents, women and men, raised themselves above the onerous burdens forced on them by their time and place and constructed their vision of a good society. [CHS]

See notes beginning on page 134.

Professor Gilbert G. Gonzalez teaches Chicano/Latino studies in the School of Social Sciences at the University of California, Irvine. His newly published book, Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900–1950 (University of Illinois Press, 1994) is part of the Statue of Liberty Ellis Island Centennial Series. This article is excerpted from that book. Dr. Gonzalez's current research focuses on Chicano politics in California during the agricultural strikes of the 1930s.



Honoring their heritage, the Placentia, California, Mexican community celebrates Mexican Independence Day. The children in sashes marched in the parade, which ended in the ramada. *Courtesy Fred Aguirre.*



One of the labels used by the Limoneira Company to advertise its products. *Courtesy Limoneira Company.*

The Role of Gender in Citrus Employment

A Case Study of Recruitment, Labor, and Housing Patterns at the Limoneira Company, 1893 to 1940

by Margo McBane

In the past, writers of California farm labor history explained the development of California agriculture and its impact on farm labor in terms of employers' abilities to control farm labor by isolating farm workers from higher-paying industrial occupations and employers' success at suppressing trade unionizing efforts through the division of labor by race, class, and ethnicity.¹ Recently, California farm labor historians demonstrated that a contest over control of the farm labor process occurred between workers and growers. Growers tried to promote their business interests, while workers tried to prevent the erosion of their working, living, and social conditions. This tension often resulted in both workers and growers stabilizing their involvement in the production process for diverse reasons: growers hiring a more expensive, reliable labor force, and workers seeking decent wages and work conditions.² More recently, a group of researchers has begun to explore the role of both citizenship and gender in agricultural capitalist relations.³ While the issue of citizenship is emerging as a category of analysis, gender remains more illusive.

Many histories and current research studies on agricultural labor define gender as female, focusing predominantly on women cannery workers. These studies, such as Vicki Ruiz's and Patricia Zavella's significant works, explore the background of women workers, their attitudes toward their work, the development of women's work culture and community culture, and their participation in unionization efforts.⁴ Few analyze the role of women in the packing and field production process itself, however.

While most rural women in California agriculture sought employment in cannery work, women's role in the capitalist development of packingshed work and field labor has been largely ignored by historians. While few historians have ventured into the history of gender in field and packinghouse work, sociologists have begun to pursue research on current women in field work by analyzing the function of occupational sex segregation in the field labor force and the role of women farm workers in working-class resistance efforts to tactics of employer control.⁵

While traditional women's historians document the creation of distinct "women's and men's cultures and consciousness" that exist in opposition to each other within the family, the community, and the workplace, new urban labor studies, such as those of Ava Baron and Nancy Hewitt, attempt to expand the definition of gender to include an analysis of how men's and women's cultures and consciousness intersect within the workplace, the community, and the family. These new gender studies ask how gender contributed to the formation of labor, and how workers—by gender—shaped, accepted, and resisted their positions in the industrial process. While gender labor historians primarily explore only gender-defined relations within one racial group of the working class, this study explores the conscious use of gender (both male and female) in controlling labor through recruitment, work process, and housing. An included facet of this gender division is the role of matrimony and family in the employment and maintenance of citrus workers.

What role has gender played in the history of Cal-



Rock removal by Caucasian workers at the Limoneira Company's lands, ca. 1890s. Courtesy Limoneira Company.

ifornia agriculture? When and why have growers vacillated between the use of gender segregation and family employment in the agriculture? To begin an historical exploration of the influence of gender on the farm labor structure and the history of California agricultural production, this paper explores gender usage from a citrus growers' perspective of the Limoneira Company of Ventura County.

The use of gender will be analyzed through the creation of a corporate paternalistic management style that attempted to establish a reliable and stable labor force by determining the recruitment, job allocation, and housing patterns offered to European American⁶, Asian, and Mexican citrus workers employed at the Limoneira Company between 1893 and 1940.⁷ While gender played a major role in management and employment policy, it is difficult to extract the influence of gender from the interrelated issues of race, class, and ethnicity. Overshadowing the divisions of workers along gender, race, ethnic, and class lines, workers' citizenship status continually remained an instrument in the employers' arsenal of labor control.

The Limoneira Company's employment practices resulted from broader social and political forces occurring at the state, national, and international level that the company utilized to its advantage. This study ends in 1940, the culmination of an era in labor relations at the Limoneira Company. Tumultuous changes occurred in the company's labor force composition with the "Great Citrus Strike of Ventura County" in 1941 and with the onset of World War II.

Citrus is one of California's most significant crops, and for southern California (from Santa Barbara south), citrus and oil have been defining industries. Within the history of citrus production, the Limoneira Company of Ventura County held a pivotal role. By 1911, *The Santa Paula Chronicle* declared the Limoneira Company to be "The World's Largest Citrus Ranch." Employer control is stronger in citrus than other California crops because workers are recruited, supervised, and paid by the producer-cooperative packinghouses, bypassing the usual labor contractor system.⁸ By 1922, one out of every eight lemons came from Ventura County, primarily from the Limoneira Company, the county's largest lemon producer.

From its inception, the Limoneira Company, a partner of the Sunkist Growers Corporation, became a model citrus ranch in the United States. Founded in 1893, the Limoneira Company embarked on a process of industrialization that was initially characterized by vast acreage, extensive control over the regional economy, and the vertical integration of citrus production and processing. Nathan Weston Blanchard, Charles McKeveatt, and Wallace Hardison, using money they had acquired in the 1860s from Pennsylvania oil and Mother Lode lumber, purchased 412 acres on which to begin the ranch. Besides the Limoneira Company, these partners also individually owned several other ranches in the region, as well as the Union Oil Co. They likewise exerted control over the boards of other land, lumber, financial, and water companies in the region.⁹ This inter-

packing network of control over a majority of north Ventura County's companies made the further expansion of citrus acreage and the employment of a large labor force possible.

An understanding of the use of gender in the history of citrus employment practices requires a sense of Limoneira Company's corporate paternalism. As a gendered term, corporate paternalism had a distinct meaning in how the company owners, the male growers, implemented this philosophy in the recruitment of labor, the workplace, and the company community. In the recruitment of labor, employers utilized race, ethnicity, marital status, gender, and citizenship in determining which workers to employ. Once employed, the company owners created a built environment and work process that accommodated the need for economic profit and cultural imperatives that the Limoneira Company owners felt compelled to promote.

During the period 1893 to World War I, the Limoneira Company primarily hired single, male workers, both white and non-white. Initially, only fifteen to twenty Caucasian men worked in the company, clearing the rock, planting the crops, and harvesting the first yields of citrus, lima beans, and pumpkins. Race became a factor in labor segregation with the employment of a number of Chinese and Mexican men in the first significant citrus harvest season of 1897.¹⁰

The Limoneira Company hired only between one and five Chinese workers during the 1890s to 1910s.¹¹ This low number is not surprising in light of the immigration and franchise restrictions placed on the Chinese during this period. Most Chinese who came to this country between 1850 and 1880 came as married male sojourners, leaving their wives behind.¹² Once here, a series of immigration acts prevented them from raising families in California, and employers from replenishing male workers through further immigration. The dream of family life for single Chinese male workers in California began to fade in 1880, when the state prevented them from intermarrying with whites. In 1882 the federal government passed the first national immigration law, the Chinese Exclusion Act, which, through indefinite extension, forbade the entry of Chinese workers and their brides.¹³ The Scott Act of 1888 struck the final blow for Chinese family life in California by denying the reentry right of any Chinese laborers who left the United States.¹⁴ By the founding of the Limoneira Company in 1893, most of the dwindling Chinese population had fled to urban bachelor societies, leaving agricultural work to others.¹⁵

The labor process during this early period re-

mained segregated by race, ethnic, class, and gender lines. Initially, white men worked as both supervisors or unskilled labor. Within four years, however, Chinese male workers and Mexican male workers (who worked only briefly for one season) joined the ranks of unskilled white male labor, earning comparable wages.¹⁶ Within the white workers, ethnic (or cultural), and class divisions occurred. Religion and class divided jobs between skilled and unskilled workers. Among Caucasians, middle-class Protestants filled the supervisory jobs, while Catholics and working-class Protestants worked in jobs considered unskilled, such as harvesting and packingline work.

Japanese immigrants dominated the Limoneira Company labor force between 1900 and World War I.¹⁷ Once Japanese appeared in citrus, they assumed the lower-paying, less-skilled harvest, pesticide, and packinghouse (washing, sorting, and grading) jobs, while male Caucasian workers dominated supervisory jobs, skilled teamstering, construction, packinghouse (lifting, packing, and box building), pruning, nursery and irrigation work.

Ineligible for citizenship just as had been their Chinese predecessors, the Japanese depended upon public sentiment to determine their fate in California. They initially relied on male immigration for labor force replenishment.¹⁹ Unlike the earlier arriving Chinese men, most of the early Japanese emigrated as bachelors and found themselves in 1905 included under the same miscegenation law as the Chinese.²⁰ The "Gentlemen's Agreement," or Executive Order 589, enacted in 1908, terminated further immigration of Japanese male workers. In contrast to the Chinese, the United States government, in an effort not to antagonize Japan, slowed the process for Japanese exclusion. Japanese women, even of the working class, mostly "picture brides," were permitted entrance to the United States between 1910 and 1921.²¹ The American government initially tolerated the picture-bride campaign on the assumption that these were non-working wives and therefore not in violation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." In reality, once the picture brides arrived, they worked alongside their husbands.²² In 1921, both Japan and the federal government terminated the picture-bride campaign in the "ladies agreement."²³

A few Japanese wives began to appear in the Limoneira Company packingshed labor force in the 1910s.²⁴ These women provided the Japanese with an opportunity to establish themselves as a permanent population in California, through the creation of families. Assisted by the labor of their new wives and then children, many Japanese male wage earners moved up to become land leasers.²⁵ At the Limo-

neira Company, most Japanese who continued to work were single men, but their numbers declined after 1917.²⁶

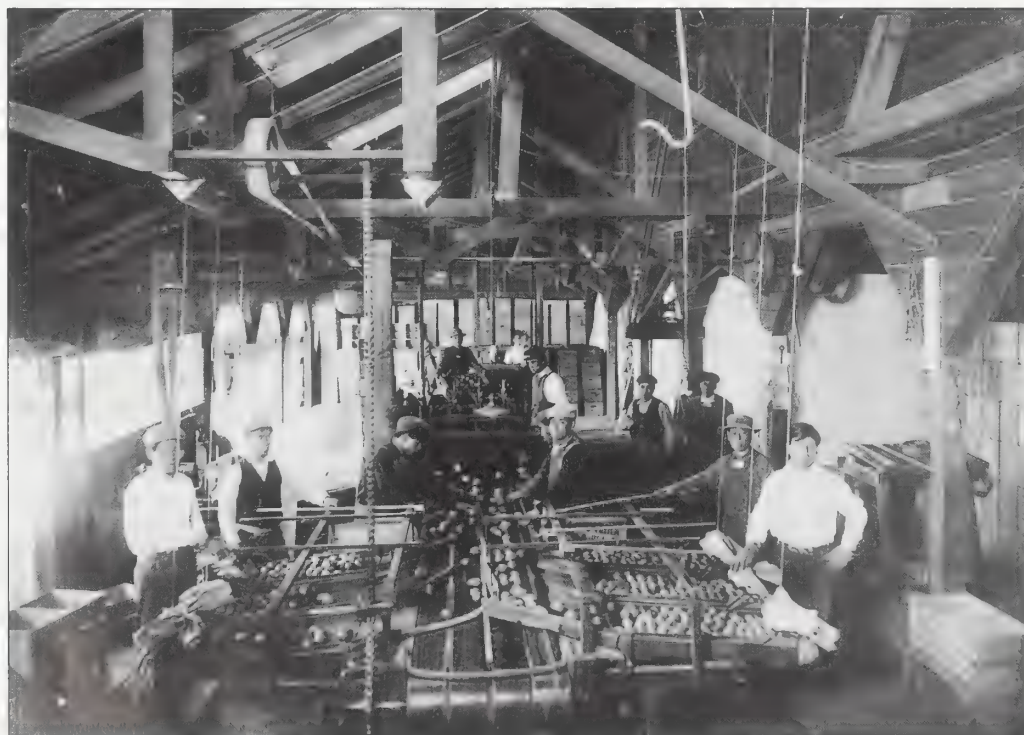
While the Limoneira Company hired primarily single male workers between 1893 and World War I, a few white women appeared on the Limoneira Company payrolls beginning in 1897. These women worked as sorters and graders in the packinghouse or as cooks in the male dormitories, although they earned less than their male counterparts. They were paid either under the family wage of their husbands or fathers, or through direct wages.²⁷

During this early period, under the management of Charles Collins Teague, the Limoneira Company expanded its acreage and labor force beginning in 1898. While the average lemon ranch in the region ranged between one and fifteen acres by the 1900s, in 1904 the Limoneira farmed over 400 acres of lemons, grapefruit, and walnuts. Between 1905 and 1907, the Limoneira Company increased its acreage by 2,490 acres, or sevenfold, which included water rights.²⁸

The increased acreage contributed to additional developments in the industrialization process of

citrus. The number of workers needed to plant, prune, and harvest the citrus, walnut, and row crops grew from fifty people in 1897 to 250 people in 1907. With more land and a larger labor force, citrus growers needed an agency to stabilize and control labor costs through fixed wages. Producer associations or exchanges provided the answer. C.C. Teague, the Limoneira Company's general manager, led the California producer cooperative movement with his efforts to set industrial-type standards for agricultural production. Teague commented that "the formation of these associations was a key factor in the development of California agriculture as a multi-million dollar industry during the early 20th century."²⁹ By World War I, the Limoneira Ranch held dual membership in the California Fruit Growers Exchange (renamed Sunkist in 1952), with Teague as its president between 1920 and 1944, and the Ventura County Fruit Growers Exchange, also with Teague serving as president from 1901 to 1944.³⁰ Teague also presided over the Lima Bean Exchange and the Walnut Exchange.

In a pattern echoing the paternalism of East Coast industrialization, the Limoneira Company created



Japanese men operating the washing machine at the Limoneira Company lemon packinghouse. *Courtesy Limoneira Company.*



Dormitory built in 1897 for Caucasian male workers on the Limoneira Company's lands. *Courtesy Limoneira Company*

a workers' "village." The company hoped that the lure of permanent housing would reinforce labor stability and contribute to worker loyalty. Many growers in the Santa Paula region provided workers only harvest-season tent space. For farmworkers, however, permanent housing offered a mixed benefit. While it granted a modicum of stability, it also contributed to grower control over workers' lives.

Whereas gender, race, ethnicity, and class determined segregation patterns in the workplace, marital status and race influenced the company's early housing policies. Single white men found housing in the company dormitory, built next to the packingshed in 1897. Next to the dormitory, the two or three white families of supervisors and management were housed in the supervisors' residence and two smaller homes. Chinese and Mexican men, however, were denied company housing and had to find their own accommodations in nearby ranches or in the town of Santa Paula.

In 1906 the Limoneira Company constructed dormitories, south of the packingshed, for single Japanese men.³¹ These facilities included a kitchen and bathing facility. A Japanese labor contractor employed the Japanese workers for the Limoneira Company, and the contractor built the Japanese dormitories (with the Limoneira Company providing the materials and land) and also provided board for the workers as well (in comparison to Caucasian

bachelors, for whom the company provided both room and board). In 1915, with the growth of the Japanese labor force at the Limoneira Company, an additional dormitory was built for single male Japanese workers, and both dormitories were then surrounded on one side by six single-wall, wooden, three-room cottages with outside cold water and privies. These were provided for the few Japanese families employed. This Japanese village also contained a library and barber shop.

In 1907, the Limoneira Company constructed a new dormitory for Caucasian laborers, near the original dormitory north of the packingshed, to house an additional ninety-six single men. Next to these dormitories and in the Oliveland section of the ranch near Oliveland Elementary School, the company built for white families twenty-three new bungalow style houses and a group of six apartments, all equipped with electricity and hot and cold plumbing.

Prior to World War I, the Limoneira Company depended predominantly on male Japanese labor. In contrast to the single male white laborers who continued to work on the ranch, and the Mexican families who began to appear in larger numbers in 1907, Japanese men at the Limoneira Company earned a comparatively high wage. In general, the Japanese gained the highest wage ever paid to California farm workers up to 1917.³² Anti-Japanese sentiment grew



Japanese cook for Japanese male laborers, standing in front of dormitories for Japanese men at the Limoneira Company, ca. 1910s. *Courtesy Limoneira Company.*

in California during the 1910s and continued until the 1924 Immigration Act excluded all Japanese immigrants.³³ Those Japanese families and men who remained on the Limoneira Ranch during and after World War I moved out of citrus picking work and into the packingshed, where they remained until World War II internment.³⁴

With the advent of World War I, Caucasian men and their families sought employment in urban war-related industries, leaving only a limited number of Japanese men and families to fill the large number of available agricultural jobs. Faced with a more costly and reduced labor force by 1917, California growers saw that World War I offered a way out of depending on high-cost Japanese labor. They declared a farm-labor shortage to meet the growing need for agricultural products in the United States and Europe.³⁵ The Limoneira Company, like most citrus growers, turned to Mexican families to solve their labor problem with the Japanese.

Mexican men and their families actually began working at the Limoneira Company in 1907, after the company purchased Oliveland's in 1906.³⁶ Large-scale Mexican immigration to work in California agriculture first began between 1897 and 1910, when the economic development policies of the Porfirian government pushed hundreds of thousands of Mexicans into the migrant stream. In Ventura County the development of the citrus industry and all agricul-

tural production hinged on the establishment of the railroad system. Therefore the employment of Mexicans on the railroad facilitated their transfer into agricultural employment. This interlinking development between the rail and farm was particularly true for the Limoneira Company, which relied upon the construction, by Mexican labor, of a spur line to the Limoneira Company packinghouse between 1910 and 1911. Dean Hobbs Blanchard, grandson of Nathan Weston Blanchard, Sr., stated that "the backbone of the railroad crew to the Limoneira constituted Mexicans, an ingredient of our field hands which swelled to a comparative flood toward the peak of World War I."³⁷

Mexicans immigrating to the United States after 1910 experienced push and pull factors attracting them to California agricultural employment. The push factors forcing workers out of Mexico centered around the Mexican revolution. A large percentage of immigrants left Mexico between 1910 and 1917 due to violence, disruption in food supplies, high unemployment, and inflation. According to the commissioner general of immigration, these refugees suffered from "industrial depression and its attendant evils."³⁸ Or as Dean Hobbs Blanchard put it, "better to be a Sunkist Mexicano than a Bulletkist Hero."³⁹ The pull factor luring Mexicans to the U.S. was the labor shortage of farm workers in the South and Southwest due to World War I. A labor shortage was

announced for the 1918 harvest season and continued through 1920. According to the U.S. Employment Service, the local labor agent, and the farm labor bureau chairmen of the California State Council of Defense, Mexican families became the targeted recruitment group.

When Japanese immigrants outnumbered whites in the California farm labor force during the pre-war era, there existed little concern among the California public for the plight of farm labor. Yet during World War I, when immigrant Mexican families comprised the largest number of workers employed in California agriculture, the California public changed its attitude toward farm labor. Wage and housing regulations, which had previously been minimal, began to strengthen. This attitudinal change toward farm labor resulted in large part not from the increased employment of Mexicans, but from the recruitment, as a wartime measure, of white high school boys into the Boys Working Reserve and of white women into the Woman's Land Army of America (WLAA), and then into the California farm labor force.⁴⁰

Superficially, the employment of Woman's Land Army recruits in California agriculture appeared a hindrance to growers, who as a result had to comply with certain wages standards and improved working conditions. However, the recruitment of the new white workers served a more subtle purpose for southern California citrus growers. Despite their small numbers, the *Los Angeles Times* gave the Land Army recruits front-page accolades. Deep inside the paper lay the true story. Restrictions had been placed on Mexican immigration from Mexico after the passage of the 1917 Immigration Act, which required payment of a head tax and passage of a literacy exam.⁴¹ To combat the image of an unfamiliar, all-immigrant agricultural labor force, appeals were made to southern California residents to help work the fields.

A Woman's Land Army Division, under the supervision of the Ventura County Women's Committee of the State Council of Defense, recruited local Caucasian women to do farm work between 1918 and 1920.⁴² These recruits labored in Ventura County's traditionally female- or child-identified agricultural crops, such as fruit (particularly apricots), beans, cabbage, peas, and walnuts during the war years. Citrus work, the largest employment sector in Ventura County, remained the bastion of white men, Japanese men and families, and Mexican immigrant families.⁴³

A public relations campaign began, which showed wartime farm workers as a moral and upright group

by highlighting the activities of the Woman's Land Army. As one California farmer commented of the WLAA recruits:

It is quite a unique democratic army for it is not just those vague "girls of the masses," who are taking up hard physical outdoor farm labor, but the girls we all know, the girls that teased with us, danced at our parties, belonged to our clubs and sororities, filled with our sons and brothers, studied with us and played with us.⁴⁴

For induction, each of the recruits needed a letter from her home pastor. The Boys Working Reserve recruits each brought a pair of Sunday church clothes and a Bible to their farm labor camp.⁴⁵ The rural community's enthusiasm and acceptance for the white recruits of the Land Army and the Boys Reserve stemmed from familiarity and patriotic pride, and not economic need. According to one newspaper commentator, "their employers never dreamed that



At a California division camp of the Woman's Land Army of America. Courtesy Bancroft Library.

labor could bring so much intelligence and enthusiasm to its job." The para-military regimentation of the WLAA and Boys Working Reserve camps and work underscored the patriotic fervor behind the program. One farmer declared, "Why, I feel like saluting every time one of 'em goes past."⁴⁶

Though these Caucasian women and young male recruits did not work in citrus and were relatively small in number, they significantly influenced the conditions and recruitment of non-white citrus workers on the Limoneira Ranch. Conditions of farm labor improved while white women and boys worked in the fields. The state government regulated farm wages and housing conditions for all farm workers, including Mexican families. With the Caucasians' disappearance from the agricultural workforce after the war, Mexican citrus workers, particularly women, suffered. The California Fruit Exchange (which included the Limoneira Ranch) lowered citrus wages thirty-seven percent and in 1922 the Industrial Welfare Commission rescinded the law regulating minimum wage for working women and minors in agriculture, with the exception of those working in dry yards, primarily white women.⁴⁷ With the aid of the media campaign alleviating the public's labor concerns, southern California residents became more tolerant of the large wave of Mexican immigrants exempted from the 1917 wartime Immigration Act in order to work in citrus.⁴⁸ This temporary exemption, which was sporadically renewed between 1918 and 1921, permitted the entrance of 72,862 Mexican workers before the 1924 Immigration Act closed the Mexican border.⁴⁹

The post-war era of the 1920s signified a new period of industrialization, characterized by an additional increase in acreage, an increase in the labor force, and a transition from the employment of male labor to that of families. Ventura County citrus farmers, with the Limoneira Ranch owners as the model, were among the leaders in nationwide citrus production after 1920. By 1921 only two other counties in the state grew more lemons than Ventura and only five counties grew more oranges. One out of every eight lemons came from Ventura.⁵⁰ By the end of World War I, to work its citrus crop, the Limoneira Company hired predominantly Mexican families. As an editorial stated in the *Santa Paula Chronicle* in 1920:

[Single men] could be housed more cheaply [than families], housed with the fewest complications, and if unsatisfactory, or not needed, discharged with only casual reluctance. The single man has always been preferred as a ranch or farm hand. The

necessity for holding down cost has been responsible for this just as it has been responsible for the employment of the cheapest labor available. . . . Now the supply of single men, both American and foreign, has proven so altogether inadequate, the farmer and fruit grower are giving more attention to the family unit as a source of labor.⁵¹

The company preferred to hire family labor because families were seen as a more harmonious and stable labor force than single men, who might more easily leave when faced with labor grievances. The greater risk that families faced, in fact, often created an internal resolution to labor conflict. Families also facilitated labor recruitment by enticing relatives to work for the company. When families worked together, they trained each other and maintained work discipline by scrutinizing work behavior. According to the company, family men were more careful in their work and with the equipment and animals.

The company offered two lures to attract and maintain its new family labor force: permanent housing and continuous work.⁵² To create stability for workers, the company provided year-round employment with a diversity of crops, primarily lima beans and walnuts, as well as citrus.⁵³ By 1920, less than thirty years after incorporation, Limoneira's acreage under cultivation had quadrupled to 2,502 acres, with 900 acres planted in lemons.⁵⁴ In 1922, the company further consolidated its land holdings by securing 576 additional acres, renaming the tract Limoneira Del Mar, and planting the acreage in lemons.⁵⁵ In 1924 the Limoneira Company built a larger, more highly mechanized lemon packinghouse.

Expanded production required an increase and modification of the labor force. During the 1920s, the company hired 400 workers, with 190 working in the packingshed.⁵⁶ Along with this growth came greater job stratification, which was heightened by further segregation according to division along gender, race, and ethnic lines. In 1925, the company hired separate superintendents for each of its divisions, Olive-lands, the Limoneira Company, and Limco Del Mar. Management positions also changed in the 1920s, with upper management further subdividing its responsibilities along task lines and becoming less accessible to the rank and file. In addition to the general superintendent, there was now a packing plant manager, an office and sales manager, and superintendents for purchasing and maintenance, fertilization and irrigation, picking, pruning, pest control, and labor relations. Agricultural management increasingly mirrored that of "Taylorized" indus-



A Mexican *quadria*, or citrus picking crew, in the Del Mar division of the Limoneira Company, 1930s. Courtesy of the Pinedo Family.

tries, with an emphasis on efficiency. An article appearing in the March 6, 1927, *Los Angeles Times* remarked that the Limoneira was "organized like a large factory, with each activity regimented by specialists." As in the industrial heartland, industrial regimentation and work discipline increased work efficiency on the Limoneira. Sirens blew throughout the entire ranch signaling the beginning of the work day at 7 A.M., the lunch break at noon, and the end of the work day at 5 P.M.

According to a survey done of Mexican workers in the 1920s, low wages were the main complaint.⁵⁷ The company managed to maintain low wages in several ways, beginning with the producer exchanges hiring all necessary labor at a certain fixed rate of pay. The subdivision of work by gender, race, and ethnicity also contributed to the lowering of

wages. Between 1917 and 1940, white men worked in the orchards supervising sixty- to seventy-person *quadrias*, or Mexican male picking crews. Prior to World War II, Mexican men were not permitted to fill supervisory jobs of any sort.

The orchard work was hazardous and difficult. Trees were expected to be entirely picked, forcing workers to take risks that might cause them to fall off their twelve-foot ladders. In addition to navigating the hazards of heights, citrus hands also worked in the thorny lemon trees covered in pesticides. Mexican pickers also had to carry their own ladders that weighed between seventy-five and one hundred pounds, tools (including sizing rings and clippers), and picking sacks that weighed 60 pounds.

The rigid racial and ethnic divisions between



Caucasian and Mexican men and women workers in the Limoneira packinghouse during the 1930s. *Courtesy Limoneira Company.*

supervisors and harvest workers in the fields became less apparent in the packinghouse, where multiple racial groups of both men and women worked side by side. When the lemons arrived from the fields, they were first carefully washed by machines, which were first installed at the Limoneira in 1901 and now maintained by white and Mexican men.⁵⁸ After washing, the lemons were sorted and graded by color, size, and quality and then packed for drying by Japanese, white, and Mexican women. These women would then place the fruit in two-by-three-foot trays. Japanese and white men stacked the trays ten high, with space between each box for ventilation. Next, male Japanese or Mexican nailers, or pressmen, fastened the covers of the lemon boxes with iron straps. Finally, white and Mexican men loaded the boxes into adjacent railroad cars, which ran by the lemon packinghouse. From the 1910s through the 1930s, second-generation Mexican women worked in the packinghouse for two to three months a year, and then with their families in the short walnut harvest that followed.

After 1916, the company assigned identification numbers to all citrus pickers (primarily Mexican men) and paid these workers on an hourly basis.

Pickers had their numbers stamped on each wooden box they filled with lemons. Labor records, at first glance, make it appear that women in the packinghouse earned more than male field workers. However, packinghouse work is a much shorter season, and the lower pay of harvest work extended longer into the year, providing male workers with a more reliable and larger long-term income.

Although Mexican families dominated the Limoneira labor force from 1918 to 1940, their number declined after 1930 with the deportation and repatriation movement. Several studies have shown varying reasons for the deportation and repatriation of Mexican immigrants, such as support from white Americans and Mexican American service organizations for repatriation, as well as from groups and government agencies within Mexico.⁵⁹ The Limoneira Company, however, suffered the loss of only a few Mexican families who chose to repatriate. The company's general manager, C.C. Teague, contacted the Mexican consulate, as well as other local government officials in Los Angeles, requesting that Limoneira Company employees be exempted from deportation.⁶⁰

With the number of Mexican families employed

at the Limoneira Company stable, but not growing, by the early 1930s, Caucasian families filled the growing labor need. White men continued their previous work in citrus production as supervisors and teamsters in the field, and as lifters in the packingshed. It was not until the 1930s, with the new migration of Dustbowl migrants from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri, that white women comprised a substantial portion of the packing-house sorters, graders, and packers.

While year-round labor addressed a citrus worker family's financial needs, the Limoneira Company also offered permanent housing to solve the families' needs for stability. J.D. Culbertson, assistant manager of the Limoneira Company, stated to the Citrus Institute in 1920:

Good housing is a necessary lure to keeping families and American [white] employees. Four hundred workers are needed [at our ranch] for the 1920 harvest season and the housing in Santa Paula is too expensive. . . . Therefore the Limoneira provides its Mexican employees, the dominant group, with 160 family cottages. . . . In addition, to attract more American families the Limoneira built a 36 unit cot-

tage group. . . . There are 200 families on the ranch assuming the character of a small town.⁶²

The previous pattern of housing segregation along race and marital lines for single men in the company's first twenty-four years continued with the settlement of Mexican families. Between the 1910s and the 1930s the company built nine Mexican camps, or *campes*, comprised of fifteen to forty homes per *campo* throughout the citrus groves and *barrenas* of the property.

Built in a gable-roofed, board-and-batten, mid-western motif, the Mexican houses had three to five rooms. They were single-wall, wooden homes, with a cold water faucet located outside near the front door, an outhouse behind, no gas or electricity, a wood burning stove, and all had wood floors replacing dirt floors after 1924. Some of the *campes*, such as El Arco, had community showers in the middle of the compound.⁶³ Fidel Corona describes his housing:

The houses were pretty small. We had to use two houses for the eleven people in my family. Each house had only two bedrooms. . . . We did not have tables or chairs or anything. We used the lemon pick-



One of the Limoneira Company's Mexican camps (*campes*), 1920s. Courtesy Limoneira Company.

ing boxes for beds, chairs, and tables. There was no transportation to get to the fields in the 1920s. You usually lived where you worked. The white supervisors lived in dormitories or a nice house at the Limoneira. The ranch had a special place for them. They had different houses which were better.⁶⁴

In contrast to the single-wall, wood cottages inhabited by Mexicans and Japanese, Caucasian families in 1919 settled into bungalow and Mediterranean-style courtyard housing, with a combination of one- and two-story detached houses arranged in clusters, and attached houses in a courtyard facing each other. These houses were built of hollow clay tiles covered with a stucco finish, with plumbing, sewers, electricity, and gas. Yet, rent for the Japanese, Mexican, and white cottages ran eight to ten dollars per month with free water, regardless of differences in housing quality.

The company demolished the original 1897 white male dormitory and rebuilt a new facility in 1922–23, a ranch clubhouse and bachelor quarters designed as a two-story, rustic version of the English style, featuring wood shake shingles and half timbering enhanced by massive natural sandstone columns. Three separate buildings were connected by an arcade. The center building became a club house and dining room, with a bowling alley in the basement. The new two-story, L-shaped bachelor quarters flanked the clubhouse. An outside pool, exclusively for the use of Caucasians, sat between one of the bachelor quarters and the clubhouse.

With the acquisition of Limoneira Del Mar in 1923, the company built additional housing for white and Mexican families. The white family housing replicated the courtyard housing on the main property, and the Mexican family housing resembled the wooden housing of the *campos* scattered throughout the company property. Whereas housing for Caucasians had included plumbing, as, and electricity in 1919, by 1934, the company finally upgraded the Mexican family campo housing, installing electricity, indoor hot and cold running water, and a built-in bathroom, with bathtub and toilet, attached to the back of the house. In 1936, the company completed the nine camps by constructing Camp 1, officially referred to as Camp 100 and unofficially called *campo uno*, along the *barranca* nearest the packinghouse.

The Limoneira Company had achieved its cloistered, segregated company community by the 1930s, with the main part of the ranch taking on the appearance of a small town. This community included a Mexican elementary school built in 1913 and named Olivelihoods, a general merchandise store built in

1920, a house for the superintendent's family, an adobe church built in 1921 for Mexican workers, a Mexican kindergarten (added as part of Olivelihood School in 1924), a corral and barns, a tractor shop run by whites, a blacksmith shop, a fertilizer house, an oil house, Mexican family housing in the *campos*, white male dormitories and family cottages, Japanese male dormitories and family cottages, citrus and walnut orchards with lima bean inter-cropping, and lemon, orange, and walnut packinghouses, which all provided segregated work by gender, race, and ethnicity.

If we go beyond the current paradigm of defining women and gender conterminously, and see gender as the interplay between cultural definitions of both male and female identity, a much more complicated picture of agricultural life emerges. As research into the Limoneira Company reveals, gender—particularly as it shaped employer concepts of male, female, and family work and housing—played a major role in the recruitment, job allocation, and housing patterns of the Limoneira Company citrus workers. Nonetheless, it is difficult to extract gender issues from race, ethnicity, class, and citizenship. During certain periods, gender superseded other categories as a division in labor and housing. In the company's early years, single men were hired, first because they were men, and second because of their race, ethnicity, and class. The Limoneira Company preferred immigrant men, who could be more easily regulated through immigration and miscegenation laws. This type of labor, however, proved irregular, unreliable, and in numbers too small to meet the growing citrus labor needs.

The Limoneira Company then sought family labor, both immigrant and domestic, after World War I. The recruitment, employment, and housing of family labor reflected prevailing trends in industrial paternalism. The company believed families created labor loyalty and harmony. Mirroring similar patterns in housing segregation, through the Limoneira Company's employment process, work divisions along gender, race, ethnic, and class lines accelerated with the growth of the Limoneira Company's acreage and workforce.

In 1940, the Limoneira Company's "stable" labor force dissolved. In February of that year a county-wide citrus strike, arising in part from worker dissatisfaction over wages and other work conditions, broke out in Ventura. With the maturation of a second generation of Mexican citrus workers who were all citizens, family labor no longer functioned as a labor mitigator in citrus but now served as a strike



The new dormitory built in 1923 by the Limoneira Company for Caucasian male workers. In sharp contrast to housing for non-white workers, these buildings included a dining hall, bathrooms with hot and cold running water between every other room, an outdoor swimming pool, and a bowling alley under the dining hall. *Courtesy Limoneira Company.*

catalyst. The great citrus strike of Ventura County in 1940 found fuel in the children of Mexican immigrant families who had come of age. The strike and the outbreak of World War II changed the future labor practices of the Limoneira. During the strike, the company evicted all but four of the Mexican families housed at the company, yet with the country's entrance into the war, the strikers voted to support the war effort and to end the strike. The Japanese families who continued to work during the strike were transported during the first year of the war to internment camps according to Executive Order 9066. Bracero workers and newly recruited Dust-bowl strikebreakers became the new Limoneira Company citrus labor force during and immediately after World War II.

See notes beginning on page 135.

Margo McBane is completing her UCLA Ph.D. dissertation, "The Home of the Lemon: The Limoneira Company's History as a Gendered, Cultural and Racial Crossroads, 1839-1941," for which she received a two-year Woodrow Wilson Fellowship. Ms. McBane works as a public history/oral history consultant for cultural and educational non-profit organizations and local governments. In 1976 she published a bilingual, photographic book, *The History of California Agriculture: Focus on Women Farmworkers*, and from 1979 to 1981 she researched and produced a two-part public radio documentary, "Talkin' Farmwork Blues: An Oral History of California Farmworkers" which received a Corporation for Public Broadcasting nomination. She has also published several history articles.

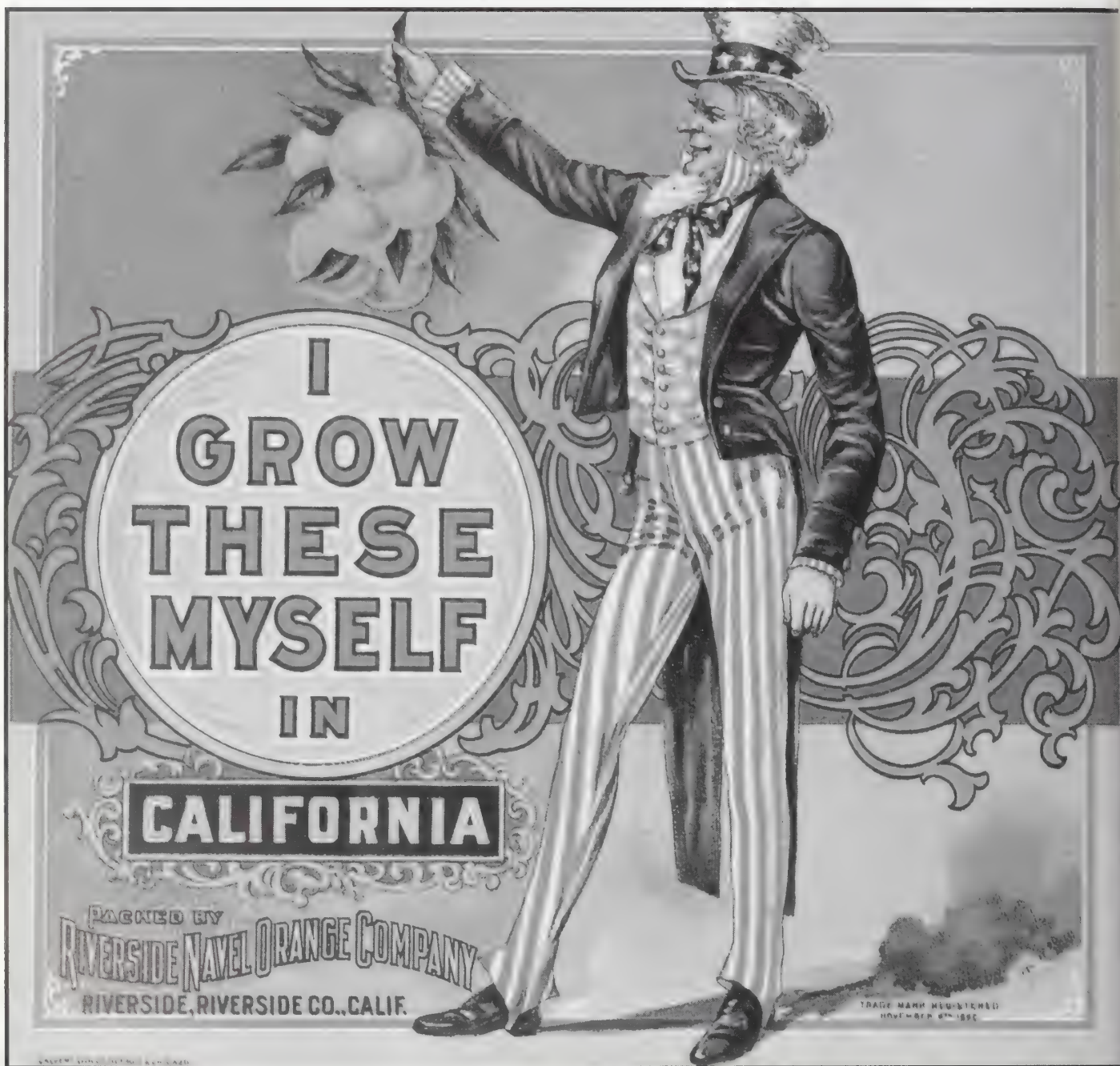


Plate 1: Orange-crate labels used by growers to identify and advertise their products are rich in symbolism and illustrate much about the culture, not only of orange-growing, but also of California itself. Growers attempted to associate oranges in the public mind with numerous positive qualities, including dynamic nature, youth, vitality, health, beauty, success, and patriotism, all of which came also to symbolize California. This turn-of-the-century label strikes a patriotic note. Plates 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 in this article were reproduced with permission from *California Orange Box Labels: An Illustrated History* (1985), by Gordon T. McClelland and Jay T. Last, courtesy of Hillcrest Press, Inc., Santa Ana, California.

"By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them": "Nature Cross Culture Hybridization" and the California Citrus Industry, 1893–1939

by Douglas Cazaux Sackman

Why do not plants hybridize in a state of nature? . . . Why does not Nature take a leaf from your note-book and produce new species in the same way?

And I was able to inform my facetious questioner, much to his surprise, that the method he suggested was one that Nature had practiced from the beginning.

—Luther Burbank

I. ROOTSTOCK: NATURE X CULTURE

At the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, a very curious figure stood in the California state building: a medieval knight in armor, mounted on a horse, composed entirely of prunes. As the World Fair's brochure explained, this figure "metaphorically impressed the fact that the prunes of that state are being introduced victoriously into all lands, to the discomfiture of the products of other countries."² This knight of prunes, which lorded over other exhibits of California's fertility—such as an "Old Liberty Bell . . . perfect in shape"³ and composed of 6,500-oranges—was a member of a most regular army: one semiotic soldier in phalanx after phalanx of images intertwining the myth of California with fruit, and molding that fruit and its state of origin into new material and symbolic forms for the nation's consumption. California fruits became associated with market, as well as martial, conquest, with national, as well as personal, growth and vigor. These themes neatly come together in a turn-of-the-century orange crate label from Riverside, in which

a strong and ruddy Uncle Sam, naturalized as a California native, holds up the fruits of his labor—grown "myself in California," as he claims (plate 1).⁴

If Uncle Sam is here the embodiment of the nation, the oranges he is holding up would come more and more to embody "nature." As we can see from its exhibitionism at the world's fair, California by the end of the nineteenth century rooted much of its self-promotion in a vision of the land's astounding natural fecundity. Indeed, anything and everything that could be grown under the sun seemed to be on display in the California building, prompting one Chicago newspaper to conclude that "California proved her claim that she is the land of sunshine and flowers."⁵ At the same time, Henry Adams, the 1893 fair's most well-known observer, was more taken by the machines and "dynamios" on display elsewhere at the fair; he and others wondered if they were observing the birth of a modern America whose heart would be "capitalistic, centralizing, mechanical."⁶ That same year, a new corporation was formed in California that began to therapeutically provide the nation with organic symbols, assurances that

America could still be "nature's nation." This new corporation would come to be called Sunkist; it would do much to stitch its name and product into cultural conceptions of "health," "growth," "California," and "nature." To put it another way, Sunkist hoped to affect American culture in such a pervasive way that if any consumers were to hear one of these words in a free association test, they would likely come up with "Sunkist" or "oranges."

But thinking of Sunkist as leading America "back to nature" is deceptive: in shaping its oranges for the market, and in shaping the market for its oranges, Sunkist, not unlike the famous mechanical tinkers Ford and Edison, re-tooled America for modernity. Drawing power from images of nature, Sunkist nevertheless was part of the "capitalistic, centralizing, mechanical" forces that so worried Adams. As we shall see, Sunkist hoped through what it called "scientific salesmanship" to reproduce the feeling at least one Chicago fair-goer got amidst California's displays of overabundant nature: "The moment I enter her building I feel like eating and drinking."⁷ To capture the palates of the American public, Sunkist sculpted oranges into Liberty Bells, claimed that they were essential to healthy growth, and imprinted them with the word and idea "Sunkist." Under the aegis of Sunkist, the production and representation of oranges reconfigured the boundary between nature and culture, and thus engaged in what I would call "nature cross-culture hybridization." Nature was squeezed through culture.⁸

This paper, then, is a natural, as well as cultural, history of oranges. For this paper, we should see in "culture," one of the English language's most intricately stratified words,⁹ two meanings: culture 1, as in the art or science of making things grow, and culture 2, as in the field of human-generated representations into which we all come into social being. Promotional books produced on California in the late nineteenth century, such as *Orange Culture in California* and *The Orange, Its Culture in California*, used culture in the first sense; yet their discussions of the techniques of growing fruit seemed to their authors to spill over naturally in the classical tradition of Hesiod and Virgil, into descriptions and advocacy of a total way of life. Growing fruit not only produced income, it also could make you happy and healthy, like our picture of Uncle Sam. Indeed, southern California

was portrayed as a vast "sanitarium" in which life and landscape would become Idyll.¹⁰

Oranges are certainly grounded in the soil and elated by light—that is, they are objects of nature. But the boundaries between nature and culture, as a close look at fruit imagery reveals, are permeable and changing. Oranges are also objects of culture—packages wrought by science, situated in an economy, and brought forth with knowledge. In *The Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck recognized just how important knowledge and a scientific apparatus were in creating California's biotic bounty. "The men who work in the experimental farms," Steinbeck wrote, "have made new fruits . . . selecting, grafting, changing, driving themselves, driving the earth to produce. . . . They have transformed the world with their knowledge."¹¹ As we cannot overlook in our own day, when new species of "rodents" have been patented, technology has so colonized the organic that our categories of "nature" and "culture," of mice and men, have become deeply problematical.

Exploring "culture" as it relates to plant cultivation (scientific growing strategies) reveals the roots of "biotechnology" in the soil prepared by plant breeders and geneticists working in the '20s and '30s in California in such places as the University of California's Citrus Experiment Station at Riverside, which was engaged in that "selecting, grafting, changing" that Steinbeck referred to. Largely in response to such work, Congress in 1930 passed the Plant Patent Act, which legalized the notion that organic life, like mechanical technologies, can be invented.¹² Such inventions had been dramatized for the nation in the curious and valuable work of Luther Burbank. Burbank, the "wizard" of plant life, enjoyed in the first decades of this century enormous successes with plant hybridization and gained a cultural popularity nearly as widespread of that of his friends Ford and Edison; his name even made it into Webster's:

burbank, v.t. To modify and improve (plants or animals), esp. by selective breeding. Also, to cross or graft (a plant). Hence, figuratively, to improve (anything, as a process or institution) by selecting good features and rejecting bad, or by adding good features.¹³

Schoolchildren in Santa Rosa made costumes imi-



Pamphlets promoting California in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—such as this Southern Pacific Railroad pamphlet of the 1880s—used fruit production, particularly the growing of oranges, as one of the state's principle lures for tourists and settlers. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

tating their favorite plants that had been “bur-banked”—they could choose the Burbank potato, plum, an array of apples, pears, grains, and nuts, a white blackberry, a spineless cacti, or the Shasta daisy. Stepping into their organic getups, these children realized in pageantry the ultimate dream of the Citrus Experiment Station’s plant scientists, and, more generally, modern science: to get inside the skin of nature and refashion it from the inside out.¹⁴

The Citrus Station’s modern scientific project was paralleled by the work of another group of “apostles of modernity”—advertisers.¹⁵ But instead of controlling nature, modern advertisers developed techniques for getting inside the skin of culture and refashioning it from the inside out. In the early twentieth century, modern advertising responded to the crisis in capitalism brought about by the advent of mass production. Put most simply, the institution

of advertising was charged with inventing mass consumption. To increase the circulation of goods, advertisers helped move Americans away from an ethic of making-do to one of buying things new. Indeed, the movement of things, advertisers found, could be greatly facilitated by the circulation of representations of things. A thing, advertisers found, was not just a thing. A product did not have a set use-value that was obvious and unchangeable. Like beauty, use-value proved to be in the eye of the beholder. Sunkist was a pioneer in developing representations that would predispose people to see both the beauty and use of their product in new and compelling ways.

In the process of shaping culture to create consumer demand, Sunkist, in an important sense, recreated the nature of oranges. This is the side of the culture of citrus I will explore in this paper, looking more at the semiotics (visual and narrative strategies) of selling than the science of cultivation. We will be concerned not with the pomologists' techniques of hybridization (culture 1), but with the advertisers' genius in reshaping the cultural significance of oranges (culture 2). I will look at how citrus was disseminated into American culture through advertising and how, in this dissemination, the signs of culture were inscribed, literally and indelibly, on the skins of the fruit. What emerges is a portrait not of some static object (the orange) but rather a changing object that registered shifts in meaning and structure both outside and within itself—changes in culture and nature. The semiotics of advertising, in reconstituting oranges, forged new links between culture and nature. Understanding the orange as an object marking the spot where facts made by culture and facts made by nature are grafted together will help us catch sight of the dynamic interpenetration that gave rise to California's artifactual nature. Biological science (a technology of life) and advertising (a technology of culture) should be understood as coupled procreative forces engendering new forms of nature and cultural consumption in order to fertilize California citrus interests—a growth industry in all senses of the word.

"Nature cross culture hybridization" refers in part to the specific technique employed by plant breeders—the grafting of one plant to another, or the crossing of two different plants. In citrus culture, for example, the crossing of a tangerine with an orange

(tangerine x orange) produced the tangor. This biological sense of nature x culture hybridization is enfolded in the more general process through which connections between the domains of culture and nature—with or without recombinant DNA technology—are always being sutured, unstitched, and refashioned in a dynamic and vital symbiosis changing form and shape through time. The California Steinbeck looked at was not a bountiful Eden naturally offering up her fruits, but instead what Donald Worster has called an "agroecosystem"—an "ecosystem reorganized for agricultural purposes—a domesticated ecosystem." Donna Haraway calls such a hybrid landscape "artifactual nature."¹⁶ I see the process of piecing together such a construct or place as "nature cross culture hybridization." Hybridization, finally, is a metaphor; but then again, hybridization is always already a metaphor, the plant breeder's technique of connecting or grafting one thing to another in what is hoped will be a productive and meaningful—that is, a fruitful—relationship.

II. THE KISS OF ADVERTISING

Let us now turn to the kiss of advertising, smacked, as it was put in one Sunkist pamphlet, "indelibly . . . on the skin of each orange."¹⁷ Sunkist was the trademark of the California Fruit Growers Exchange, which sprang to life in August 1893.¹⁸ Twenty-five years later, the CFGE presented a self-promoting cartoon to its members in which it compared its own birth to the birth of the nation: like the founders of the nation on July 4, 1776, the founders of the CFGE had met to "declare their freedom from commercial exploitation."¹⁹ Feeling that they were being robbed by middlemen—jobbers and packers—growers turned to cooperative marketing techniques to gain control over more aspects of their labor. Indeed, this movement was born of a populist impulse, rooted in the labor theory of value. At the same time, many growers were Progressive Republicans. As Spencer Olin has shown, the growers' associations—with their eyes on developing statewide and nationwide markets for agricultural produce—were deeply embroiled in the politics of progressivism and, more generally, the transition to modern corporate capitalism.²⁰ As it entered the

wentieth century, the CFGE would take on more and more of the hue of a progressive organization, preaching the "gospel of efficiency" and doing its best to bring modernity to the citrus industry. Indeed, the populist rhetoric of the noble yeoman farmer working for a hard-scrabble existence was seldom heard among citrus growers; they favored progressive, modernist positions over conservative, agrarian ones.²¹ The grower could be a cultural hero more suited to modernity: wearing elegant hats and

urbane suits, many growers looked upon themselves, and would have others see them, as more related to the engineer or businessman than to the noble, but vanishing, farmer.

Explicitly modeled on labor unions, the CFGE was comprised of three levels of organization: the local, the district, and the central. At first, the CFGE was devoted to the problem of marketing, defined narrowly in terms of getting their produce to market. Still, such marketing was a complex affair. Rail-



Icing plant for rail cars operated by the Pacific Fruit Express, a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific, at Roseville, California, ca. 1930. Railroads, particularly the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe, pioneered in the development of refrigerated marketing systems and technologies for shipping California fruit, especially citrus. By the early twentieth century, gigantic railroad refrigeration facilities could be found at strategic places on tracks stretching from California to the east and north, and the Southern Pacific Company had become one of the largest ice producers in the world. *Southern Pacific Railroad photo.*

roads opened the national market to oranges by the mid-1880s, making it possible with refrigerated cars to ship the fruit across the country and even into London by 1892 (the queen herself tasted an orange from the first such shipment, pronouncing it "palatable"). The picking of oranges of various sizes and grades also had to be rationalized to produce a product that was, as Sunkist's advertising claimed, "uniformly good." In order to meet the challenge, the CFGE became a vertically integrated corporation, developing an impressive managerial method for mapping out supply and demand across the entire country. By ordering the picking of just the right amount of fruit of the right size and grade on a monthly basis, and then streamlining packing and shipping, the macrocosm of the market was linked with the microcosm of each grower's trees. Getting the product to market was more than a challenge in physical communication; the complex operations that made the exchange of fruits possible and profitable was predicated upon an exchange of words. In 1936, an estimated one and a half million words were circulated by teletype or telephone among Sunkist's fifty-seven sales offices in the United States, Canada, and Europe.²²

Such intensively managerial practices required tremendous cooperation from individual growers. The exchange announced to its members and potential members in 1904 that "the citrus fruit grower is no longer independent of his neighbor as to marketing his crop, but each is dependent upon each other."²³ Through cooperation, each grower, as the progressive economist William Cumberland argued in his study of the exchange, "can be made to feel that he is something larger than himself."²⁴ As historian William Cronon explains, "for farmers, 'cooperation' became an almost mystical symbol of modern civilized life."²⁵ In cooperation, its supporters maintained, there would be no individual yeomen making their way in the world by the sweat of their brows. Farmers, of course, were deeply suspicious of such organization, especially when it produced the "trusts." Through cooperative marketing, though, citrus growers in essence decided that "if you can't beat them, join them"; at least, emulate their form.

Committed to democratic operations and a brand of collectivism, the CFGE was born out of a progressive impulse that promised to solve the populist's

predicament—that of the farmer at the mercy of the market. Indeed, the exchange managed to bring what Alfred D. Chandler calls "the managerial revolution" into agriculture, and in so doing, made citrus growers indeed part of something larger than themselves—corporate capitalism.²⁶ Value would be created not so much by labor in the soil but through cooperation by eliminating waste, increasing efficiency, increasing the scale and scope of operations, and applying scientific growing, managing, and marketing techniques. As we shall see, however, labor soon disappeared altogether from the pictures the CFGE presented to their potential consumers.

In addition to controlling the flow of supply, the CFGE soon realized that demand for their mass-produced product could in fundamental ways also be scientifically managed. This would be the second mark of the CFGE's progressive, modern orientation: its commitment to advertising. By the mid-teens, the CFGE began to take "scientific salesmanship" very seriously. In fact, in the contract between the central exchange and its seventeen districts, the CFGE explained that it was established

To encourage the improvement of the product and the package.

To increase the consumption of citrus fruit by developing new markets and to aid in supplying all the people with good fruit at a reasonable price.

To maintain an advertising bureau for the purposes of stimulating consumption and demand.²⁷

Through advertising the CFGE helped forge a connection between improving the actual product (a project for culture 1, the practice of growing) and increasing the consumption of the fruit by intervening in culture 2 (the field of representations). Yet this intervention in culture would not be an imposition, since "demand" in this discourse is latent, even natural—needing only "stimulation." According to such self-justifying discourse, this would be a win-win move: growers would be paid fairly for their labor, and "the people" would get a better product at cheaper prices.

But to a true populist, the work of such advertising would be seen as an enormous con game, for advertising could not really add to the value of crops because all value was added in the labor process. Paying money for advertising, therefore, would make as much sense as blood-letting. The CFGE, in fact, felt

need to lead its individual members constantly away from such retrograde thinking. During difficult times, growers' populist rhetoric would flash up to challenge both the value of advertising and the CFGE's cooperative organization. In the "Sunkist Courier," a four-page section that appeared in each month's edition of the magazine for citrus growers, *The California Citrograph*, the CFGE was constantly explaining and justifying its advertising and cooperative organization. As if to assuage suspicion of the collectivist nature of the CFGE, the masthead read: "The success of cooperation lies not so much in cooperation itself as in the individual." Sunkist told and retold origin stories that portrayed advertising as the industry's white knight bringing exponential growth in production and stability or increase in price. It noted smugly that Florida complained that California citrus could command a higher market value because of the advertising. Upon acceptance of this, the labor theory of value vanishes, and advertising is understood as creating value in excess of both what labor and nature had put in.

In the pages of the "Sunkist Courier," CFGE member growers were informed what the season's advertising campaign would look like, and where and when such ads would appear. For example, a billboard might be pictured, with a caption explaining that it would be "facing Union Square, the best shopping district in the Bay City." In these stories, the CFGE told itself about itself. The exchange often cast itself in the role of the crazy maverick whose willingness to go out on a limb had paid off handsomely, as in this 1920 article that remembered the first Sunkist advertising campaign, which had been undertaken in 1907, as "quite an adventure":

It was a new idea in the advertising world,—an attempt to use the tools of the manufacturer on one of nature's perishable fruits. An orange was just an orange. It grew on a tree and when it was ripe somebody ate it. . . . An orange would resist any attempt to make it a particular orange. Nature was a notably poor manufacturer when it came to turning out standardized fruits that were absolutely alike in size, appearance and eating quality. . . . But the orange growers were doing the planning and . . . they were willing to experiment and pioneer.⁸

Here was the explicit recognition that the orange was not limited to being a natural object. By transporting this object out of nature and into culture, it

could be reconfigured, mass-produced, and sold like any other commodity.

Not only could the advertisers work the magic of making the fruits of nature into "a particular orange," they could make that single orange be hundreds of "particular," oranges. To increase consumption, it was a good strategy to see to it that citrus would be many things to many people. "Indeed a lemon is not one product, but a group of totally different products," advised the *Citrograph*. "A lemon may be classed as a pie, a hair rinse, a cool drink, a hot drink, a garnish, a mouth wash, a vinegar or a skin bleach. The toilet and medicinal value of the lemon are alone sufficient to bring it fame."²⁹ Thus advertisers forged an array of semiotic links between the signified (the lemon for sale) and multiple signifiers (hair rinse, cool drink, mouth wash, etc.). Such crossing of multiple uses with the single object can be seen as another kind of hybridization. This hybridization went on in the realm of culture 2 (that of human-generated representations), and simultaneously reconfigured the material produce, citrus, generated by culture 1.

The genius of Sunkist was to make this hybridization occur at as many sites as possible. Images of oranges were disseminated into American culture through every possible opening: on the sides of early speedboats; through an exchange-sponsored radio show; on the picturesque labels of the forty million crates of citrus shipped each year; on billboards, street cars, and railroad cars; in school curricula; in essay contests; in retail outlet displays; in pamphlets distributed by doctors; on the pages of America's most popular magazines such as *Life*; in the pageantry of local "citrus weeks" and country fairs, or of the National Orange Shows at San Bernardino, where oranges would be arranged to depict foundational stories of the nation, such as Washington's crossing of the Potomac. The overarching goal of this hybridization was the reconfiguration of oranges as a daily necessity instead of as a luxury. Oranges were simultaneously constructed as a necessity and an object of desire, as well as naturally wholesome and American as apple pie. The near omnipresence of orange images, along with the multiple points of appeal, succeeded in realizing this transformation.

As we have begun to see, Sunkist saw these techniques for expanding the citrus market as harmonious and beneficial to both the consumer and seller.

Advertising was not about shoving things down people's throats, but rather giving people what they wanted or enlightening them as to their true wants. Sunkist would simply present the "facts" in an "educational campaign," and increased consumption would follow.³⁰ Indeed, Sunkist's discourse about its own advertising tended to depict consumers as persons who needed to be awakened to their true needs and desires; the exchange avoided admitting that they knew advertising was powerful enough to create or implant such desires. Occasionally, though, a different image would appear on the pages of the "Sunkist Courier." In "Carry the ball with Sunkist," a football player runs down the field toward goal posts wrapped into the shape of a dollar sign, while fellow players labeled "Billboard," "Car Card," and "Magazine Advertising" knock down opposing players named "Sales Resistance."³¹ Usually, a less combative relationship was portrayed: Sunkist pictured itself as dancing with the market³² or gaining access to "Mrs. Consumer's" office, while other "non-advertised brands" are forced to wait.³³ By the

exchange's getting the word out through as many media as possible, eating citrus could be made part of a total way of life, a new culture of consumption.

But this was not to be a pernicious imposition. Bolstered both by a romantic view of orange-growing and the culture it fostered, as well as a pseudo-scientific faith that oranges were good for people, spreading the benefits of orange culture to the rest of the country could be seen as a progressive mission. With urban populations swelling and the frontier officially closed, some progressives worried that Americans, deprived of sunlight, open land, and the soothing or challenging qualities of conquering raw nature, might become culturally weakened. Indeed, eating oranges could provide urban-bound populations with a vital link to nature and health. The orange, as a little package of the sunshine and healthful qualities that attracted so many people to southern California in the first place, would thus fortify and invigorate an American culture that many observers felt was suffering from degeneration, decadence, and depletion.



Plate 2: Orange producers associated their fruit with athletic prowess. Claremont's College Heights Orange Association, which was affiliated with the California Fruit Growers Exchange (Sunkist), was particularly fond of portraying athletes on their labels, beginning in the early 1900s.

III. "ORANGES FOR HEALTH"

In 1907, the California Fruit Growers Exchange, with important financing and organizational support from the Southern Pacific Railroad, launched its first major advertising campaign in Iowa with the slogan "Oranges for Health—California for Wealth." With this catchy phrase, linking monetary and bodily prosperity, Sunkist began a strategy that continues to this day to make oranges almost synonymous with health. The word "health" appeared all over the exchange's ads; some interjected the word "Health" in italics between the words "Sunkist" and "Oranges" to create an almost subliminal relationship. Crate labels in the 1930s began to emphasize a connection between the fruit and athleticism, depicting golfers, skiers, bicyclists, and football, baseball, and female basketball players in association with oranges. In one such label focusing on runners, one unfortunate competitor, who presumably did not drink his juice, has collapsed in a heap of depleted flesh, while the juice-man kicks in to the finish with style and vim (plate 4).

Sunkist turned to medical science in order to cover the traces of its own hand in making "Oranges for Health" what it called "a widespread truism." By 1918, for example, Sunkist claimed "that the familiar phrase, Oranges for health, is founded on medical fact and is not merely a so-called 'catch-phrase,' valuable only for its advertising appeal, is being proved almost daily."³⁴ Science would show that the connection to health was natural, inherent in the fruit. "Catch phrases" invoking the legitimacy of science proved indeed good for "advertising appeal," even if, as it turned out, they were sometimes not good for getting at the truth about food. Between the mid-teens and World War II, a sea change was occurring in the science of foods. While progressives had awakened the American public to the dangers of ill-prepared and impure foods, the "Newer Nutritionists," as Harvey Levenstein calls them, began to point to particular foods as being "protective," positive elements in providing for growth and health. Simultaneously, breakthroughs were achieved in isolating vitamins for the first time and in relating diet to biological processes through the study of rats.³⁵ Sunkist was quick to put any of this new knowledge, or quasi-knowledge, to its own use.

As early as 1918, for instance, Sunkist was pass-

ing on the advice of Dr. J. H. Kellogg, who claimed that the alleged "arrest of growth" of bottle-fed babies could be overcome by supplementing the infants' diets with orange juice. He also recommended its use in treating fever and advised that oranges were a good source of "vitamines." A devout advocate of vegetarianism, Kellogg's research had also linked meat-eating to masturbation. Having only been isolated in 1912, such "vitamines" still had to be put in quotes when appearing in advertising copy. The presence and benefits of Vitamin C in citrus could only be inferred in the early twenties. All that was actually known about the C vitamin was that it would prevent scurvy.

The "discovery" of Vitamin C and other supposedly health-promoting qualities in citrus fruits gave Sunkist what it needed—a new and mysterious presence in their product that it could "educate" the public about. Sunkist ingeniously constructed educational narratives that simultaneously aroused fear of dietary deficiency and supplied ready relief with its unique preventive cure. "Mother Nature has bottled pure water in citrus fruits in a germ-proof container," Sunkist explained. Not only was this natural mix of water and fruit "delicious" and better than "artificial beverages," it played "an important part in the control of fevers . . . pneumonia, flu and common colds."³⁶ One ad read, "Vitamin C is the anti-infection vitamin that is so important to normal growth and the development of sturdy bones and sound teeth . . . C is needed each day." Physicians and nutritionists agreed everyone could use a little orange juice, even infants. Hybridizing its product with the cultural institution of breakfast, one Sunkist ad claimed "oranges are your richest practical source of breakfast-Vitamin C." When in the early thirties it became possible to measure the amount of vitamins in food, Sunkist tested Florida oranges against the CFGE's Washington navels. It turned out that the Washington navels were "22% richer in vitamin C," as Sunkist's ad copy began to announce. Sunkist Oranges, therefore, give "you more health for your money." Who could pass up a twenty-two-percent reduction in their chances of getting myriad diseases?

Elmer McCullom, dean of the new nutritionists, propagated another important, if inaccurate, theory concerning the healthful benefits of oranges. This



Plate 3: Orange-crate label from the Orange Cove Citrus Association.

notion involved what McCullom called the acid- and alkaline-producing qualities of food. Sunkist seized on the idea, educating the American public that "acidosis" would be caused by "eating freely of such good and necessary foods as cereals, bread, fish, eggs, and meat—all of which are of the acid-forming type—without sufficient fruit, vegetables and milk to balance them." Without balance, people might lose "punch" at the office, but good things came from being in acid-alkaline balance. Since "good health is magnetism, it wins people to you, makes it easier for you to influence others," the answer to the question of how to win friends and influence people was to eat oranges. Indeed, developing acidosis, and leaving this condition unremedied, could lead to weakened health, bad disposition, and ultimately serious diseases of mind and body. The Sunset gospel proclaimed that "unpleasant symptoms, such as headache, listlessness, acid mouth, sour stomach, acid sweat, sleeplessness and

'sour disposition,' frequently accompany acidosis and this condition is thought to make the body more susceptible to colds, and to lead to more serious diseases."³⁷

The new nutritionists and home economists, as Harvey Levenstein notes, "helped create a national vogue for oranges, grapefruits, and lemons."³⁸ On this semiotic level, oranges were characterized into dietary staples like meat and eggs. Indeed, it was a Sunkist goal to make the daily drinking or eating of an orange as natural as getting one's daily bread. Like its contemporary fad illness, "neurasthenia," "acidosis" fed upon certain pre-existing cultural anxieties about loss of vigor in the modern, corporate and machine-driven world. Sunkist thus situated its advertising in such a way to play into and profit from familiar patterns of anxiety and desires for relief within the "therapeutic culture" that, according to T. J. Jackson Lears, emerged in America at the turn of the century.³⁹

While all consumers could presumably benefit from any of the several ways citrus was linked to health, Sunkist took special care to emphasize the importance of oranges to the healthy growth of children. The child playing with building blocks was a recurring motif in citrus ads. Sometimes parents could be seen in the background, watching over their toddler's learning of the skills required for participating in the building of culture. Among the blocks was an orange: oranges were thus associated with the enculturation of children, fostering their growth and contributing to their ability to put things together. In one crate label, the healthy toddler was caught within multiple levels of representation: she proudly held up an orange, beside an image of herself holding up the same orange (plate 3). Just so were advertisers' reproductions bound to family reproduction in images that crossed the natural growth of fruit with the cultural growth of children. Grafting this idea into a folk tale about sex and reproduction, one crate label replaced the traditional payload of a stork with a bright orange. A "Home and Household" feature in the *Citrograph* pictured the properly developing child standing on a scale, arrows pointing to "muscles firm," "trunk well proportioned," and "proper weight for height-age."⁴⁰ The accompanying article outlined all of the supposed health benefits of oranges—promoting growth, protecting against scurvy, colds, and scarlet fever, aiding in the development of perfect teeth and bone structure, and, of course, counteracting acidosis. For every ten pounds of weight, a child should drink at least 1.6 ounces of orange juice a day. Or so recommended the CFE pamphlet "Feeding the Child for Health," which Sunkist intended for distribution to "parents, teachers and child health workers."⁴¹

Such strategies, of course, were aimed at "educating" parents into creating the proper dietary, exercise, and sleep regime for their children: indeed a "Taylored life"—to use Martha Banta's term that marks the way the scientific management theories of Taylorism were disseminated into culture and daily life in the early twentieth century.⁴² In its advertising, Sunkist raised the specter of the malnourished child in a strategy that Roland Marchand has called "the parable of the Skinny Kid."⁴³ Sunkist raised this specter of the ill-fed child and offered its solution: "A child that is underweight, lacking in

vitality, nervous, fretful . . . is undernourished. An orange a day . . . has been found especially valuable in helping underweight children gain weight." A parent had only to buy oranges and his or her child's thinness and listlessness could be replaced with healthy bulk and vigor, like the picture of an active, red-faced youngster performing the national pastime. Sunkist's parable of the skinny kid helped discipline parents into accepting the knowledge and word of experts and deploying orange consumption as a child-rearing practice.

In truth, such nutritional information was deeply shaped by the power and economic interests of advertisers such as Sunkist. Indeed, Sunkist "fostered and supported the research" conducted at the University of California and elsewhere that established the dietary value of oranges, as its advertising manager openly admitted in a 1935 article, "Sunkist Aids Science—Now Doctors Help Sell Oranges." "We are only advertisers, not scientists," Sunkist's ad man modestly explained. We can't shout these things to the world until the research workers who whisper them have tested, weighed and proved beyond doubt their discoveries."⁴⁴ Of course, Sunkist whispered a research agenda into the ears of these scientists and promulgated its own interpretations of the results using the legitimacy of science as an amplifier and the purchasable space in the media as a forum. Or, they simply used the legitimacy of science to gain access to captive consumers by establishing orange juice programs in schools.

Through children, Sunkist's semiotic practices linked the simple act of consuming oranges to the culture's hopes of creating a healthful and vital society. Sunkist helped write for the nation an instructive kind of dietary *bildungsroman*, that is, a novel that contributes to the development of the reader's character. Without oranges, Americans would be vulnerable to disease, their children would be underdeveloped, businessmen would lack the proper "punch" to get the job done, and such ill-defined, commonplace problems as "headaches" might prevent Americans from performing a whole host of activities vital to both production and reproduction. By using the legitimating language of medical science and playing on cultural fears of disease, Sunkist configured nature's oranges as a vital ingredient in the health and growth of the nation.

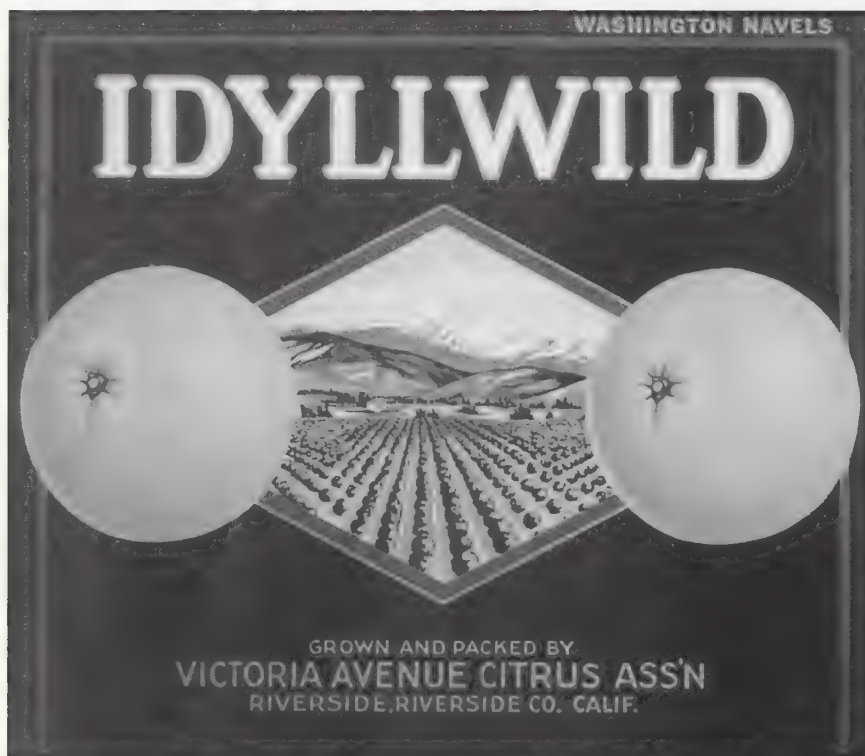


Plate 4: This label used in the 1930s by the Victoria Avenue Citrus Association of Riverside testifies to the Eden-like aura that orange-growing came to assume in the public mind. *Author's collection.*

IV. RE-PLACING ORANGES WITH NATURE

Although Sunkist was fully aware that their natural produce had been turned into a commodified product, the re-placing of this artifactual orange within "Nature" was their major marketing strategy. From the beginning of California orange crate labels, the placing of oranges in scenes of natural beauty was common. Such images bore a family resemblance to the pictures well-to-do people would have commissioned to be put in local or state atlases in the late nineteenth century. Often, the grower's orchard would be portrayed with its neat rows of orange trees, while in the background the San Bernardino or San Gabriel ranges rose up, lending the purple mountain's majesty to the whole scene.

These early images were as much about advertising citrus culture as the good life, an Arcadian idyll, as they were about selling oranges. An "idyll" is a kind of picture-poem celebrating pastoral life, a literary genre cultivated by classical poets such as Hesiod. As Kevin Starr has ably shown, many of the

original citrus growers self-consciously sought to reproduce such idylls in southern California. They endeavored to inscribe such celebratory poems into the land and into their lives, as well as on the sides of orange crates: these images were actually written into the land and then turned back into images in which to package the fruit.⁴⁵ Although by 1915 such idyllic scenes became less common on crate labels, they did not die out. Perhaps the paramount expression of this genre is a crate label for "Idyllwild," used in the 1930s (plate 4). This classically balanced image, with its window-view on the pastoral landscape, certainly speaks of a place in which nature and culture exist in an idyllic relationship. But we can also read "idyll" as "idle": the wild has been held in suspension, captured as culture's version of nature to be held forever in a timeless image of harmony and balance. Of course, these naturalistic scenes portrayed a pastoral, not wild, landscape. However much the scenes were drenched in color and sunshine and kept in the background the untouched mountains as a symbol of wilderness, the landscape

they portrayed had been profoundly altered to meet human desires. A scroll on the state Capitol in Sacramento announces "Bring me men to match my mountains."⁴⁶ Creating an agroecosystem, a tamed nature, is what men—what a culture—did to match the mountains.

Still, untrammelled, unworked mountains, disassociated from any view of worked land, continued to provided a dramatic way of re-placing oranges within nature. A crate label for "Grandeur" featured a picture of the craggy, snow-capped Sierra; the "El Capitan," "Yosemite," and "Half Dome" labels all placed an idea of oranges within wilderness. In this way, oranges were grafted into the popular idea of the West with its big, pristine, majestic wilderness. By the 1920s and 1930s, such scenes of nature might feature a road with a motor car making a leisurely errand into the wilderness. The story told here was not of a static nature that was wholly other, separate from humans, but rather one that could be appro-

priated into the world of leisure and good health. The car is our referent point, showing not only that we can get to nature, but that we can be in nature and in culture at the same time. An extreme expression of the figure of the road into nature is the "Big Tree" label. It depicts an actual site, in which a window through nature was quite literally carved out. The hole hewn in the giant sequoia is big enough to drive a horse-drawn carriage through, thus allowing "the pioneer" simultaneously to preserve and to conquer nature and pass through culture into nature and out again in a kind of condensed reenactment of Turner's frontier process. In fact, Frederick Jackson Turner could have done something like this himself after delivering his talk on the frontier at the 1893 Columbian Exposition by strolling over to the California Building. Not too far from the Knight of Prunes was a forty-foot section of a giant sequoia, reconstituted from bark stripped from a tree in Fresno County and featuring a doorway into the cen-

Plate 5: Similarities of color and shape between the sun and the orange, along with the clear association of the sun with life and growth, made the sun a common symbol in orange advertising.



ter of the display. The "Big Tree" was killed so that California's almost supernatural environment for growth could be advertised in Chicago.

In re-placing oranges within nature, Sunkist's ultimate trump was of course the sun. The Sunkist logo was originally a sunburst. Many crate labels represented the sun as an orange globe, with or without Sunkist inscribed on it. One depicted a beautiful orange/sunset off the Pacific Coast (plate 5), and another announced its iconic power more directly with the image of a radiating orange emblazoned with the words "Sun Idol." In considering how the solar trope worked, it may be useful to look at two key linguistic terms that describe how meanings are transferred: metaphor and metonym. Metaphors establish relationships between objects that are in some way clearly separable, e.g., the lion is a king. Metonyms, by contrast, transfer meanings between things that are in some way contiguous. The question "Can I have the keys" is thus metonymic, because some part of a car is used to represent the whole car. The trick of Sunkist advertising was to make metaphoric relationships seem more and more metonymic. If oranges were equivalent to "health," this was because they really did help people be healthy. In bridging the gap between oranges and the sun, Sunkist made this relationship of difference more and more into one of sameness. Indeed, the kiss of the sun signified that oranges really were in touch, or contiguous, with the solar body. This establishes a metonymic relationship between the orange and nature, in its most primal and pure form. Thus, consumption of the orange would literally be getting in touch with nature, unmediated by any signs of culture; the consumer, in another metonymic transference of meaning, would also be sun-kissed.

In this semiotic world based on what one might call a "solar theory of value,"⁴⁷ the labor that actually produced the fruit would not only be regarded as valueless, it would be seen as devaluing the goods. The more hands the orange passes through, the more mediated the relationship becomes between the consumer and the natural orange. This neat trick of absencing the grower and other laborers does more than heighten the consumer's sense of communing with nature. It hides the political and social situation in which that fruit is brought to the consumer's lips. In other words, it hides the worker. California thus becomes a mythical landscape, a Biblical

garden, in which fruits naturally materialize for the pleasure of people.

Carey McWilliams and John Steinbeck were among those observers who saw beneath the ideological veneer of such advertising. To them, what was happening in California was not natural at all. They were outraged at what they considered the fascist tactics used by growers in Depression California. Steinbeck's "grapes of wrath" fermented in this soil. In the pivotal chapter in his novel, Steinbeck evoked the beauty of California in the spring only to reveal the social injustice that stands behind this fertility. Great men, he wrote, have produced bewildering fruitfulness, but such fruitfulness also produced cultural "rot." For Steinbeck, this was revealed when fruit, instead of being made available to hungry people, was destroyed to reduce supply and maintain prices.

... There is a failure here that topples all our success. The fertile earth, the straight tree rows, the sturdy trunks, and the ripe fruit. And children dying of pellagra because a profit cannot be taken from an orange. And coroners must fill in the certificate—died of malnutrition—because the food must rot, must be forced to rot.

The people... come in rattling cars to get the dumped oranges, but the kerosene is sprayed. And they... watch the mountains of oranges slop down to a putrefying ooze; and in the eyes of the people there is the failure; and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing wrath. In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage.⁴⁸

Steinbeck indicts California's agroecosystem for lying outside any moral economy. Turning the kiss of advertising on its head, McWilliams, citing instances of labor-grower violence, thought that a more appropriate trademark for the CFGE would be "Gunkist." Metonymically speaking, consumers were biting into a little lead along with their sunshine. In addition to hiding the labor conditions of citrus production, the citrus industry's Edenic vision of nature simply offering up her bounty also hides the cultural work of scientists, to repeat Steinbeck's novel, "selecting, grafting, changing, driving themselves, driving the earth to produce." Under this ideological system, the labor of culture drops out. The consumer is encouraged to forget how both the earth and workers have been driven to produce.



Piles of unmarketable oranges rotting in a field near Lindsay in the San Joaquin Valley, ca. 1937. Scenes such as this during the price collapses of the Great Depression aroused widespread resentment of California's fruit marketing systems and inspired the well-known "grapes of wrath" passage in John Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), which not only protested the exploitation of Dustbowl migrant workers in the farm fields, but went further to indict the state's entire large-scale, industrial, corporate agricultural system. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Images of women, however, were privileged as mediators between Nature and the consumer. They could stand between the fruit and the consumer without detracting from its natural value. Indeed, one of the most recurring motifs in Sunkist advertising was of the woman's hand offering the fruit. Two semiotic exchanges were taking place through this motif; likewise, there are two explanations for why women were privileged mediators. In the first respect, women were simply more naturalized. They either stood in for Mother Nature, or they were depicted as flower-like characters in an idyllic scene. This "naturalized lady," however, could cross over into being an object of desire, conferring sex appeal to the orange. Two extreme examples of this were the "Tesoro" label (plate 6), in which a pirate-woman

offers up oranges she has pulled out of the treasure chest between her legs, and the "Hope Chest" label, with its obvious double entendre. The "Have One" label represents a more subtle, simplified, and stylized approach to sexing the motif of the woman's hand: an outstretched arm, with the glint of a gold bracelet, offers the half-peeled orange, suggestive of both female and male genitalia, and the consumer is told to "Have One." To have an orange, then, is also to "have" a woman.

The motif of the woman's hand undergoes a revealing change between a "Tropical Queen" label (circa 1910) and a 1939 Sunkist billboard. In the billboard, the box is gone, as is the "pretty" dress, and the queen is now a discerning consumer engaged in a pleasant examination of the orange in her hand.

She looks more like the New Woman than a neo-classical nymph. "You couldn't do better if you picked them yourself," Sunkist proclaims. If this ad is not about sex, it is still about romance—the romance of a relationship with a pastoral, wholesome nature. The implication is that Sunkist is not a grand, impersonal organization that rationalizes the growing and selling of its millions of boxes of oranges, but rather one that is intimately, almost romantically, involved with the process of picking each piece of fruit and bringing it to what Sunkist called "Mrs. Consumer." But whether the image of the woman is naturalized, romanticized, or made an object of desire, the motif of the woman's hand performs an ideological function similar to the sun-kissed orange: it is yet another way to make the field hands drop from sight. Again, we forget the workers in the groves and the women on the assembly-lines who largely performed the job of sorting and packing fruits. But certain brands of pro-growth economics have always been accompanied by "invisible hands."

Since before the world's fair of 1893, California had been advertising itself as "the land of sunshine and flowers." Women were presented with flowers, as we have seen, to constitute the "naturalized lady" who could offer consumers an object that was, if anything, more natural and innocent than it might appear on the tree. In such images, women not only were flower-like; sometimes they were hybrid creatures, part human, part flower. Exploring how this combination could have made citrus culture more attractive might help us answer why and how such a hybridization was performed. As symbols of nature and beauty, flowers were easily grafted onto the image of the naturalized lady. She represented the cultural values of the hearth and the heart, and of beauty. Placing oranges in association with women-flowers conferred on them a wholesomeness, a tinge of romance, and a central place in the creation of home-life. Indeed, they had a special place in the private sphere, where, as Sunkist's narrative production had it, women, food, beauty, and nature all commingled to create a healthy and redemptive culture.

But in citrus ads, flowers often stood alone to make many of the same associations: begonias, tulips, orchids, magnolias, poppies, sunflowers, crocuses, and roses, all were used to sell oranges. The flower that perhaps best conveyed this combination of asso-

ciations was the daisy, the perfect symbol of youth, innocence, wholesomeness, and pristine nature. The daisy served as such a good symbol partly because what e.e. cummings called the "naughty thumb of science" had already prodded nature into producing this appealing plant form. The Shasta daisy was no virgin: it had been "burbanked." In one of his books, Luther Burbank explained the story of the daisy, subtitled "how a troublesome weed was remade into a beautiful flower." Four different parents were crossed, and fifteen years went into making the hybrid flower—the living form—match what Burbank referred to as his "ideal," or "mental picture." It was a picture of "crystal whiteness," "charm," "grace of form and abundance of bloom," and "vigor"—these were Burbank's words.⁴⁹ These qualities had been consciously inscribed in the flower by the "plant wizard," working within his own culturally bound aesthetics, even before Sunkist began its use of the flower. All signs seem to point through nature and back to the shaping hands of culture, revealing a symbiosis of plant life and cultural meanings created through hybridization.

V. SCIONS: DISNEYLAND AND THE CONSTRUCT OF NATURE

In the mid-fifties, fruit orchards were razed in Anaheim in order to create a very special landscape—Disneyland. This was but one memorable event in the postwar decline of citrus-growing in southern California. It became more profitable to grow a new crop—houses. Recently, Riversiders have worked to get a few remaining acres of citrus preserved. And Disneyland is now taken as evidence that our worlds of nature and culture have become immaterial, magic, "hyperreal."

But "Main Street U.S.A." of Disneyland did not replace some authentic enclave of Arcadian farmers simply living on the soil, enjoying the fruits of the earth, and cultivating a Jeffersonian democracy. The real lost world was also infused with immaterial images of itself. In fact, as early as the 1920s, Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse had gotten in on the act of promoting oranges at the San Bernardino National Orange Show. In this and other ways, the golden fruits of California's orchards are related to the fireflies in Disney's "Pirates of the Caribbean."



Plate 6: The use of women as symbols on orange-crate labels evolved from sedate, genteel portraits in the early twentieth century to the racy, pin-up-calendar-like images of the 1930s, such as is evident in this Tesoro brand label.

Both are artifactual, meaning-laden, consumer-oriented, profit-driven, and spectacular. By looking at the intersection of science and advertising on fruit, we can broaden our understanding of the busy thoroughfare connecting "nature" and "culture" in California and give insight into the way in which fruit was traffic on that freeway in which economics, politics, technology, and myth-making were all jammed together.

[CHS]

See notes beginning on page 139.

Douglas Sackman, a recipient of the Harold T. Segerstrom Memorial Prize in California history, is currently pursuing the Ph.D. in history at the University of California, Irvine. His dissertation will explore the relationships among nature, culture, and growth in California during the interwar years.

"IN A WORLD HE HAS CREATED"

Class Collectivity and the Growers' Landscape of the Southern California Citrus Industry, 1890–1940

by Anthea M. Hartig

One of the more intensive and far-reaching alterations of the indigenous landform in modern American history was the structuring of the landscape and built environment of the southern California citrus industry. I will examine that rather large subject by focusing on a series of thirteen photo-illustrated essays appearing from 1928 to 1937 in the industry's trade magazine, the *California Citrograph*, which highlighted the contemporary southern California citrus growers' domestic enclaves for all readers to appreciate.¹ "The Esthetic Side of Orange Growing in the Southwest" series was penned by Archibald D. Shamel, a plant physiologist working with G. Harold Powell at the University of California and U.S. Department of Agriculture's Citrus Experiment Station in Riverside. Shamel told of local industry leaders' appreciation for "natural beauty" as he profiled their homes, delighting in both architectural and planted improvements.

Captured by his fluent pen and photographer's eye, Shamel's often flowery sketches and often rigidly composed photographs can be viewed as the standard paternalistic, elitist, racist, sexist promotional fare of the age. But the words and images reveal a deeper side of the leading citrus industrialists' need for cultural self-expression and chosen forms of constructed representation. These photographic essays provide evidence of how the leaders of the southern California citrus industry extended the tenets of corporate capitalism, and in particular scientific management, to the manipulation and transformation of the indigenous chaparral, valleys, and riverbeds into a well-manicured and prof-

itable landscape. Shamel's writings and photographs can be taken as further evidence of the efforts of the industry's leaders to superimpose a cultural and economic collectivity on a highly competitive and often fragmented commercial enterprise. These documentations also shed light on the correlative struggle to define and reinforce the ideology of the citrus ruling class, whose survival depended upon cohesion, collectivity, cheap labor, and a certain level of governmental participation.

The citrus industry's defenders rooted their mental and physical constructs in a conservative, masculine framework based on social relationships of the latter half of the nineteenth century and management styles of the turn of the century. Blatantly and occasionally defensively, Shamel argued that these citrus men's wealth contained at its font the stability offered by their wives and children, the bounty of nature, and the unison with which they and their fellow citrus growers acted. From reading Shamel's work, it seems that citrus industrialists sought to create a complete aesthetic and moral, as well as economic, hierarchy that openly celebrated the intimate relationship between capitalism and beauty and reinforced notions of an industrial landscape that were at once suburban and plantation-like.

In a manner in which he introduced all of the essays, Shamel defended the industry's wealth against claims of capitalistic callousness and told his readers that the "typical" homes he would profile were "made possible through the profits arising from successful commercial orange culture."² Shamel reiterated:



Figure 1: In his article in the *California Citrograph*, writer, plant physiologist, and citrus culture theorist Archibald D. Shamel captioned this photograph: "Orange trees near Arlington Heights, Riverside, Calif." Arlington Heights became one of the most extensive and prosperous citrus-growing regions in the Riverside area, and it illustrated the beauty and romance of the citrus landscape. This photograph was probably taken between 1918 and 1925. Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.

It is sometimes said in the presence of the writer that our prosperous citrus growers are lacking in a proper appreciation of the esthetic side of their business by reason of their concentration upon intensive methods for making it profitable. On the other hand, the writer holds that the tasteful and harmonious surroundings of many country homes and orchards in the citrus districts indicate that a deep appreciation for the beautiful is not inconsistent with commercial success in orange growing and that such instincts are possessed and expressed to an unusual degree by the orange growers.

Elaborate, lush, and exotic, all domestic and civic landscaping in the region represented the ordered and cultured minds of its designers, according to Iowa-native Shamel. In the midst of the *Citrograph*'s statistics on citrus production and ads for pesticides, equipment, "cowboy wear," and scientific management firms, these articles told of the "cultivated tastes" of citrus capitalists. Both society page and farming guide, the monthly, which has been published since 1915 by the California Fruit Growers Exchange, more often known by its trademark



Figure 2: A. D. Shamel seated in the Office of Horticultural and Pomological Improvement, Room 8, Pomological Building at the Citrus Experiment Station, 1916. As part of the experiment station team at Riverside, Shamel participated in shaping the critical partnership among growers, scientists, and state and federal governments that was central to the emergence of large-scale citrus production. *Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.*

"Sunkist," was the voice of the citrus industry's most vocal and powerful leaders. The world represented in the *Citrograph's* pages established and reinforced the business's tenets of success against which all readers were told they should compare themselves.

The city of Riverside exemplified the citrus world at the height of its creation from *fin de siècle* to just prior to World War II, as did much of both Riverside County and the "citrus belt," which encompassed at one time parts of Orange, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Ventura counties. "Citrus landscape," an example of which is represented in figure 1 of this article, is a broad concept of many meanings. At its most basic, the term refers to the "cultural landscape"—the civic, domestic, industrial, and geographic lay of the land—in areas of concentrated citrus cultivation. Physical elements shaped by human actions—structures, spatial organization, landscaping, circulation patterns, and layout—all form the most basic layer of any cultural landscape, or *landschaft*.⁴ In searching for and locating the process behind and the impact of the creation of this landscape lies the challenge of this research.

The original townsite of Riverside was laid out in a grid pattern on a plateau bounded by the Santa Ana River and Mt. Rubidoux to the west, the Tequesquite Arroyo to the south, and the Box Springs Mountains to the east. Citrus cultivation developed east and south of the city, across the arroyo on gently sloping hillsides. Along these slopes, early boosters and magnates funded the construction of three linear elements that were critical to the expansion and success of the citrus industry and came to dominate the citrus landscape—the canals, avenues, and railways. Along with these defining elements, a series of grids formed by groves and rows gave the landscape its basic spatial pattern, while tall trees, such as the Mexican fan palms planted along most roads, served as visual clues to this highly structured landscape. Victoria Avenue, begun in 1892 and shown circa 1928 in figure 4, epitomizes the formality, scale, and grandeur envisioned by early developers. The social and economic orders of citrus-growing regions were denoted clearly by the landscape, as lush horticultural barriers, including the groves themselves, separated the larger grow-

s' homes from the realities of labor and production of citrus fruits. From lushly landscaped lanes such as Mary Street, which ran perpendicular to Victoria Avenue and is represented in figure 5, citrus culturalists such as LeRoy Austin would enter and sit their domestic retreats.

At the heart of this analysis lies the assumption that there existed a strong, discernible relationship between the intellectual and spatial creation of the southern California citrus landscape and its creators—the individuals, groups, and associations that formed this class-based society. This assumption rests on understanding the economic breadth and significance of citrus production and its part in the corporate capitalistic transformation of the American political economy. As colleagues Vincent Moses, Ronald Tobey, and Charles Wetherell have stressed elsewhere in this volume, citrus was not only an agri-

cultural crop but a highly competitive industry that in 1930 grossed over \$100,000,000—more than Hollywood, more than wheat or rice, more than oil. Briefly stated, much was at stake.

Pioneers in the field of advertising, the industry's leaders, and Sunkist in particular, carefully crafted a demand for citrus fruits and shaped the citrus belt as a prime tourist attraction. The industry's leaders relied heavily on photographic images—stereocards, stills, and moving pictures—as well as artistic renderings, such as advertisements and packing labels, to promote consumption, tourism, and investment. The entire landscape thus became an advertisement for the industry. Scholarly interpretation of photographs can open up for the historian windows into the Marxian paradigm of ruling-class duplication in their own reality. Karl Marx wrote that man "duplicates himself not only, as in consciousness, intellectually but also actively, in reality, and therefore he contemplates himself in a world he has created."⁵ The cultural importance of photography to the local southern California bourgeoisie in the early decades of this century should not be underestimated, as photographs were the prime visual media of the time. Photographic images of sunny southern California made their way across the continent and around the world, and citrus was probably the most recognizable icon of the region.

One central research question, bolstered by a series of related ones, dominates this project: to what extent did the leaders of the citrus industry behave as a collective class to fashion a physical world that reinforced and legitimized their economic needs? Put as a Marxian paraphrase, how did the leading citrus industrialists, if indeed they did, attempt to contemplate themselves in a world they had created? Were the promotional tracts, images, and the landscape itself a ruling-class attempt to impose codes of behavior, style, and attitudes that were critical to the maintenance of collective class cohesion and continued economic return?

The search for answers to these questions can be aided by analyzing Shamel's words and images and the material world—the cultural landscape—of the citrus industry, because of their direct relationships to the governing class of growers. Promotional literature about this set of relationships, of which the *Citrograph* was chock-full, promised, in a manner much like the Country Life Movement of the early twentieth century, that the mature citrus industry allowed for wealthy or industrious American men to purchase an immaculate "farm," to belong to an association that took care of the marketing and handling of the fruits of their land, to remodel an older home from the 1890s or to chose their favorite revival



Figure 3. A. D. Shamel selecting the bud-stick with desirable fruit from a record-breaking tree for reproduction, ca. 1920. Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.

style of domestic architecture and, even in Riverside, to play polo.

The idealized estate held up by Shamel in his "Esthetic Side of Orange Growing" series was accessible by automobile to the civic amenities characteristic of progressive America. In the physical world that citrus made, according to Shamel, there was no failure, no ugliness, no oppression, certainly no economic depression, and no pain. Just as Archie Shamel had helped citrus owners surmount such critical issues ranging from pest control to successful storage and shipping methods, so could he instruct grove owners as to what kind of homes they should build for themselves, their families, and their laborers. This kind of masculine confidence permeates Shamel's writing and photographs, revealing him as scientific manager, urban planner, landscape architect, labor consultant, and architectural expert.

Shamel established and then reiterated his formula for success and personal and civic prestige:

well-managed citrus production generated capital, and capital brought forth culture, beauty, and societal importance. This beauty was of a certain kind, according to Shamel's writings. At its core it contained the inherent splendor of the citrus fruit trees and planting system itself, as well as the constructed "homeplaces," as Shamel was fond of calling them. Citrus growers were to shy away from any new architectural styles when planning their estates, as Shamel insisted that growers' architectural vocabulary, as reflected in leading grower E.T. Wall's estate (figure 6), should be "conservative, like the semi-colonial style," and should include "no freakish type of home."⁶ This constructed, beautiful world enhanced Nature to the point of merging with and overwhelming "her" (and Nature was gendered in Shamel's writings). Nature then came to represent the aesthetic accomplishments of the grower, as she looked less and less like her former self and increasingly reflected their manicuring.



Figure 4: Victoria Avenue, Riverside, as it appeared in a *Citrograph* photograph in May 1936. Still mostly intact, Victoria Avenue is one of the finest exemplifications of the many turn-of-the-century societal reform movements that had spatial ramifications. Both public garden and grand boulevard, Victoria Avenue connected the downtown and packinghouse district to the outlying rich growing areas such as Arlington Heights. *Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.*



Figure 5: LeRoy Austin Ranch, Edgewild, Riverside, July 1933. The driveways of the larger citrus ranches such as the Austin family's opened onto Victoria Avenue. By the 1930s, the extensive tree-planting efforts of the 1890s, including the American elm at the east [right] side of the entrance to the Austin estate, had matured to ease the aridity that once dominated the landscape. *Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.*

The cultivated and natural landscapes were fused into one glorious whole in this example offered by Shamel, as he wrote that Nature

has been kind that she has provided wonderful settings for our orange groves and home sites. Valleys filled with orange trees broken here and there by graceful eucalyptus, cypress, palm and other border trees with backgrounds of rolling hills or towering mountains are inspiring and lovely beyond description. In the winter time when the mountains framing the orchards are snow-capped and when the bright gold of the oranges shine through the rich green colored foliage of the trees such views are never-to-be forgotten. The elegance of this combination, roadside trees, orange grove, hills and snow-capped mountains in the distance is not excelled any where in the world in the writer's experience.⁷

What literary historian Raymond Williams has called the "search for the picturesque," whereby the ruling class sought to create and improve nature, continued among leading citrus industrialists.⁸ The notion of power and manipulation over nature was

spurred by the belief held by emigrants to southern California, including Shamel, that any plant could be grown. Carey McWilliams was quick to criticize the liberties taken by "newcomers" for importing "the most heterogeneous assortment of ornamental plants, shrubs, trees, and flowers ever assembled in an environment to which they were not native."⁹

Viewed within Raymond Williams's intellectual framework, Shamel's essays reveal a conscious effort on behalf of the citrus ruling class to create a false tradition of landedness for themselves. The scientist Shamel was quick to note his approval when an "old-fashioned" item appeared on the lawn of a grower's estate, as in the case of the Austins' "Edgewild," shown again in figure 7. Along with a swimming pool, sunken garden with a lighted croquet court, and three hundred tons of imported colored rocks for grounds, Edgewild had an old inoperative well "with its oaken bucket." This was also true of the W.H. Minor home, also in Riverside, which sported a "well-stocked goldfish pool as well as an old-fashioned well nearby with its oaken bucket, a



Figure 6: E.T. Wall home, Riverside, ca. 1937. Wall was an important grower in the region and with two hundred acres of oranges in Riverside, he also farmed eight hundred acres of cotton lands near Kingsburg in the San Joaquin Valley. The Wall family remodeled an existing ranch house that had been built in 1887. *Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.*

reminder of the early days." Which early days, Shamel left unclear, but his emphasis on such well-placed lawn art harkened back to a pastoral ideal of farming that had never existed in the California desert and that had little do with the industrialized agricultural practices of citrus production.¹⁰

By claiming "the country" for themselves, industrial agriculturists, whether in Devonshire, England, or Colton, created a landscape segregated by class and in southern California separated by long rows of eucalyptus and palm trees. Shamel described almost all of his sample homes in a manner similar to his account of E.T. Wall's home: "Owing to its location somewhat distant from the main-traveled Magnolia Avenue and with its tree, shrub and garden plantings, the house is secluded so that the noises and other disturbances incidental to modern life are not intrusive. As a matter of fact, it typifies the ideal country home with nearby neighbors that many of us dream about, with the advantages of the adjacent city with its schools, churches, theaters, stores and other institutions which are indispensable to us nowadays." Local elites could thus lead the life of a gentleman farmer insulated in a landscape of capital, with their homes, their women, and often their laborers wrapped in a mantle of citrus, as was the case of L.V. Brown of Riverside, whose estate is pictured in figure 8.

Shamel furnished the extreme example of this transformation of nature into an economically based reflection of elegant taste in reviewing the domestic creation of G. Henry Stetson, the youngest son of the Philadelphian haberdasher.¹¹ Like the English gentry, who created their gardens, sitting areas, and façades with an eye for the views from both the inside and the outside, Stetson built his estate, the Rancho Sombrero in Sierra Madre, in the image of feudal fiefdom. Complete with a diverted stream of water falling impressively above the arched entrance portico of Stetson's Spanish/Mediterranean revival dwelling, the estate was, according to Shamel, designed to emulate the "old hacienda days."¹² It could also be seen—and I am here borrowing Williams's words—as a "visual sampling of power, of displaced wealth and command; a social disproportion which was meant to impress and overawe."¹³

Nature and Stetson's constructions are fused into one, and in the Rancho Sombrero we are afforded a clear example of the ways in which the ruling class of southern California borrowed, adapted, and twisted the factual, climactic, and spatial characteristics of other lands in formulating appropriate regional imagery, especially in architecture. The recipe historian Kevin Starr provides for the production of this image package combines the mission myth with an obsession with climate and a strong dose of political conservatism, "all put to the service of boosterism and oligarchy."¹⁴ The luxurious myth-making at the Rancho Sombrero elevated the grounds into a complete tactile, sensual, aesthetic, and self-contained world.

Stetson's money purchased seclusion; and the application of irrigation and earthmoving technology to the restructuring of nature made for him a home. A visitor to the Rancho Sombrero would, according to Shamel, escape, leave the highway and "the noises and distractions . . . inherent in less fortunate locations," meander by automobile through an enticing private drive lined with eucalyptus trees and oleander, to reach, finally, "this unique Spanish like home." A barbecue lunch would perhaps be served outside on rustic, but accommodating, furniture, as speakers hidden high in the trees brought "Spanish music" to the guests' ears. Later, perhaps after a cocktail on the long front porch while lounging in handmade Spanish chairs, guests could swim in a pool holding one million gallons of water.

Shamel delighted in Stetson's transformation and mutilation of nature and repeatedly noted when a particularly splendid job at reconstruction had been accomplished. The scientist wrote of the emulative rock gardens, "planted" so well that it was hard for the layman to distinguish the new from the native. Shamel ended the Stetson profile with the following literary sigh:

As we listened to the songs of the birds in the branches above us and watched the antics of the friendly grey squirrels near by, the lapse of time between the history-making days of the old adobe and the present moment seemed negligible. Our hosts told us of the deer among the elfin forests of the hills that came down nightly to wander in the gardens; the presence of the mountain lions reported at intervals, and of the flocks of valley quail fed and protected on the ranch. The sunlight filtering through the tree tops made elusive and delicate patterns on the table and floor. All was serene and a sense of seclusion, joy in nature and restfulness was in our minds. This was the keynote to the charm of the home environment, the impression of quiet joy in living in natural surroundings.¹⁵

The conscious confusion between natural and manmade landscapes was the stuff of which citrus image and myth were made. If managerial capitalism served as the building blocks for this bourgeois paradise Americans created in the southern California citrus industry, patriarchy, and the racism and sexism that often accompany it, composed the corresponding mortar.¹⁶ With the political and economic control over the creation of the landscape on many economic levels, the citrus industry's leaders worked against the inclusion of non-white males into its power structure, as evidenced by Shamel's writings. It is not that Shamel's articles completely ignored laborers or women; to the con-

trary, the proper place of both groups was carefully outlined as that of their bosses or husbands.

When mentioned, Shamel prized laborers, many of whom were non-whites, for their allegiance, submissiveness, and solid work patterns. However, the physical world of employees and laborers on the large ranches, or plantations, as they were often called, was highly structured and hierarchical. As Margo McBane investigates elsewhere in this volume, housing played a critical role in labor relations of large companies like Limoneira in Santa Paula. The efforts on the part of owners to construct family housing for Mexican workers were concerted, as the industry sought out a permanent, or at least semi-permanent, resident workforce. Shamel also offered his prescription for labor housing in a 1918 series, "Housing Employees of California's Citrus Ranches," in which he detailed a methodology of site layout, construction standards, architectural styles, and racial segregation that would produce and reproduce faithful, healthy, loyal workers. By the 1920s and 1930s, when the "Esthetic Side" articles appeared, Shamel's only mention of labor housing was of the lovely and clean villages built by grove operators for Mexican families, which he presented as orderly elements in the overall physical hierarchy of the ranches.

The image of anonymous Mexican workers housed in quaint, isolated, sanitized, small villages, as represented in Shamel's essays, advanced the social and temporal hierarchy of the citrus industry. Within the later series, Shamel's three references to labor fall between the years 1932 and 1937, a time of initial labor activism, which resulted in some of the first successful efforts to better workers' conditions—including living conditions.

Control of workers' domestic space, as well as their economic livelihood, merged into one mandatory ingredient in Shamel's prescription for continued success. E.T. Wall's Riverside estate of two hundred acres of citrus and his eight-hundred-acre cotton ranch near Kingsburg provide an illustrative example of the amount of power owners could exert if the location and movement of labor were monitored prudently. In Kingsburg, according to Shamel, Wall built "a model Mexican village for housing his Mexican employees, most of whom are his orange pickers," who were later shipped to Riverside for harvesting.¹⁷ Laborers on the Jameson ranch were mostly married men, whose houses were all "well-constructed, equipped with modern plumbing, city water, electric lights." One group of houses was even provided with gas for cooking and heating purposes.¹⁸

Good housing, proclaimed Shamel, led to obedi-



Figure 7: Austin Ranch outdoor swimming pool, Riverside, July 1933. About Edgewild, the Austin estate, Shamel wrote that it was located "far enough away from the noise and confusion of the busy town to afford perfect quiet and seclusion, but conveniently placed on paved roads that lead to both the famed Victoria and Magnolia avenues and on to the center of the city as well as to the main traveled state highways." *Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.*

ent workers. By encouraging permanent residence as part of family units, citrus company housing would produce another generation of workers. All his references noted the low turnover rates and the loyalty of laborers who were well-treated. Such was the treatment of Henry Stetson's "employees," who were "housed in a little village . . . in a delightful spot near a canyon in the hills . . . surrounded by towering eucalyptus and sycamore trees." Each home, with its little flower and vegetable garden, produced occupants whose loyalty and permanence were further enhanced by Stetson's "thoughtful and generous acts," like supplying the employees regularly with fruit from the orchards. Like Stetson, Jay Jameson could brag to Shamel that "we have only a small turn-over of ranch and packing house labor, and have several men who have been continuously in our employ since I was a boy."¹⁹

Like some of the Mexican laborers, the growers' wives who made an appearance in the "Esthetic Side of Orange Growing" series were often provided with the latest in cooking and housekeeping devices and were confined to certain notions of domestic and productive life. This is not to infer that the lives of growers' wives approached those of laborers in terms of subjugation or hardship. Rather, the male growers' economic and cultural imperatives, and therefore attitudinal perceptions, needed to place women in the home, and not in the associations or cigar-smoke-filled rooms. At a time when other options were available for creating domestic architecture, as architectural historian Dolores Hayden has shown, the industry leaders chose those that reinforced through the material world a patriarchal, paternalistic, corporate order of things. Although initial research has revealed that a significant minority

if women did belong to and sat on the boards of various packinghouse associations in the 1920s and 1930s, these are not the type of women portrayed in Shamel's writings.

The role of women, and of gender, in the imaginative and temporal worlds of citrus culture is rich, if complex, and lies beyond the scope of this effort. For an example, even Carey McWilliams employed heavily engendered language when describing the citrus landscape, carrying the simile of the orange tree as "a rather plump middle-aged dowager bedizened with jewels and gems and a corsage of gardenias."²⁰ Shamel's language likewise frequently relied on literary comparisons rooted in differences between the sexes. New scholarship in literary analysis points to the masculine constructs of language and, in particular, how such devices control the reader's response to a given text.²¹

Shamel's vision of the citrus landscape, like the *Citrograph* itself, was a man's world. Shamel did not locate women close to the industry's power sources, but he rather rooted their influence in the home. Contemporary women's rights advocate Charlotte Perkins Gilman would have attributed Shamel's silent treatment toward women to the fact that male capitalists had appropriated control over economic productivity and women's creative qualities and relegated women to making only domestic improvements. In this weakened state, according to Gilman, women had grown dependent on men for their sustenance and well-being.²²

Although Shamel occasionally praised the intelligence and aptitude of a grower's wife to make their home a place of beauty, he emphasized that her place was in the protected enclave of the "homeplace." The home, after all, was "the most important social unit in this country," according to Shamel.²³ Efficient, clean, and "easy to maintain," these homes were set to sparkle by women. As women were protected by men, so the domestic enclaves of citrus growers were surrounded by a landscape systematically planned, in every case by males, that marked clearly the approach to the residence and that separated it from the street, the grove, and the workers and their housing, with water-thirsty, lush, and exotic gardens. One wonders how the widow Mrs. E.T. Wall, shown about 1937 in figure 9, contemplated herself and her world.

The importance of didactic publications such as Shamel's to the maintenance of the citrus industry's social and economic structure cannot be overestimated. Their authors sought to reinforce a collective mindset and to create a unified social consciousness. Marx stressed the strong influence



Figure 8: House and plantings, L.V.W. Brown estate, Riverside, ca. 1928. Shamel featured the Brown estate in his first "Esthetic Side" article, published in the *Citrograph* in January 1928. Lyman Brown had been dead for six years when the essay appeared, and the only mention of Mrs. Brown was in a caption of another photograph used to illustrate the article. Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.

exerted by such ideologies in the formation of individuals' cognitive lives, arguing that ruling ideologies were publicly disseminated, socially acquired, and historically grounded. These "ideas and forms of public judgment," according to Marxist scholar John McMurtry, "constitute for Marx the socially accepted standards of ideation in any historical society, into which personal consciousness more or less resolves itself as the price of social existence."²⁴

If, then, Marx's concept of the "public frame of mind" is accepted, the codes of behavior and the constructed landscape prescribed by Shamel attempted to achieve the Marxian social reality of public exhi-

bition. This landscape, according to the plant physiologist, demonstrated that culture and capitalism had merged to form an everlasting testament to the citrus industry. Orange cultivation was the great enabler of culture, as Shamel reiterated often, and the many examples of "home beautification" offered evidence of this connection. Such illustrations of good taste were to "impress on the consciousness of other growers the possibilities offered by their own places for further beautification." This would apply, according to Shamel, "not only to the larger properties—the owners of which have the facilities and means to properly landscape the home surroundings—but to the home place of the small grower—the 'ten-acre man'—who likewise is interested in rural landscaping."²⁵

In selectively highlighting words and worlds of certain men, Shamel prescribed an industrious, sober, and genteel way of life for the *Citrograph's* readers. One of the more illuminating illustrations of Shamel's creation is found in the essay that featured David Bell, an orchard manager from Riverside. Regretting that he was not a native, according to Shamel, Bell had emigrated from North Dakota at age nine to a "pioneer farm" in Temecula. He received scattered schooling, the most notable at Throop Polytechnic in Pasadena, known today as California Institute of Technology, and he worked in packinghouses in Cucamonga, Pomona, and Anaheim before L.V.W. Brown recruited him to Riverside in 1913.²⁶

Through his portrayal of Bell's industry and community involvement, Shamel relayed the depth and magnitude of the codes of behavior he promoted. For instance, while Bell's memberships in the Sunny Mountain Orange Company of Riverside, the Riverside Highlands and La Sierra water companies, the Riverside Chamber of Commerce, the Tri-County Reforestation Committee, the Riverside/Arlington Heights Fruit Exchange, the Calvary Presbyterian Church, and the Kiwanis, Elks, and Victoria clubs may strike the modern ear as excessive, Shamel's promotion of Bell's activities in the *Citrograph* illustrates the importance of a shared, class-based vision linked extensively through fraternal associations of various sorts.

In filling offices of local, regional, statewide, and even federal fraternal and governmental bodies, the influential classes were better able to shape southern California into a reflection of their own economic interests. The prescription for the successful grower, as Shamel laid it out, was to be dedicated first to "the profitable culture of oranges, lemons and grapefruit . . . the active support of all worthwhile efforts to improve and develop the industry."²⁷ Other key

ingredients, however, included community services and "substantial and sustained contribution to the social, educational and religious welfare of their employees and their neighbors, and active cooperation with all public agencies that encourage the development of prosperous living conditions and good citizenship in the southwest."²⁸

Bell's praise of the University of California's Citrus Experiment Station illustrated one of the more powerful and influential characteristics of citrus agribusiness—a dependence upon the university, the state and federal governments, and scientific methods of increasing productivity and reliability. The *Citrograph*, in text and graphics, represented the web of relations between technology and the cooperative corporate order, about which historian David Noble has interpreted revealingly.²⁹

The necessity for growers to take collective scientific, economic, social, and cultural action figures prominently in the behavioral prescription set forth in "The Esthetic Side of Orange Growing" articles. Shamel emphasized one of Bell's more emphatic comments, in which he strongly advocated and defended the Californian Fruit Growers Exchange. Shamel claimed that Bell realized "that the success of the citrus industry was largely attributable to the advertising, control of shipments, and distribution work [of the CFGE, and]. . . any citrus grower who does not market through this organization is taking advantage of his neighbors, who, by their cooperative efforts have made his success as a grower of citrus possible."³⁰ Shamel's message came across forcefully: competition on an individualized level only served to undermine the meticulously executed progress of past generations of growers—it was forbidden.

Shamel insisted that Bell's success was not only an example for all to follow but was unique to the southern California citrus belt's special conditions. This emphasis exerted further pressure toward conformity and collective action, as it reminded the reader of his good fortune as a member of the special citrus economy. "Every boy and girl" should read of this industrious man, according to the plant physiologist turned cultural reporter, as "it is a picture that is peculiarly of the west and of our own beloved southern California in particular. It shows that the days of opportunity are not over, that hard work may be [a] joyful and worth while experience and that it pays to be decent."

In presenting a manual for current and future grove owners, Shamel reminded the *Citrograph's* readers of the industry's economic and cultural benefits. Whether domestic or citricultural, engineering and regulation produced the tangible results that

ustained the industry's dominance. Production of citrus crops made possible phonograph speakers in the trees, stunning vistas, and most importantly, wealth. By offering a range of examples, these essays prescribed a social hierarchy that required the affirmation and participation of all ranks of growers.

Shamel continuously recalled for the reader that his landscape "was a desert not long ago," and that it had resulted from great effort and demanded preservation. In the May 1936 article, Shamel wrote of a family who had inherited a thirty-year-old Riverside citrus estate, that "they deserve our thanks for their systematic care and preservation of this priceless heritage." Furthermore, Shamel's words and images instructed citrus managers and owners on the finer points of subservience and control of society's lower ranks, which were necessary to the wealth of the industry and society as a whole.

Cultural, economic, and social conflicts often manifest themselves in struggles not only for ownership, but over patterns of land use and development. Carefully and scientifically planned, the ornamental landscape of the citrus industry can be seen as a vehicle through which growers marked the territory they had claimed. The citrus ruling class for the first quarter of this century exerted much authority over the creation of a constructed landscape reflective of their economic needs, but not as much power as they would have liked, as evidenced by the need to reinforce repeatedly the importance of economic collectivity that cut across class lines.

Through the historical window of the *Citrograph*, we can see that the philosophy of scientific management was not bound to the packinghouse, but instead permeated the entire social fabric. In a description of a grower's landscape that could represent the ordered social hierarchy Shamel's writings promoted, he wrote that "lawns, hedges, a few shrubs, some larger trees and here and there a bed of colorful flowering plants complete a picture of pleasant domesticity. Each tree and shrub blends into its respective position, without being ostentatious, and adds its share to the general landscaping theme."³¹



Figure 9: Mrs. E.T. Wall at the garden gazing globe, Riverside, ca. 1937. About the Wall couple, Shamel wrote that he was "inclined to give Mrs. Wall credit for the lovely gardens which exhibit clearly the artistic sense and loving care of this enthusiastic and charming plantswoman. However, her hospitable and able orange growing husband has cooperated wholeheartedly in this delightful work and is a loyal and active partner in this fundamentally important home building achievement." Courtesy University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library, Special Collections.

See notes beginning on page 140.

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COMMENTARY

READING THE CITRUS LANDSCAPE

Comments Concerning Papers by Douglas Sackman and Anthea Hartig

by Michael C. Steiner

Every force evolves a form.

—Shaker proverb

Man . . . duplicates himself not only, as in consciousness, intellectually but also actively, in reality, and therefore he contemplates himself in a world he has created.

—Karl Marx

Architecture takes a place from nature and appropriates it for politics.

—Henri Lefebvre

I'm deeply impressed with Douglas Sackman's and Anthea Hartig's papers and honored to be asked to comment on them. They are so evocative and bursting at the seams with ideas and issues of regional myths and symbolic landscapes, tourism and nostalgia, gender stereotypes and the politics of place, Jeffersonian pieties and oligarchical realities, agrarian collectivism and individualism, aesthetics and morality, environmental perception and advertising, the machine in the garden, genetic engineering, the control of nature, the death of the frontier, and more. In trying to do these important subjects justice, I share Virginia Woolf's frustrated realization that "Whatever sentence I extract whole and entire from this cauldron is only a string of six little fish that let themselves be caught while millions of

others leap and sizzle, making the cauldron bubble like boiling silver, and slip through my fingers."¹ As I thought about these carefully researched, masterfully written, elegantly argued essays, far too many ideas and images kept seething to the surface and wriggling through my fingers. As I sat at my desk, mulling over Sackman's and Hartig's words and rereading Carey McWilliams, Raymond Williams, Kevin Starr, Mike Davis, John McPhee, Richard Lillard, and others, a couple of images kept itching at my mind more than most, images that unlocked what I might say.

First, I realized, strangely enough, that I had been staring out my office window at a solitary orange tree glistening in the southern California sunlight; and second, I remembered an epiphany folklorist



The college town of Claremont, California, with orange groves in the foreground and the San Gabriel Mountains in the background, 1900. In the rapidly developing southern California of the early twentieth century, the orange was not just one of the romantic symbols boosters used to sell the "Golden State." Citrus production was the leading economy sparking the boom, and citrus groves were omnipresent, powerful shapers of landscape. *Editorial office collection.*

Henry Glassie had while walking across the Irish countryside. "In the midst of a walk once in the Irish countryside," Glassie recalled:

I found myself pondering the aesthetic energies the island's people have frozen materially. The beginnings, preserved in illuminated manuscripts and

carved crosses were auspicious. The recent artistic genius has been radiantly exhibited in literature, in oral narrative, and instrumental music; but in painting and sculpture . . . modern Ireland is curiously weak. . . . I was thinking like that when the sun pierced a cloudbank and spotlight a whitewashed gable far up a gentle hillside. Gold glazed the gray and

green. Suddenly I realized the entire island has been touched, moulded by human beings. It is an artifact. From Fair Head in Antrim to Mizen Head in Cork, from dear dirty Dublin to rocky Connemara, Ireland is sculpture, a collective material artwork. . . . The land is art as Waldo Emerson exactly defined it: a blending of nature and will.

Our American land, too, is an artifact. It has been handled less tenderly than Ireland. Progress is a rough lover. But people, affectionate or rapacious, have made the land their expression, their testament and legacy. . . . We should learn the landscape's language.²

There's an immense distance between an orange tree stranded in my backyard in Fullerton and the Irish countryside, yet these disparate images and powerful papers illuminate a central fact: that what seem to be the most natural and ordinary of things—glistening oranges, glossy trees, suburban lots, verdant (almost sacred) groves, Ulster hillsides—are artifacts to be studied, are, in Glassie's words, "the people's own manuscript, their handmade history book."³

Sackman and Hartig know this, have learned the landscape's language, and tell us, among other things, that beneath the smiling surface of citrus land lies a carefully built agroecosystem that was, in Hartig's words, "at once suburban and plantation-like": a panopticon of power, whose public image of generous gentry in elegant estates overseeing happy peasants in Potëmkin villages masked harsher realities of racial and gender inequality, segregation, and exploitation found in packinghouses, barrios, and "jim-towns." Reading the landscape, they reveal how the forces of capitalism, biological science, advertising, and technology transformed this patch of earth from a daunting semi-desert into the ephemeral gold coast of American agriculture, into what is now the most artificial and fragile of American regions.

Each reads our region from a slightly different, yet

complimentary, angle of vision. Focusing upon *the land itself*, Hartig brilliantly describes how wealthy growers like G. Henry Stetson and avid boosters like Archibald Shamel etched their alien aesthetics upon the tender earth, how, in her words, "they enhanced Nature to the point of merging with and overwhelming 'her,'" restructuring and mutilating, bulldozing and irrigating the land to impose a false geography in its place.⁴ Concentrating upon *the orange itself*, Sackman masterfully deconstructs the golden fruit as a man-made, mass-mediated object of desire that has been hybridized, burbanked, and ballyhooed beyond recognition. Like the Central Valley's square tomato, southern California's plump and luscious orange is an artifact "marking the spot where the facts made by culture and facts made by nature are grafted together" and symbolizing "the dynamic interpenetration that gave rise to California's artifactual nature."

I admire how both scholars link the transformation of nature to the exploitation of people. Based upon a potent mixture of Karl Marx, Raymond Williams, Carey McWilliams, and John Steinbeck, Sackman and Hartig have a healthy indignation for what this fabricated place meant to women and workers. They are rightly bothered by the rank disproportion between country houses and workers' quarters, and they alert us to the simple truth that, as geographer Yi-Fu Tuan puts it, "Oppressive society and rich beautiful countryside are fully compatible." They share the nostalgia-shattering vision of McWilliams, who while documenting the ruthless tactics of the "do-nothings who own the groves" during the 1936 Orange County pickers' strike, was astonished by "how quickly social power could crystallize into an expression of arrogant brutality in these lovely, seemingly placid, outwardly Christian communities."⁵

Rightfully wary of the dangers of nostalgia and false geographies, Sackman stresses how romanticized ad imagery allowed the consumer to "forget

ow both the earth and workers have been driven to produce," and Hartig describes how sentimentalized revival architecture perpetuated oppression. Just as soothing images of "old hacienda days" at Rancho Sombrero rationalized injustice in the 1930s, nostalgic memories of blissful orange grove days may blind people to the plight of workers in silicon landscapes, edge cities, and high-tech sweatshops today.⁹

Needless to say, I greatly respect how Sackman and Hartig read the citrus landscape, and I'd like to take a few moments to discuss how their work contributes to larger historiographical frontiers. Their sensitivity to the cultural landscape and built environment, first of all, may help awaken historians to the strangely neglected power of place. Surveying recent American historical scholarship, geographer John Jakle has noted "the lack of a spatial orientation . . . in all but a few historical works," while ecocritic Donald Worster has complained that "there is very little nature in the study of history." Such stubborn spatial amnesia has been abetted by the illusion that modern history represents the conquest of nature. If "the fulfillment of modern America would be its power to level times and places, to erase differences between here and there," as former Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin asserts, and if "the 800 telephone number and the piece of plastic have made time and space obsolete," as former Citicorps C.E.O. Walter Wriston argues, then place ought to wither away as an academic and economic concern.⁷

Despite such pronouncements, historians like Sackman and Hartig stress the basic, immutable fact that *everything takes place*: that life does not exist in a vacuum and that people are still influenced by the places—even cyberspaces—they create and by natural forces they will never transcend. Aware of the taken-for-granted power of natural and built environments as the ubiquitous context and condition of history, Sackman and Hartig may be part of a much-needed regrounding of critical inquiry.⁸ Har-

tig achieves this, in part, by a highly creative use of Marx's theory of projective consciousness—man's "ability to raise a structure in the mind and in physical reality" and thus to contemplate "himself in a world he has created." Although he alludes to Marx, Sackman anchors his work to contemporary ecological theory, including Donna Haraway's notion of "artifactual nature," Donald Worster's "agroecological perspective," and William Cronon's effort to "place nature in history" and illuminate "all the many places that give shape to the modern world."⁹

Ultimately it is the *groundedness* of their work that most appeals to me. Anthea Hartig's paper is an important step toward an integrated historical study of southern California's constructed landscapes. Masterfully reconstructing the collective mentality and cultural landscapes of orange grove owners through Archibald D. Shamel's articles and photographs, Hartig comes close to doing for the Citrus Belt what Mike Davis has achieved for the Antelope Valley, Los Angeles, and Fontana.¹⁰ Yet to complete the picture of the Citrus Belt, it is necessary to move from cultivated to vernacular landscapes, from G. Henry Stetson's Rancho Sombrero to his workers' quarters. It is important, as Hartig maintains, to trace the ways in which those who had a societal structure imposed on them in turn reshaped, reformulated, or ignored such dictates, and restructured their own domestic environments. If it is true that, as Shakers say, "every force evolves a form," then a myriad of class, ethnic, racial, and gendered forms should be found on the land, and I strongly suspect that Anthea Hartig will find them for her larger work.¹¹

Just as the vernacular response is necessary for Hartig's larger project, an even more vivid sense of nature's power might heighten Sackman's already incandescent study. His paper brilliantly describes the "dynamic interpenetration" of culture and nature "that gave rise to California's artifactual nature" with an emphasis on the cultural rather than the natural side of the relationship. His fine sense of the human



Ventura County's exhibit at the California State Fair during the 1940s featured a platform made of the county's leading products, lemons and oranges, and crowned with a chapel containing a kneeling mannequin of the legendary Ramona, the heroine of Helen Hunt Jackson's best-selling nineteenth-century novel. Citrus growers and their regions have always tried to associate their products with romantic images, including those drawn from history, other exotic world regions, and, in this case, popular fiction. *Courtesy California State Archives.*

urge to refurbish nature forges evocative comparisons, for example, between "the golden fruits of California's orchards" and "the fireflies in Disney's *Pirates of the Caribbean*," or between the Knight of Prunes at the Columbian Exposition and Luther Burbank's spineless cactus and white blackberry. Such images of fabricated nature illuminate theologian Herbert Richardson's lament that "The vision of a wholly artificial environment, man and society restructured by the power of the machine, is the American dream."¹² Yet Sackman's vision of the artificial impulse might be countered by an even firmer sense of the natural consequences of our prodigal meddling with this dry fragile corner of the continent where, more than any other region, we must learn to build *with* rather than against the expectations of the land.¹³ And no one has described this relationship more effectively than McWilliams, who, looking over the citrus landscape and the very mountains that loom above us, sensed that

some vital quality of the land has been subverted. Perhaps it is, as Charles Fletcher Lummis once said, that "the life of these valleys is not drawn from the number of educated and wealthy people who settle in them; not from the golden crops they yield; not from the railroads, hotels, blocks, or all the labyrinth of enterprise—but from the granite breasts of the Sierra Madre, the Mother Range. And these breasts

are going dry." The denuding of these steep slopes through forest fires, the incessant pumping of underground waters, and the ever-expanding demand for water in larger urban areas, makes one wonder just how real and enduring are these beautiful groves. Puzzling over the same question, a character in Howard Baker's novel concluded that "the people were powerless to change the desert very much" over the long reach of years. Who was it that said that the life of an irrigated civilization was about four hundred years?¹⁴

These powerful papers help us face that haunting question and read somber realities beneath our region's beguiling surface.

GB

See notes beginning on page 141

*Michael C. Steiner is professor and director of the graduate program in American studies at California State University, Fullerton. He earned his Ph.D. in American studies from the University of Minnesota in 1978 and has taught courses on American regionalism, environmental history, folk culture, architecture, and southern California culture at Cal State Fullerton since 1975. The author of books and articles on regional theory, sense of place, western history, and cultural geography, Professor Steiner has most recently coedited *Mapping American Culture* (1992) for the University of Iowa Press.*



"The Battle of Buena Vista," which took place in February 1847 and is shown in this etching, was one of several significant military confrontations in the war between Mexico and the United States. Yet it was not for another year that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was negotiated (in the Mexican village of that name) and signed by both countries. Under the agreement, Mexico gave up California, New Mexico, and Texas north of the Rio Grande. This substantial land annexation, for which the U.S. paid \$18 million, essentially completed the continental United States. Historians note that President Polk was dissatisfied with the settlement, essentially because he would have liked the United States to acquire yet more Mexican territory, but knew that the Congress would not support prolonged military action against Mexico. *Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.*

Edited by James J. Ruppel

The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History. Volume 2. Continental America, 1800–1867.

By D.W. Meinig. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, xix, 558 pp., notes, index, \$45.00 cloth, \$20.00 paper.)

Reviewed by William D. Rowley, professor of history, University of Nevada, Reno.

For much of the early nineteenth century, American strategists viewed California as outside of the geographical boundaries of the United States. D.W. Meinig's second volume in a four-volume series, *The Shaping of America*, makes it clear that the events and decisions within the historical process are more important than fixed and imagined geographical laws in achieving the ultimate configuration of the nation.

As a historical geographer, Meinig rejects the idea that a nation has "natural boundaries" dictated by geography. There are certain desirable features it may seek—such as deep-water ports or security for its borders—based on particular geographical features. But deeper causal factors lie within history, which is the product of culture, will, decisions, and certainly accident. This is why the future course of the American nation defied those "geopolitical forecasters" who believed that the West Coast, and especially California, could not remain under the suzerainty of a government whose power must reach all the way from the Atlantic coast. With the admission of California into the Union on September 9, 1850, the inevitability of an independent Pacific Republic ended. The idea, of course, persisted into the Civil War era, but like many ideas, it could not stand up to the events and the determination of the shapers of the political system to hold together a transcontinental nation. Lincoln himself, as the author reminds us, used geography to justify the forces of unity in the nation, but it was more his will and political force that insured it, rather than any physical attribute of the landscape.

All of this is not to suggest that Meinig plays down the importance of his own calling as a geographer. He simply rejects geographical determinism and holds that cultural and historical influences loom larger in the scope of things than does the shape of the land. The blend of history and geography offers the opportunity to make insightful observations and to make good use

of maps in this volume. Many are quick to note that the "momentous territorial frame" of the United States was not achieved without violence, conquest, and imperialism. A point stressed here, and often ignored by some commentators, is that although the U.S. celebrated its democracy, it was precisely because of that democracy that it was an unusually severe imperial power. Its government responded to the demands of the majority of the people, who wanted new lands and suppression of subordinated groups in either separate enclaves or in forced assimilation. By comparison, the early California Spanish mission system was a milder form of conquest than that practiced by the United States. Meinig resurrects Josiah Royce's comments that the American as conqueror went to great lengths to deny aggressiveness and certainly did not consider the seizure of California in the same light as Russia's seizure of so much land in Asia. "The American," according to Royce, "wants to persuade not only the world but himself that he is doing God's service in a peaceable spirit."

On the other hand, expansion can be "rationalized" as a means of self-preservation for the nation. Many believed along with the renowned American historian Frederick Jackson Turner that it encouraged nationalism and internal harmony, but Meinig notes that in the end it "exacerbated partisan and geographical divisions and ultimately precipitated disunion and civil war." Meinig joins others of his and an earlier generation—to say nothing of today's "New Western" historians—in taking swipes at Turner in the fashion of fellow geographer Carl Sauer, who said that Turner's emphasis on the frontier and its so-called evolution from savagery to civilization "was good drama but was not our history." Some might say this is an old story and old criticism, but it is the route by which the author introduces the modern world systems approach to geographical and historical change that sees an expanding western European economy reaching into and transforming the landscape of North America. The reach extended all the way to the anomalous conditions of California and decisively drew the province into the national orbit after the Gold Rush.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not chosen for review, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the library of the California Historical Society.

The Religious Contours of California: Window on the World's Religions.

Edited by Phillip E. Hammon and Ninian Smart. (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, in association with the California Historical Society, 1993, 3 vols., \$9.95 each, paper.)

Reviewed by Michael E. Engh, S.J., assistant professor of history at Loyola Marymount University, and author of *Frontier Faiths: Church, Temple and Synagogue in Los Angeles, 1846–1888*.

Recognizing the vibrant diversity of religious groups in California, editors Phillip E. Hammond and Ninian Smart of the Center for the Study of Religion at the University of California, Santa Barbara, have planned nine volumes describing organized religion in the Golden State. *The Religious Contours of California* originated as a project to aid high school teachers and others in understanding the state's various spiritual traditions. Revised and expanded for the general public, this series of handbooks will eventually provide overviews of Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, American sects, Judaism, Native American traditions, East and South Asian religions, Islam, and new religious movements.

History-minded readers need to understand the two-fold purpose the editors have undertaken. They seek to interest Californians in the religions within their state, and to introduce readers to the origins, evolution, and present circumstances of these religions around the globe. To accomplish such objectives, the respective authors of each volume first describe the history and development of a given religious tradition in California, as well as its impact on the values, mores, and actions of the state's residents. Writers also compare the California experience to each denomination's situation in other parts of the nation and around the globe. These are highly ambitious goals to attain in roughly 120 pages per volume, and there are varied levels of success with the first three works of the series.

From a historian's perspective, clearly the most erudite and comprehensive volume to appear to date is Eldon G. Ernest and Douglas Firth Anderson's *Pilgrim Progression: The Protestant Experience in California*. Noting that fully seventy-five separate Protestant denominations exist in the state, the authors deftly identify Protestant Californians within worldwide Christianity, explain the growth and creeds of believers in churches of the Reformation traditions, and describe general Protestant characteristics. The global context for California Protestantism emerges brilliantly in one chapter, while the impact of the "California experience" on Protestant identity makes engaging reading. The final three chapters guide the reader through great eras in religious history in the state: from American conquest to the end of World War I, the 1920s to the election of John F. Kennedy, and from the tumultuous 1960s to the present.

Accomplished religious historians, Ernest and Anderson

carefully contextualize leaders as famous as San Francisco's Thomas Starr King and Aimee Semple McPherson of Los Angeles. Numerous other figures appear, as diverse from one another as Charles E. Fuller of radio's "Old Time Gospel Hour" and Troy Perry, founder of the Metropolitan Community Church, ministering to gays and lesbians. Prohibition, higher education, civil rights, women's rights, the youth rebellion of the 1960s, radical religion, and the New Age movement receive thoughtful attention and insightful analysis. Comprehensive in their sweep of topics and succinct, yet incisive, in their treatment, the two authors' accomplishment leads this reviewer to assess this work as the finest one-volume overview of the history of California Protestantism he has seen.

Unfortunately, the two companion volumes do not attain the same levels of scholarship and analysis. John K. Simmons, a professor of religious studies at Western Illinois University, and Brian Wilson, a doctoral student in religious studies at UCSB, authored *Competing Visions of Paradise: The California Experience of 19th Century American Sectarianism*. They present valuable, if varying, descriptions of the American roots and California growth of Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah Witnesses, Christian Science, New Thought, Spiritualists, and Pentecostalism. The chapter on the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) dwells at length on experiences in the 1850s of Sam Brannan and the San Bernardino colony, respectively, but offers little on the vibrant end-of-the-century era of reestablishment in southern California. Curiously, the authors treat the twentieth-century developments of certain sects at great length (Jehovah Witnesses, Pentecostals, metaphysical churches), but offer no explanation why they chose these creeds and neglected others for extended discussion. This inconsistency aside, their writing often includes colorful descriptions of religious people and events.

Finally, Kay Alexander's *California Catholicism* is particularly disappointing for its treatment of twentieth-century Roman Catholicism. Her nineteenth-century section provides a useful overview of Mexican folk-Catholicism and constitutes the stronger portion of the volume. By painting in broad strokes in later sections and by focusing on disaffected liberal Catholics, the nuances and complexities of issues from the 1960s to the present do not emerge clearly or entirely accurately. Deeper analysis, other sources, and a wider inclusion of people and issues would reveal more of the sophisticated nature of a dynamic and important era in California Catholic history.

Editors Hammond and Smart are to be commended for their efforts to provide a series of publications on religion in California. A friendly suggestion would be to place greater emphasis on the historical dimension of California's religions in future volumes in order to achieve their goals for these handbooks. This reviewer and many other students of California's past eagerly await the remaining volumes in preparation, works we need in order to understand better the powerful influences that religion continues to exert in our multi-cultural and highly pluralistic state.

CHS

A Bloc of One: The Political Career of Hiram W. Johnson.

By Richard Coke Lower. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993, ix, 442 pp., \$45.00 cloth.)

John Randolph Haynes: California Progressive.

By Tom Sitton. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992, ix, 331 pp., \$39.50 cloth.)

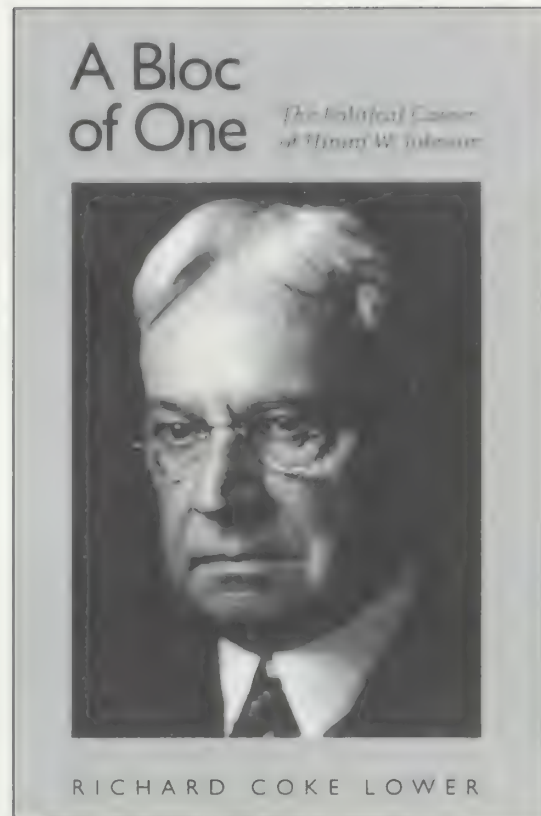
Reviewed by Richard Batman, professor of history at San Francisco State University and author of *American Ecclesiastes and The Outer Coast*.

Richard Coke Lower's *A Bloc of One* and Tom Sitton's *John Randolph Haynes* are so alike as to be virtual mirror twins. Both owe their birth to doctoral dissertations; both concern figures from that long-ago time known as "the Progressive Era"; both are published—at inordinate price—by Stanford University Press. Both, too, are prime examples of academic history at its best; academic history at its worst.

Each book contains extensive notes indicating thorough research in a wide variety of sources—personal papers, newspapers, and scholarly dissertations, as well as all the appropriate books and journal articles. Furthermore, each author demonstrates the ability to properly judge and use his sources, distinguishing between a politician's public statement, a private letter, a newspaper comment, and the interpretations of later historians. The only minor flaw is Sitton's unfortunate habit of sometimes dropping well-known historians' names to reinforce a point.

As the authors attempt to turn their research material into coherent narratives, however, they seem to lose much of their confidence. Both refuse to accept the responsibility of being a full-scale biographer, Lower by subtitling his work, "The Political Career of Hiram Johnson," Sitton by saying, "Since this book is a political biography, I have only briefly mentioned Hayne's medical career and other facts of his very busy life." For that large contingent for whom history is nothing but past politics, this compartmentalizing makes perfect sense, and for them biographies such as these are written.

There are those, however, who believe that concentrating solely on a man's politics and leaving out the rest of his life creates a truly "life-less" biography. And these mirror twins come perilously close to being exactly that. Each book is filled with political details, major and minor alike, each given equal weight, each handled coolly and dispassionately. There are no peaks and valleys, there is no drama, there is no tension, there is certainly no humor. In Sitton's book, Hayne's long fight to put fenders on Los Angeles streetcars is fully as important as the major battles of California Progressivism. (For those in streetcarless Los Angeles who don't know what a streetcar fender looks like,



Courtesy Stanford University Press.

there's even a picture facing page 180.) Lower ends his description of Johnson's long, exhausting campaign for vice-president in 1912, with the comment, "By this point his voice was often husky and his weight had dropped from 219 to 211"—a not-very-convincing example of the impact of that brutal campaign.

Reading these twin biographies of Hiram Johnson and John Randolph Haynes will leave you knowing a great many political facts about the two men. It is doubtful, however, that you will come away knowing who they were or what the world they lived in was like—which is unfortunate, for together their lives stretched across American history from just after the beginning of the Gold Rush, when Haynes was born, to Hiram Johnson's death on August 6, 1945, the same day the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

In conclusion let me drop my own names.

From Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*:

"For I write not histories but lives: the showiest deeds do not always delineate virtue and vice, but often a trivial action, a quip or a prank will reveal more of character than the fiercest slaughters, or greatest parades, or sieges of cities."

And from Mr. Dooley:

"I know histry isn't thru, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halstead Street. . . ."

The Lost Dream: Businessmen and City Planning on the Pacific Coast, 1890-1920.

By Mansel G. Blackford. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992, xiii, 189 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, index.)

Reviewed by Roger W. Lotchin, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and author of *Fortress California, 1910-1961*.


This is the eleventh volume in the impressive *Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series*. It measures up to the standards of its predecessors in every way. The Ohio State University Press series seems devoted to investigating key topics heretofore only partially studied—government in suburbs, public baths, the first rural cemetery, immigrants and the rise of city services, and so forth. Professor Blackford's outstanding book is entirely consistent with this approach. Although a number of books have appeared on West Coast city planning history, none has looked at the subject in comparative perspective.



This drawing from architect Daniel H. Burnham's 1904 comprehensive plan for the beautification of San Francisco shows a proposed Athenaeum overlooking the city and bay on Twin Peaks. At Burnham's request, the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco, which selected him for the master project, provided him and architect Willis Polk with a Twin Peaks bungalow "to command the panorama of the city and to permit uninterrupted study" during their work. *From Report on A Plan for San Francisco, by Daniel H. Burnham, Sunset Press, 1905, reprinted 1971, Urban Books.*

The author's larger goal was to explain more fully the Progressive Era, to further our understanding of western cities at the end of the frontier, and to highlight the role of businessmen in city planning. He accomplished each. Blackford compared western cities both to themselves and to eastern ones. In doing so, he succeeded in isolating and discussing several important themes. To the continuing debate over pluralism versus elitism, the author contributed the insight that businessmen usually had the major influence in city planning initiatives. Yet they were by no means a unified group and *usually* failed in their attempts to insinuate comprehensive city planning into western cities. Professor Blackford showed beyond doubt that the business interests of western cities were divided along several lines. He also demonstrated that, although organized labor held its collective nose at some of the comprehensive planning proposals, it usually voted for the business faction that favored them. Blackford likewise found that Pacific Coast cities planned in essentially the same manner and that they were heavily indebted to eastern planners, who indeed prepared most of the major western plans. It follows, therefore, that western planning differed little from eastern practices. The author also found West Coast planning heavily entangled with Progressivism, which, like city planning, greatly resembled the eastern variety.

In the process, Professor Blackford described some very interesting city plans, especially those by Charles Mulford Robinson for Los Angeles and Oakland, Daniel Burnham for San Francisco, Edward Bennett for Portland, and Virgil Bogue for Seattle. Because of the earlier work on individual cities by Carl Abbott and Judd Kahn, the San Francisco and Portland plans are better known, but all were impressive. Not the least of the book's many contributions is a model of stages of planning growth in western cities.

My only complaint is that the author did not make explicit what seemed implicit about the principal planning history subject of the book, that is, comprehensive planning. The narrative indicated that comprehensive planning was not acceptable precisely because it was so sweeping. Parts of the plans were implemented, but not entire ones. Zoning was politically acceptable, not because it was an exercise in racial or class bias, but because it was an attempt of homeowners to avoid being engulfed by industry. The reversion to zoning after World War I, then, seems not so perverse as we have thought, but rather the natural attempt of people who wanted to make the city predictable and to find a level of planning that would protect their interests, yet not evoke such massive opposition. Despite this minor flaw, the *Lost Dream* successfully demonstrates that businessmen, planners, and the City Beautiful Movement played a constructive role. The book makes an impressive contribution. 

Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900–1954.


By Albert S. Broussard (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1993, x, 336 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Douglas Henry Daniels, professor of black studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco.

This history of African Americans in the first Pacific Coast metropolis is an excellent critique of the liberal mythology of San Francisco as a cosmopolitan city, free of the segregation and racism that typifies other urban areas. It is meticulously researched, drawing upon California archives and repositories in Washington, D.C., and New Orleans, oral history interviews, contemporary newspapers, census data, and various social science and government surveys. The author's command of recent urban history studies is also impressive, as are the frequent comparisons with Black residents of other west coast, eastern, mid-western, and southern cities.

While he analyzes the class differences among Blacks and documents improvements in their status, the author reveals he shares the liberal framework that he criticizes. Broussard invariably refers to "progress," "gains," and "racial tensions," clichés that hardly advance our thinking. What precisely are "tensions"? How can one speak of "progress" when the dispersed residence patterns of Blacks assume the familiar form of the ghetto after World War II? The same data that reveals advances also highlights San Franciscans' intransigent racism and their constant efforts to nullify such gains.

Also, to what extent is the history of Black urbanites to be reduced to a "struggle for racial equality in the West" (the work's subtitle)? What of other important dimensions to their experiences? The work's focus also shifts from a consideration of demographic and social characteristics, in Part I, to a survey of Black and interracial reform organizations in Part II. Then too, much of the first half was covered by *Pioneer Urbanites* (1980), a point which Broussard does not make clear. Nor do the beginning and end dates, 1900 and 1954, respectively, correspond to events in the history of Black San Francisco.

More analyses of the purported focus, the effects of the Depression and World War II on the Black residents would improve this work, as would consideration of the following decades. Extension of the chronology would provide a deeper understanding of San Francisco's peculiar brand of racism and the Black nationalist movements of the 1960s. Photographs (the cover photo is the only one) and a bibliographic essay would have also enhanced this promising study. As a critique of San Francisco's failures to implement democracy and equality, however, it is superb. 

Winter of Entrapment: A New Look at the Donner Party.

By Joseph A. King. (Toronto: P.D. Meany Publishers, 1992, xiv, 265 pp., \$36.00 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Harlan Hague, writer and historian, co-author of Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California, presently editing a collection of unpublished Larkin letters.

This is not a new history of the Donner Party. Thank goodness, some might say, is it not time once and for all to let the members of the Donner Party finally rest in peace? The answer must be: "Not yet." Not when the perception of that tragedy is flawed.

Joseph A. King, a retired professor of English, has examined the materials of the Donner tragedy with more care than any other who has written about the affair, and with particular emphasis on the role of Patrick Breen and his family. *Winter of Entrapment* is the author's attempt to correct the record.

Genealogists will be delighted with the voluminous data on the family backgrounds of principals. Others, following the lead of the stereotypical frontier democrat—"It's not what's below the ground that matters, it's what's above it"—will find more background here than they want to know.

The book will be most interesting to those who have read previous accounts of the Donner Party. It will be slow going for any who do not know the story, for the data are minute and voluminous, and the narrative thread is often exceedingly hard to follow. One must persevere nevertheless. This may be the most important book yet published on the Donner Party.

The book will be useful as a research tool. No examination of the Donner affair will be complete without consulting it. The author disputes judgements made in previous publications, claiming that they were based on incomplete data or biased accounts. An entire chapter examines the original and secondary sources and pronounces judgement on them. Not surprisingly, King finds accounts written years later by participants to be self-serving and riddled with inaccuracies and omissions. Secondary works based on these accounts incorporate the faults.



"Emigrants on the March," by an unknown artist, above, captures the spirit of determination that was constantly challenged by physical hardship for the thousands of wagon train pioneers moving West. *Courtesy California State Library.*



Jessie Benton Frémont (1824–1902). ca. 1900. L2570002
Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Collection
 University of Southern California.

The Letters of Jessie Benton Frémont.

Edited by Pamela Herr and Mary Lee Spence.
 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993,
 xxx, 595 pp., cloth.)

Reviewed by Gloria Ricci Lothrop, Whitsett Chair in California History, California State University, Northridge.

In this extensive annotation of 271 of the 800 existing letters written by Jessie Frémont to relatives, friends, and various notable figures, respected Frémont scholars Pamela Herr and Mary Lee Spence have produced a significant contribution to American historical scholarship.

The usefulness of this carefully wrought and gracefully written study is enhanced by the extensive research reflected in the archival sources consulted, the bibliography, and especially in the notes themselves, which offer countless avenues for continuing investigation. The footnotes, along with Frémont's epistles, provide a unique biographical profile. Her vivid descriptions, laced with biblical allusions, even nursery rhymes, punctuated with poetry and lines from popular dramas, are rich veins successfully mined by the editors.

The letters, particularly the many written to Elizabeth Blair Lee, are filled with Washington gossip, news of relatives, and comments on the cultural activities of the day. In each case, with references ranging from species of roses to the diva premiering in an operatic performance, the editors have provided fulsome explication.

In so totally mastering Jessie Frémont's era and world, the writers have provided connections not only between figures in power, but also between causes of critical historic events. As a result of careful consultation of sources, the editors advance a revisionist view of General Frémont's California experience, with revealing references to Edward F. Beale, Thomas Starr King, and Judge Charles Silent. We are given a much more generous view of Jessie's intervention with President Lincoln on her husband's behalf and an unvarnished insight into the cynical motivations behind Frémont's territorial governorship of Arizona in the 1870s.

As a result of probing the historical connections, the editors have provided not only an historical overview, but also a revealing biographical profile buttressed by exhaustively researched detail. From the letters and the annotations emerges an able and strong-willed woman, who while ambivalent in her support of women's rights, ruthlessly wielded her personal power in

The author particularly attacks George R. Stewart, whose *Ordeal by Hunger* is considered the standard work on the Donner Party. King claims that Stewart's writing displays the racial and moral biases of a zealous WASP, and that he relied on flawed data, ignored any evidence of the humanity of the Breens, and accepted without question any evidence of their bestiality. The author dismisses *Ordeal by Hunger* as "pseudo-history," indeed listing the book in the bibliography under "Fiction." His arguments are convincing.

A concluding chapter tells what happened to the Breens and other survivors in California. While not necessary to the Donner story, the material is interesting, since early accounts generally end at Sutter's Fort. John Baptiste Trudeau is particularly praised for his heroic role in the affair.

There are some problems. The book has a text-like quality, divided by subject headings, with no clear narrative thread. While he attacks previous writers for basing judgments on faulty evidence, the author sometimes makes his own judgments on supposition or reasonableness. He notes that the term "Digger," referring to the Indians of the Great Basin, is derogatory, then proceeds to use it. Purists will cringe at his "Sierras," referring to the Sierra Nevada. The modern usage is "Sierra" or "Sierra Nevada."

Far from simply adding to a long list of publications on the Donner tragedy, King's book points to the need for a new account. Surely no professor of California history will hereafter assign *Ordeal by Hunger* as history. We still need an accurate, interpretive, narrative history of the Donner Party. *Winter of Entrapment* is a good place to begin research

advancing her husband's political career. She did not shrink from a prominent role during his presidential bid, where she shared public billing, nor during his Civil War campaigns, where her controversial initiatives resulted in her being referred to as "General Jenny."

In the successive debacles that marred the Frémonts' later years, especially in France and Arizona, Jessie was often the active agent, serving as apologist for her husband's dubious business transactions and attempting to recapture the family fortune. Her letters underscore this undaunted pursuit of the diminishing prospect of prestige and power, ultimately reduced to a pursuit of money and security through her writing, the settlement of a federal land suit, and qualification for a government pension.

In her unfailing effort to rescue the general's fortune and reputation from a growing number of controversies, Jessie Frémont herself is both sullied and diminished. Her stature is most reduced, however, by her acceptance of the unacknowledged ambiguity of the Frémonts' complex and seemingly lifeless marital relationship.

This intimate insight becomes clearly evident to the reader as a result of an editorial effort which can only be described as a *tour de force*. Herr and Spence have provided an exhaustive commentary on the correspondence of an important nineteenth-century figure. The wealth of the research they have made available has opened countless areas of investigation into the era, the culture, and most assuredly, California. CHS

The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960s.

By David Lance Goines. (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1993, 767 pp., \$27.95.)

Reviewed by W. J. Rorabaugh, professor of history at the University of Washington and author of Berkeley at War: The 1960s.

As an alienated nineteen-year-old student at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964, David Lance Goines played a major role in the Free Speech Movement (FSM). Goines, now a well-known poster artist, tells the FSM story in this personal memoir. In late 1964 a small number of activists at Berkeley confronted an unsympathetic administration over the right to place card tables, to solicit funds, and to organize civil rights protests

on campus. Defining the issue as one of constitutionally protected free speech, the students set up the FSM. The dispute escalated, until nearly 800 students, including Goines, were arrested at a sit-in inside Sproul Hall. The outraged faculty then sided with the activists, and the university's administration and Regents capitulated. The FSM had won the first student protest of the 1960s. For the rest of the decade, turmoil gripped Berkeley and spread to other universities. Along the way, political values, cultural practices, and personal habits were transformed.

This splendid memoir, while overly long and sprawling, contains wonderful anecdotes, a participant's mature but sometimes still romantic reflections, and many long extracts from taped interviews that Marston Schultz conducted with the FSM leaders in 1965 and 1966. At the factual level, however, the volume adds little to the record. The book's importance is as a testimonial in which we come to understand the motives, hopes, fears, and feelings of the FSM participants, both then and now. Goines's eye for detail is especially fine on the mass sit-in, on fear at his arrest, on the FSM trial, and on his two later stints in Santa Rita jail. Covering much more than the FSM, he writes frankly about how protest leaders became sex objects, about his ambivalence toward drugs, and about common methods to dodge the draft. Like many FSM leaders, Goines's deep commitment to civil rights had led him to defend civil liberties. He disliked the Left, however, and embraced philosophical anarchism. This did not put him at odds with his generation, where Left and Right often joined to denounce authority and bureaucracy.

Because this work was written long afterward and with great reflection, it demonstrates, as only an autobiography can, how a pivotal event can shape a life. Although Goines is no stylist, his prose, always clear and direct, expresses the refreshing, ruthless honesty that marked the FSM. "I was as cheerful as a cricket," he writes, "afraid of nothing, and filled with piss and vinegar (p. 607)." The book is enhanced with excellent, wittily captioned photographs. As a primary source, this memoir belongs at the top of the short list on the FSM. It is also a major source on the sixties.

As a history, the book contains too much extraneous material, including an odd forty-six-page chronology of the century, and lacks an analytical framework. The latter point is telling, for while the FSM provided a sense of community, a commitment to rights, and a proof of the efficacy of certain tactics under particular conditions, it did not offer a holistic philosophy out of which a coherent politics might emerge. That intellectual vacuum in Berkeley and elsewhere in the 1960s produced a series of increasingly erotic, exotic, and quixotic protests, rather than a sustainable political transformation. We still live with the consequences of that failure. CHS

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Bean, Lowell John, comp. and ed. *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*. Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1994. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87919-130-9; \$22.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87919-129-5. Order from: Ballena Press; Publisher's Services; Post Office Box 2510; Novato, CA 94948.

Bolotin, Norman, and Christine Laing. *The World's Columbian Exposition*. Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89133-199-9. Order from: Preservation Press; National Trust for Historic Preservation; 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW; Washington D.C. 20036.

Chase, Harold S. *Hope Ranch: A Rambling Record*. Compiled and edited by Nancy J. Miller for the Hope Ranch Park Homes Association. Reprint edition. Santa Barbara: Mission Creek Studios in cooperation with the Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1993. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-929702-04-2; \$15.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-929702-05-0. Order from: Mission Creek Studios; Post Office Box 23309; Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

Cowan, Tom, and Jack Maguire. *Timelines of African-American History: 500 Years of Black Achievement*. New York: Berkeley Pubs., 1994. \$15.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-399-52127-5. Order from: Berkeley Pubs.; Post Office Box 5069; Rutherford, NJ 07073.

Cowart, Cordell, comp. *Solano County, California, 1852 State Census Index*. Fairfield, Calif.: Solano County Genealogical Society, 1992. Inquiries to: Solano County Genealogical Society; Post Office Box 2494; Fairfield, CA 94533.

Goodstein, Judith R., and Alice Stone. *Caltech's Throop Hall*. Pasadena: Friends of Caltech Libraries, 1981. Designed and printed at the Castle Press, Pasadena; with 1994 special edition dust jacket. \$17.95 (paper). Order from: Bookstore 1-51; California Institute of Technology; Pasadena, CA 91125.

Jordan, Terry G. *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusions, and Differentiations*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993. \$35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8263-1421-X; \$18.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8263-1442-8. University of New Mexico Press; 1720 Lomas Blvd., NE; Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591.

Klare, Norman E. *The Final Voyage of the Central America, 1857: The Saga of a Gold Rush Steamship, the Tragedy of Her Loss in a Hurricane, and the Treasure Which Is Now Recovered*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1992. \$32.95 (cloth), \$2.50 shipping and handling, charge waived if prepaid by check or money order. ISBN: 0-87062-210-2. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Lay, Shawn, ed. *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1992. \$32.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-252-01832-X. Order from: University of Illinois Press; Post Office Box 4856; Baltimore, MD 21211.

McElrath, Joseph R. *Frank Norris: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Pittsburgh: Uni-

versity of Pittsburgh Press, 1992. \$120.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-8229-3712-3. Order from: Cornell University Press; Post Office Box 250; Ithaca, NY 14851-0250.

Papierski, Betty Petit. *Flat Tires & Coffee Fires from the 71L Ranch*. Essex, Calif: Tales of the Mojave Road Pub. Co., 1993. \$22.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-914224-25-5. Order from: Tales of the Mojave Road Pub. Co.; Post Office Box 7; Essex, CA 92332.

Platt, Joseph B. *Harvey Mudd College: The First Twenty Years*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1994. \$28.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-56474-097-8; \$16.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-56474-100-1. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Sherer, Lorraine M. *Bitterness Road, The Mojave: 1604 to 1860*. Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1994. Completed and ed. by Sylvia Brakke Vane and Lowell John Bean. Mojave River Valley and Mojave Desert history. \$13.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87919-128-7. Order from: Ballena Press; Publisher's Services; Post Office Box 2510; Novato, CA 94948.

Strobridge, William F. *Regulars in the Redwoods: The U.S. Army in Northern California 1852-1861*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1994. \$29.95 (cloth), shipping charge \$2.50, free if check accompanies order. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 14707.

Waddington, Gladys. *The History of Inglewood*. Inglewood: Historical Society of Centinela Valley, 1994. \$30.00 (paper), including tax and shipping. Order from: Historical Society of Centinela Valley; Post Office Box 236; Inglewood, CA 90306.

Zingg, Paul J., and Mark D. Medeiros. *Runs, Hits and an Era: The Pacific Coast League, 1903-1958*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994. \$44.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-252-02117-7; \$19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-252-06402-X. Order from: University of Illinois Press; 54 E. Gregory Dr.; Champaign, IL 61820.



NOTES

bey and Wetherell, "The Citrus Industry, 1887-1944," pp. 6-21.

Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island Upon the Land* (1946, reprinted Salt Lake City, 1983), 213-14.

Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream 1850-1915* (New York, 1973), *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York, 1985), and *Maternal Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York, 1990); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York, 1990). See also Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York, 1985).

In contrast to Starr, Davis, Worster, and McWilliams, Jules Tygiel, in *The Great Los Angeles Scandal: Oil, Stocks, and Scandal During the Roaring Twenties* (New York, 1994), argues that speculative-based development was not peculiar to southern California, but rather typified the 1920s in general. Patricia Nelson Limerick forcefully articulates the get-rich-quick model of western development in *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987). Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (1961, reprinted New York, 1966). Albert O. Hirschman, *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven, 1958).

North, *Economic Growth of the United States*, 66. The admonition is developed more fully in the opening pages of Lance E. Davis and Douglass C. North, *Institutional Change and American Economic Growth* (Cambridge, 1971), 3-4.

Hirschman, *Strategy of Economic Development*, 29, 33, 68, 69. Hirschman distin-

guishes between theories of economic development and economic growth. Development theory concerns the industrialization of an non-industrialized economy. Growth theory concerns economic advance of already industrialized economies. For a historical treatment of both kinds of theories, see H. W. Arndt, *Economic Development: The History of an Idea* (Chicago, 1987), chap. 3, "Development as Growth (1945-1965)."

7. G. Warren Nutter and Henry Adler Einhorn, in *Enterprise Monopoly in the United States: 1899-1958* (New York, 1969), 47-50, estimated that in the United States in 1899 "about 19 percent" of all nongovernmental production was accounted for by monopolistic enterprises. Monopolistic control was more striking in some industries. In 1899, monopolies earned 100 percent of the income in public utilities; 91.9 percent of income in transportation and communication; 40.2 percent of income in mining; and 32 percent of income in manufacturing. By the late 1920s, the monopolistic share had increased, and oligarchies controlled the two newest growth industries, electrical products and automobiles. General Electric and Westinghouse dominated electrical products; General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler sold five-sixths of all automobiles. Harry W. Laidler, *Concentration of Control in American Industry* (New York, 1931), 174. See also Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1932).

8. The key works on the development of corporate capitalism are Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), and Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of

Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); and Martin Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, The Law, and Politics* (New York, 1988).

9. See Rahm Mabel MacCurdy, *The History of the California Fruit Growers Exchange* (Los Angeles, 1925); and H. E. Erdman, *The California Fruit Growers Exchange: An Example of Cooperation in the Segregation of Conflicting Interests* (New York, 1933).

10. Our estimates of citrus production, citrus land, transportation costs, grower income, and market share are based on analyses of data contained in, among others, *Citrus Leaves* 3 (June, 1924): 3; California Fruit Growers Exchange, *Annual Reports* (1911-1939), Sunkist Archives, Ontario, Calif.; Harold Barger and Hans H. Landsberg, *American Agriculture, 1899-1939: A Study of Output, Employment, and Productivity* (New York, 1939); G. Harold Powell, "Notebook" [1906-1915], ms., Sunkist Archives, Ontario, Calif.; Mutual Orange Distributors, *Manual for Citrus Growers* (Redlands, 1937); J. Eliot Coit, *Citrus Fruits: An Account of the Citrus Fruit Industry with Special Reference to California Requirements and Practices and Similar Conditions* (New York, 1917); California Fruit Growers Exchange, Marketing Research Department, *Statistical Information on the Orange Industry, 1945* (Los Angeles, 1945); *Statistical Information on the Lemon Industry, 1945* (Los Angeles, 1945), and *Statistical Information of the Grapefruit Industry, 1945* (Los Angeles, 1945); USDA, *Citrus Fruits: Production, Farm Disposition, Value and Utilization in Sales, Crop Summary 1900-1910* (1943, 44) (Washington, 1945); MacCurdy, *The History of the California Fruit Growers Exchange*; Erdman, *The California Fruit Growers*.

- Exchange; and Neptune Fogelberg and A. W. McKay [USDA], *The Citrus Industry and the California Fruit Growers Exchange* (Washington, 1940).
11. See, for example, Mansel Blackford, *The Politics of Business in California, 1890-1920* (Columbus, Oh., 1977).
12. The outline of Powell's career in the California citrus industry can be reconstructed from California Fruit Growers Exchange, *Annual Reports* (1911-1922); Powell, "Notebook"; *California Citrograph* (1915-1922); and G. Harold Powell, *Letters from the Orange Empire*, Richard G. Lillard, ed. (Los Angeles, 1990); Powell Papers, Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA, Los Angeles.
13. While serving as general manager for the CFGE, Powell published *Cooperation in Agriculture* (New York, 1913), a reasoned, moderate, but still impassioned, account of the benefits of cooperatives.
14. See, for example, James T. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus: The Florida Citrus Exchange, 1909-1959* (Gainesville, 1960), 3-4, 36-37.
15. Cletus Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers* (Ithaca, NY: 1981), 15-70.
16. Starr, *Material Dreams*; Worster, *Rivers of Empire*; Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*; and Donald J. Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley, 1984).
17. The best general treatment of water in California is Norris Hundley, Jr., *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s* (Berkeley, 1992). See also Worster, *Rivers of Empire*; Hundley, *Waters in the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West* (Berkeley, 1975); Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness*; William L. Kahrl, *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley* (Berkeley, 1982); and Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, *History and First Annual Report* (Los Angeles, 1939).
18. Hirschman, *Strategy of Economic Development*, 25.
19. Barger and Landsberg, *American Agriculture*, 119, 340-41.
20. Solomon Fabricant, *The Output of Manufacturing Industries, 1899-1937* (New York, 1940), 89. The estimate includes the Arizona, Texas, and Florida citrus industries.
21. Bureau of the Census, "Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: The United States, 1790-1970," Dataset No. 3, ICPSR, Ann Arbor, Mich. The data were made available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research and were originally collected by the United States Census Bureau. Neither the original collectors nor the consortium bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here.
22. Powell, "Notebook," np.
23. Railroad car packing strategies varied early in the century, but became more regular over time; see Powell, "Notebook." We based our estimate on 462 boxes per car; see *Citrus Leaves* 11 (October 1932): 4.
24. There is also no question that every packinghouse had at least one spur from a main railroad line and that all local associations of growers affiliated with either the CFGE or MOD had a packinghouse. In 1922, the CFGE had 192 locals and MOD another twenty. In 1932, there were at least 246 packinghouses affiliated with MOD and the CFGE alone. In 1937, MOD estimated that eighty-five percent of the 275 packinghouses in California were associated with cooperatives, such as itself and the CFGE. *Citrus Leaves* 3 (June 1924): 3; James O. Cook, Jr., to Ophra Cummings, March 14, 1993, Giannini Foundation Library, Berkeley; *Citrus Leaves* 11 (October 1932): 8; MOD, *Manual for Citrus Growers*, 9. Of the CFGE's 216 affiliated California associations in 1932, three operated two packinghouses and one three houses. For the most part, packinghouses were clustered in citrus industrial districts within walking distances from town centers, but some were located at the outskirts of towns, some outside of towns altogether. Rancho Sespe in Ventura County, for example, was positioned some five miles from the center of Fillmore's packinghouse district. In 1979, Rancho Sespe, which had been an affiliated CFGE producer since at least 1932, had more than 191,000 bearing citrus trees on 1,308 acres of land and its own packinghouse. Big growers got their own spurs no matter where they lived; Kenneth Glenn, general manager, Rancho Sespe, "Acreage and Tree Count, January 1979," misc. ms., History of Citrus Project, Laboratory for Historical Research, University of California, Riverside, Riverside.
25. Based on an analysis of the annual reports of the County Commissioners of Agriculture for Orange County, 1923-1944; Riverside County, 1925-1945; San Bernardino County, 1928-1944; Los Angeles County, 1921, 1928-1929, 1934-1944; Ventura County, 1940-1944; San Diego County, 1927, 1931, 1936, 1938-1944; all typescripts, Giannini Foundation Library, Berkeley, and Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis, Davis.
26. Coit, *Citrus Fruits*, 162-63; Powell, "Notebook," np; MOD, *Manual For Citrus Growers*, 17.
27. Coit, *Citrus Fruits*, 365.
28. Average personal income in the United States in 1929 was \$705; in California it was \$995. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1975), Ser. F, Nos. 297, 302, 2:243.
29. *Ibid.*, Ser. X, No. 444, 2:1001.
30. The cumulative investment is equal to the down payment plus repaid principal plus net income, which is itself equal to production profit minus any loan payments.
31. McWilliams, *Southern California*, 212.
32. While we cannot as yet estimate the exact size of the citrus labor force and its income in 1927, the large San Dimas Lemon Association had a full-time labor force of 28 people and a monthly payroll of \$22,500, which translates into an annual payroll of \$270,000; H. J. Ramsey [Field Manager, CFGE], "Organization and Operation of the San Dimas Lemon Association," *American Cooperation* 1 (1928): 124-29. Assuming another 200 packinghouses half as large, the citrus labor force in 1927 would have been approximately 28,500, with annual wages of \$27 million. By contrast, in 1920, Los Angeles County had 61,665 manufacturing employees with annual wages of \$72.5 million; by 1929 those numbers had increased to 114,480 and \$175.8 million, respectively. In Los Angeles County in 1929, the aircraft industry employed only 1,219 workers, the motion picture industry some 8,036 workers, and the oil and gas industry another 8,133; Bureau of the Census, "Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: The United States, 1790-1970." Estimates of the number of individual growers generally exceed ten thousand. See, for example, CFGE, *The California Fruit Growers Exchange: How Thirteen Thousand Growers Average Higher Returns for Their Crops* (Los Angeles, 1932).
33. The best explanation of the exchange system is Erdman, *California Fruit Growers Exchange*, 11-37.
34. See Sklar, *Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism*. The literature on California agricultural labor is extensive, but, in addition to Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*, see Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston, 1939); Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque, 1987); Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley, 1986); Devre Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Cotton, Farm Workers and the New Deal, 1919-1939* (Berkeley, 1994); and Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900-1950* (Urbana, Illinois, 1994).
35. Gerald Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington, 1985). William G. Robbins reviews the mixed literature of western dependence in "The 'Plundered Province' Thesis and the Recent Historiography of the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (1986): 577-97. See also, Richard White, "If's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West (Norman, 1991), 237 ff.
36. An investment-led model of urban development generally, and western urban development specifically, underlies Eric Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780-*

1980 (Berkeley, 1988), and William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991).

10. See Vincent Moses, "The Orange grower is Not a Farmer," pp. 22-37.

11. Walter I. Woehlke, "In the Orange Country: Where the Orchard is a Mine—The Human Factor Among the Gold-bearing Trees of California," *Sunset* 26 (March 1911): 263.

12. G. Harold Powell, *Letters From the Orange Empire*, ed. Richard G. Lillard (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1990), 1-26, 34, 37. Powell to Bailey, Riverside, California, January 8, 1905, 21/1/84, Box 13, Cornell University Archives; May 31, 1905, Galloway to Powell, National Archives, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry, hereinafter N.A. USDA, and BPI.

13. G. Harold Powell, *Letters From the Orange Empire*, 34, 37. Riverside County had 19,657 acres of oranges and 4,674 acres of lemons under cultivation. Approximately 20,000 acres were located within the greater Riverside district itself, dedicated primarily to Washington navel oranges. Riverside County ranked fourth out of all California counties in citrus acreage. As a locus of the industry, however, Riverside excelled in business leadership and density of cultivated acreage in one city. See W.W. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing: Its Advantages as Exemplified in the California Fruit Growers Exchange* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917), 22; see also, Citrus Protective League, *Bulletin No. 11*, p. 67, Powell Family Papers, hereinafter PFP, Coll. #230, Box 2, File 3, UCI A.

14. G. Harold Powell, *Letters From the Orange Empire*, 1-26, 34, 37. Powell to Bailey, Riverside, California, January 8, 1905, 21/1/84, Box 13, Cornell University Archives; May 31, 1905, Galloway to Powell, NA, USDA, BPI.

15. Powell's definitive report on the decay problem in oranges appeared as "The Decay of Oranges While in Transit from California," *Bulletin* #123, USDA, BPI (USGPO, 1908), which identified blue mold as the pathogen responsible for infecting oranges damaged through rough handling and clipper-cuts. Powell defined the real problem, however, as a business problem, going directly to the method of labor organization and packing-house management. He had stated this in prior reports as well. See Powell, "Field Investigations in Pomology," USDA, BPI, June 7, 1907, PFP, #230 UCI A, Box 30.

16. See David Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution: Urban America and the Industrialization of Agriculture, 1900-1930* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979), for the countryside and farmers as "freedom fighters" against

industrialization; Lou Ferleger's anthology of the new rural history, *Agriculture and National Development* (see note 7 below), presents the perspective of the nineteenth-century Dickinson-capitalist farmer from varied points of view. Goodwyn's sophisticated argument in *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) most effectively represents the American farmer of pre-1896 as a self-conscious, mobilized, anti-corporate advocate of farming as a way of life. Goodwyn's Farmers' Alliance arose not due to hardship per se, but under the perceived threat farmers saw posed to their traditional values and rights to their labor by the forces of urban industrialism and corporate greed.

17. My understanding of the new rural history is heavily indebted to my colleague Hal S. Barron of Harvey Mudd College and the Claremont Graduate School. See Hal S. Barron, "Rediscovering the Majority: The New Rural History of the Nineteenth-Century North," *Historical Methods* 19 (Fall 1986): 141-52; and Barron, "Listening to the Silent Majority: Change and Continuity in the Nineteenth-Century North," in Lou Ferleger's anthology, *Agriculture and National Development* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 3-24.

18. Barron, "Listening to the Silent Majority," in Ferleger, 21.

19. See Powell's *Cooperation in Agriculture* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), written for Liberty Hyde Bailey's Rural Science Series. No academic interpretive history has been compiled on the California citrus industry. Most assumptions about the nature and role of the industry in California grow out of the informed work of Carey McWilliams, an attorney, member of the Los Angeles literati, agent for the state Immigration Commission, and eyewitness to the citrus industry's most lucrative era. His two primary works in this arena are *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (1946), and *Factories in the Field* (1939). McWilliams drew on previous scientific studies of the industry and on corporate histories of the California Fruit Growers Exchange, along with his own observations, to arrive at what have proven to be very instructive insights. Those earlier works include J. E. Coit, *Citrus Fruits: An Account of the Citrus Fruit Industry with Special Reference to California* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920), Edward J. Wickson, *The California Fruits and How to Grow Them* (San Francisco: The Pacific Rural Press, 1911), and W. W. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*.

20. Eric Foner, in *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1988), Chapter 10, "The Reconstruction of the North," 160-99, argues persuasively that the party of Lincoln was transformed after the war from the advocate of free soil and free labor into the promoter of industrialization.

21. Gary Daniel, 1896 *National Agricultural Census Farm Statistics, 1890-1920* (Bureau of Economic Census, 1961), 37-38. Foner's interpretation, "The Failure of Agrarian Idealism," is especially significant to the properties and conditions of this study.

22. Ibid., 34.

23. Powell, *Letters from the Orange Empire*, 34, 37.

24. 1896 *Statement of the Vote*, Presidential Elections, pp. 3-9, Secretary of State's Records, California State Archives, Sacramento, California. Cf. *The Great Register of Voters*, County Registrar of Voters, Riverside, California, 1896, housed in the Local History Room, Riverside City-County Public Library.

25. *Picturesque Riverside* (Riverside: Trade and Commerce Pub. Co., 1901).

26. On the important issue of water development, the citrus industry, and the American West, consult Norris Hundley, Jr., *Water and the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1975); Donald J. Pisani, *From Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1984) and Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985). Worster argues that the capital costs and logistical problems associated with the development of irrigated crops resulted in the creation of a capitalist-state-driven hydraulic society in the West run by a techno-elite of bureaucrats and engineers.

27. See Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*.

28. See H. Vincent Moses, "Machines in the Garden: A Citrus Monopoly in Riverside, 1900-1936," *California History* 61 (Spring 1982): 26-35.

29. See Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*; Vincent Moses, "To Have a Hand in Creation": Citrus and the Rise of Southern California, 1880-Present (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1990), an exhibition summary prepared under a grant from the California Council for the Humanities. Also see McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, "The Citrus Belt"; and David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 85-89, for a theoretical context within which to understand California's agricultural labor practices. Foner discusses the socio-biological politics of the Reconstructed Republicans in Chapter 10, "The Reconstruction of the North," in *Reconstruction*.

30. Ellis W. Hawley, "The Discovery and Study of a Corporate Liberalism," *Business History Review*, 52 (Autumn 1978): 309-20; Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of America, 1890-1916: The Movement of Law, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

31. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cam-

- bridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1990), 1.
22. Danbom, *Resisted Revolution*. Danbom's study of farmers in the Midwest and South, though broad in its generalizations, provides a useful model against which to contrast California citrus growers. He mounts a well-reasoned argument that farmers put up strong resistance to the efforts of the USDA, urban agrarians such as L. H. Bailey, and President Roosevelt to industrialize farming in the first decades of the twentieth century. Citrus growers, by contrast, did everything in their power to organize their business along industrial lines. See also Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). Daniel claims that the transformation of agriculture in America occurred as a result of a deliberate and systematic USDA policy favoring mechanization and scientific practices, coupled with a decided tilt toward corporate organization of farming.
23. Danbom, *Resisted Revolution*, 42.
24. Ibid.
25. G. Harold Powell, *Letters from the Orange Empire*, 23.
26. Reviews of new western historiography include, among others, Richard W. Etulain, "Prologue: A New Historiographical Frontier: The Twentieth Century West," in Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain, eds., *The Twentieth Century West: Historical Interpretations* (1989), 1-31; Michael P. Malone, "Beyond the Last Frontier: Toward a New Approach to Western American History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (1989): 409-27. William G. Robbins's essays assess the theory of the West as dependent colony in "The Plundered Province" Thesis and the Recent Historiography of the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (1986): 577-97, and "Western History: A Dialectic on the Modern Condition," *Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (1989): 429-49.
27. See Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987); Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York, 1985), *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York, 1990); Worster, *Rivers of Empire*; Pisani, *From Family Farm to Agribusiness*.
28. Turner's views of the arid West are assessed in Worster, *Rivers of Empire*, 11-12. By contrast, see Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, Foreword by Wilbur R. Jacobs (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986). This reprint of Turner's earlier work contains several of his most important essays interpreting the impact of the American frontier on democracy. In 1927, Turner moved to Pasadena, California, in order to help form the collections at the new Huntington Library.
29. Worster, *Rivers of Empire*, 11-12. For excellent literary and symbolic interpretations of this theme, consult the earlier works of Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, 1973); and Robert V. Hine, *The American West: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973).
30. Smythe's comments appear on pp. 121-24 of Worster, *Rivers of Empire*.
31. Cf. John Brown, Jr., and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), 355-61; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California*, 117; and Vincent Moses, "Resource Element," *Final General Plan, California Citrus State Historic Park* (Sacramento: Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988), 47, 52-54. William Hammond Hall, California state water engineer, stated in 1888 that "in no irrigating community of the state has there been such long protracted and serious trouble over individual water rights as in Riverside, and in no community . . . has the outcome . . . been . . . more happily adjusted for the irrigators, and . . . all immediately concerned"; quoted in Moses, p. 47.
32. Brown and Boyd, *San Bernardino and Riverside Counties*, 355-61.
33. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California*, 210.
34. E. J. Wickson, *The California Fruits and How to Grow Them* (San Francisco: Pacific Rural Press, 1912), 435-26. Wickson asserted that "the orange industry of the United States is unique in the high social and financial standing of those who have engaged in it. . . . in California large scale production was first undertaken by northern men who . . . brought capital and commercial ability. . . . to bear on it. See also J. Eliot Coit, *Citrus Fruits: An Account of the Citrus Fruit Industry with Special Reference to California* (New York: Macmillan, 1920), 10-11. Wickson and Coit's impressionistic conclusions concerning the ideology and origins of California citrus growers equate closely with those of other observers such as McWilliams and historian Robert Glass Cleland.
35. McWilliams, *Southern California*, 151.
36. Consult Merlin Stonehouse, *John Wesley North and the Reform Frontier* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), for the life and times of J. W. North; and Thomas Patterson, *A Colony for California* (Riverside, 1971), for the role of the Grand Army of the Republic in Riverside politics. "The Reconstruction of the North," chapter 10 in Eric Foner's monumental *Reconstruction*, 460-99, provides ample evidence of the growing connection of northern Republicans with the new corporate industrialism taking hold in the North and West in the years just after the Civil War. His conclusions help explain the West's early turn toward corporate industrialization and away from Jacksonian entrepreneurial capitalism and rugged individualistic farming practices. Orange growers exemplified the type of reconstructed Republicans Foner describes. No comprehensive study of the citrus growers has ever been carried out from a thoroughgoing and empirical model, but the work of David Noble and T. J. Jackson Lears might provide a valuable means of setting up such a research project; see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981); David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1977), and *Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation* (New York, 1984).
37. McWilliams, *Southern California*, 224.
38. Ibid.
39. Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell, et al., *The National Orange Company Packing House: An Architectural and Technological History 1898-1940*, History of Citrus Working Papers, Laboratory for Historical Research, University of California, Riverside, December 1991, 74-75: "According to the *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, in October 1901 the National Orange Company incorporated 'for the purpose of packing and shipping fruit, dealing in orange land, buying and selling oranges, etc. etc.' The founding board of directors included E. A. Chase, S. H. Herrick, M. J. Daniels, E. S. Moulton, H. B. Chase, R. B. Shelden, and R. W. A. Godfrey. . . . Ethan Allen Chase would eventually rise to the top of Riverside's citrus growing and packing circles. From the start, however, the National Orange Company consisted of men with good connections and seemed to know what they were doing." See as well the prospectus of Chase's company, *National Orange Company, Riverside, California*, 1901, housed in the Local History Room of the Riverside City-County Public Library. The thoroughly pro-corporate perspective of Chase and his partners is readily apparent in this short tract.
40. C. E. Rumsey, "The Evolution of a Tourist" (Riverside, 1905), Riverside Municipal Museum Collection.
41. Joan Hall, *A Citrus Legacy* (Riverside: Highgrove Press, 1992). S. H. Herrick's life is chronicled here by his great-granddaughter who inherited the remaining Herrick citrus lands in Highgrove.
42. Arthur G. Paul, *Riverside Community Book* (Riverside, 1954), 224-26. The L. V. W. Brown Family Papers and many related artifacts are housed with the Riverside Municipal Museum.
43. Fred M. Reed, "Contributions of One Community to the Art of Citriculture," *The California Citrograph* (January 1929): 86. See also Walter E. Woehlke, "In the Orange Country, Where the Orchard is a Mine—The Human Factor Among the Gold-bearing Trees of California," *Sunset* 26 (March 1911): 251-64.
44. "Economic take-off" is a term from W. W. Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

On the idea of an export sector and regional growth, consult Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966) and "Agriculture and Regional Growth," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 43 (December 1959): 943-51. North's analytic framework, constructed on the work of Albert O. Hirschman's *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven, 1958), postulates that the nature of the export commodity and the resulting disposition of the income from it determines the level and rate of growth in the regional economy.

A. D. Shamel and C. Pomeroy, "The Washington Navel Orange," *Citrus Publication no. 3* (Riverside Chamber of Commerce, 1933). For further analysis, consult H. E. Van Derman, "History of the Washington Navel Orange," *USDA Yearbook* (Washington, D. C., 1887), 640, and Esther Klotz, "Eliza Tibbets and Her Washington Navel Orange Trees," in *A History of Citrus in the Riverside Area*, ed. by Esther Klotz, Harry Lawton, and Joan Hall (Riverside: Riverside Museum Press, 1989), 13-25. A scientific appraisal of the Washington navel orange can be found in volume one of *The Citrus Industry*, ed. by H. J. Webber and Leon D. Batchelor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943). North, "Agriculture and Regional Economic Growth," 944.

Ibid., 951.

Ibid., 949-50.

Ronald Tobey and Charles Wetherell, "The Citrus Industry and the Revolution of Corporate Capitalism in Southern California, 1887-1944," a paper delivered at the Huntington Library, February 4, 1994, Conference on New Directions in the Historiography of Citriculture and Southern California. Tobey and Wetherell conclude that "together North and Hirschman provide the conceptual apparatus not only for better interpreting southern California's history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also the analytical imperatives that lead to a fuller understanding of both the citrus industry's and the region's rise to western dominance" (p. 2). Publication of this paper appears elsewhere in this special issue.

Ibid. on this subject, see Hirschman, *Strategy of Economic Development*, 29-33, 68-69. Gerald D. Nash holds the prevailing model of the West as a dependent colony until World War II. See Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985), and *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). Also consult E. L. Latham, "Prologue," 1-31, and William G. Robbins, "'Plundered Province' Thesis," 577-97.

5. McWilliams, *Southern California*, 213. See Douglass C. North, *Economic Growth of the United States*, 2-10, for the interpretive

model, useful in this case, of M. Williams's statement regarding the citrus industry.

54. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*, 54.

55. Powell to Galloway, March 20, 1909, NA, USDA, BPI (sent from Hotel Howard, Spring & 6th sts., Los Angeles, on Powell's last four of duty to California on recall at the bureau).

56. W. W. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*, 146.

57. Meyer, "History of the California Fruit Growers Exchange" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1947), chapter V, "The Exchange Expands, 1910-1917," 151-83; and Tobey and Wetherell, "Citrus Industry," where they argue that the citrus industry brought the revolution in corporate capitalism to California. Chandler further argues in *Scale and Scope* that: "The first entrepreneurs to create such enterprises acquired powerful competitive advantages. Their industries quickly became oligopolistic, that is, dominated by a small number of first movers. These firms, along with the few challengers that subsequently entered the industry, no longer competed primarily on the basis of price. Instead they competed for market share and profits through functional and strategic effectiveness. They did so functionally, by improving their product, their processes of production, their marketing, their purchasing, and their labor relations, and strategically by moving into growing markets more rapidly, and out of declining ones more quickly and effectively, than did their competitors" (p. 8).

58. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*, 23-24.

59. *Ibid.*

60. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States*: "In both social overhead investment and investment in complementary and subsidiary industry, urbanization and increased specialization are promoted, and additional residuary activity geared to the increasing local demand for consumption goods and services develops."

61. *Ibid.*, 6.

62. Powell to Galloway, January 1908, from Riverside at the beginning of the navel orange season, NA, USDA, BPI.

63. G. Harold Powell, *Annual Report of the General Manager of the California Fruit Growers Exchange, 1920-21*, Sunkist Records Center, Ontario, CA; Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Los Angeles, 1939).

64. Cletus Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farm Workers, 1870-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 19. I am indebted to Margo McBane for introducing me to recent sociological theory dealing with California agricultural labor. Her thesis, "The Role of Women in Determining the California Farm Labor Status" (D. C. Davis, 1974), does an excellent job of demonstrating that the state's farm labor belies the labor experts and reflects industrial modalities. See, in particular, chapter II, 36-102.

65. Powell, *Annual Reports*, 1920-21. For an in-

teresting analysis of the ideological and political foundations of organized southern farm movements in industry, consult David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1875-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Here, particularly 38-112, on the concept of the industrial core of capitalism and its periphery in the late nineteenth century. Apparently, the Social Darwinian view that third-world and periphery peoples were lesser beings pervaded the ranks of industrial leadership, including the citrus elite of southern California. "By the turn of the century, however, rural laborers in these countries (the outskirts of capitalism) knew well that they could earn in one day in the United States what they could in five or six days at home. . . . Refusing to accept their impoverished lot . . . they set out to the heartland of the new industrial world" (Montgomery, p. 73). On the periphery and the core of capitalism, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974).

66. Gregory Woitrol, "Rustling Oranges in Linderoth," *California History* (Summer 1983).

67. Paul Garland Williamson, "Labor in the California Citrus Industry" (Berkeley: University of California, 1940), unpublished thesis, 89-95; Powell, *Annual Reports* for 1920-21.

68. On the failure of other agricultural producers to provide such housing in the state, see Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*, 60-66.

69. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*, 24-25: "The children throughout the citrus belt, with very few exceptions, receive a high school education, and the percentage of college students is large. . . . the orchardist is accessible to the superb grade and high school system of which California is justly proud."

70. Lawrence Clark Powell reflected on the friendship between his father, G. Harold Powell, and H. J. Webber by recalling a childhood memory of Webber: "My other favorite performer was Dr. Herbert J. Webber, director of the Citrus Experiment Station at Riverside which my father had helped establish. His parlor trick I never tired of demanding was to juggle several large navels (oranges)." Lawrence Clark Powell, *An Orange Grove Boyhood* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1988), 19.

71. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*, 47.

Haas, "San Juan Capistrano," pp. 46-57.

1. James J. Rawls, "The California Mission as Symbol and Myth," *California History* LXXI (Fall 1992): 355-57.

2. James J. Rawls, "The California Mission," 35.

3. For comparative studies see David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), and Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).
 4. Unless otherwise specified, I have developed all of my statistics from an analysis of the Federal Manuscript Census for 1860 through 1910 for San Juan and Santa Ana townships. For further discussion of this process and these themes see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.) Also see Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).
 5. Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1.
 6. The Federal Manuscript Census for Santa Ana and San Juan townships, 1860 and 1870.
 7. Tax Assessment Records, Duplicate Assessment List of Los Angeles County, Fiscal Years 1857-58 and 1875, microfilm, Orange County Archives.
 8. Familia Aguilar, "Libro del padre Mut, 1866-1886," Bancroft Library, 73/108, v.2., pp. 62, 64, 75, 82.
 9. Father Mut commonly went from San Juan to Pauma and Pala between 1868 and 1888 to administer the sacraments and say Mass. Indian villagers moved between these villages and San Juan to work and to sell and trade produce and goods.
 10. Paul Arbiso, Interview with Karen Wilson Turnbull, December 30, 1975, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Oral History 1464, 9-10.
 11. All of the land values of individual property are drawn from the Tax Assessment Records for Los Angeles and Orange Counties, Fiscal Years 1875, 1886, 1889, and 1898, microfilm, Orange County Archives.
 12. *Mendelson and Oyharzabal v. María Espiritu Olivares, et al.*, Civil Case #636, Orange County Court, December 9, 1892.
 13. Delfina Olivares, Interview with Suzanne Jansen, August 3, 1971, California State College, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Oral History 711, 2-3.
 14. Delfina Olivares, Interview with Suzanne Jansen, p. 18.
 15. Florence Connolly Shippek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 54, and see Herbert Harvey, "The Luiseno: An Analysis of Change in Patterns of Land Tenure and Social Structure," in *American Indian Ethnohistory, California Indians* (New York: Garland, 1974), 10-11.
 16. Charles F. Saunders and Father St. John O'Sullivan, *Capistrano Nights: Tales of a California Mission Town* (New York: Robert McBride and Co., 1930), 51.
 17. Interview with Paul Arbiso, 16-17.
 18. Saunders and O'Sullivan, *Capistrano Nights*, 18-22.
 19. Saunders and O'Sullivan, *Capistrano Nights*, 81-82.
 20. Saunders and O'Sullivan, *Capistrano Nights*, 109-11.
 21. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, *Agriculture*, vol. III, Part 3, 386-87.
 22. Clara Engle, "Orange County Citrus Strike, 1936: Historical Analysis and Social Conflict" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1975), 107.
 23. W. W. Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing: Its Advantages as Exemplified in the California Fruit Growers Exchange* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), esp. 36.
 24. *Ibid.*, 187.
 25. Joseph Yorba, Interview with Paul Clark, January 9, 1976, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Oral History 1465, p. 1.
 26. Don Doran, Interview with author, February 16, 1992. On the occupations of women during this era, see, for example, Deena Gonzalez, "The Widowed Women of Santa Fe: Assessments of the Lives of an Unmarried Population, 1850-1880," in Ellen DuBois and Vicki Ruiz, eds., *Unequal Sisters* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 44.
 27. Petition of the Club Hispano Californio de San Juan Capistrano, Sept. 5, 1935, Orange County Archives, Board of Supervisors file, Roads, B75-1:13. 1987/26/228.
- Gonzalez, "Women, Work, and Community," pp. 58-67.**
1. Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story* (Charlotte, N.C.: McNally and Loftin, 1964), 32.
 2. The citrus worker village is one of several distinctive types of settlement that have appeared in the course of the historical development of the southwestern Chicano community during the twentieth century. Generally, variations in the settlement pattern follow the contours of the local urban and rural economic enterprises employing Mexican labor. Mexican communities share a complementary history with the region's economy. Thus, communities are anchored in and have evolved from the foundations provided by the cattle and sheep industry, agriculture (vegetables, fruits, and field crops), cotton, mining, railroads, urban manufacturing, and the citrus industry. Each of these general economic endeavors resulted in a particular community style worthy of comparative study and analysis.
- Many of these communities, in their role as company towns, exerted varying degrees of intervention into the lives of the residents. Most previous historical studies of Chicano communities have ignored this heterogeneity and, consequently, have neglected a significant element in Chicano social history.
3. Interview with Santiago Canales, Anaheim, California, October 21, 1988; Interview with Chaoi Vasquez by Ronald Bandera, 1970, Tape No. 609, Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton.
 4. Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards of Orange County Mexican Families," Orange County, California, Departmental Memo, March 9, 1940, 5, Orange County records.
 5. Druzilla Mackey, [untitled memoirs] in Louis E. Plummer, "A History of the Fullerton Union High School and Fullerton Junior College, 1893-1943" (Fullerton, California, 1949), 87.
 6. Jessie Hayden, "The La Habra Experiment in Mexican Social Education" (Master's thesis, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California, 1934), 54.
 7. Warren O. Mendenhall, "A Comparative Study of Achievement and Ability of the Children of Two Segregated Mexican Schools" (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1937), 78.
 8. Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards of Orange County Mexicans," 1940, 5.
 9. *Placentia Courier*, January 27, 1931.
 10. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1931.
 11. Interview with Lionel Magaña, Placentia, California, August 25, 1987.
 12. Jessie Hayden, "The La Habra Experiment," 55.
 13. *Ibid.*, 54.
 14. Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards," 4.
 15. *Ibid.*, 5; Mexican women were certainly not alone in carrying large household responsibilities. Susan Ware documented the creative adjustment of women to the Depression, and much of what she describes is similar to the activities of Mexican women in the citrus villages. See Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), chapter 1; see also Robert A. Slayton, *Back of the Yards* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 70-75.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Interview with Angelina Cruz, Escondido, California, September 12, 1991.
 18. Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards," 10.
 19. Interview with Elpidio Arce, Corona, California, September 13, 1991.
 20. Interview with Lionel Magaña and Irma Magaña, Placentia, California, October 25, 1989.
 21. Jessie Hayden, "The La Habra Experiment," 63 and passim.

Interview with Teresa Vasquez, Placentia, California, August 26, 1988.

Jessie Hayden, "The La Habra Experiment," 18.

Interview with Irma Magaña and Margarita Martínez, Placentia, California, August 23, 1989.

Ibid., August 3, 1989.

Interview with Irma Magaña and Margarita Martínez, Placentia, California, August 3, 1989; Interview with Julia Aguirre, Placentia, California, August 8, 1989.

Interview with Julia Aguirre, Placentia, California, August 8, 1989.

Interview with Irma Magaña and Margarita Martínez, Placentia, California, August 3, 1989; Interview with Julia Aguirre, Placentia, California, August 8, 1989.

Interview with Irma Magaña and Margarita Martínez, Placentia, California, August 3, 1989.

Interview with Irma Magaña and Elizabeth Martínez, Placentia, California, August 3, 1989; Interview with Angelina Cruz, Escondido, California, September 17, 1991.

Interview with Angelina Cruz, Escondido, California, September 17, 1991.

Interview with Julia Aguirre, Placentia, California, August 8, 1989.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards," 7; see also Jessie Hayden, "The La Habra Experiment," 17.

Interview with Tony Gonzalez, Jess Mejia, and Johnny Luna, La Habra, California, January 12, 1988; Interview with Pascual Rivas, Tustin, California, February 10, 1989.

Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards," 8. Ibid., 12.

Interview with Fred Aguirre, Placentia, California, September 17, 1987; also Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards," 4.

La Habra Star, March 29, 1935.

Interview with John Arce, Irvine, California, September 5, 1991; Interview with Elpidio Arce, Corona, California, September 12, 1991.

Interview with Emilio Martínez, February 3, 1989, Stanton, California; *Anaheim Gazette*, April 30, 1931.

Interview with Fred Aguirre, Placentia, California, September 17, 1987.

Department of Social Welfare, Orange County, California, "Living Standards," 1; Warren O. Mendenhall, "A Comparative Study," 79. For a general description of conditions among Mexicans during the Depression, see Francisco Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), chapter 1.

Interview with Fred Aguirre, Placentia, California, September 17, 1987.

See Abraham Hoffman, *Unassimilated Mexican*

Americans in the United States: A Study of the Mexican Problem (1929; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974).

48. Interview with Francisco Chico, Anaheim, California, December 8, 1988; Interview with Emilio Martínez, Stanton, California, February 6, 1989.

49. Interview with Teresa Vasquez, Placentia, California, August 26, 1988; Interview with Francisco Chico, Anaheim, California, December 8, 1988; Interview with Eduardo Negrete, Anaheim, California, February 1, 1989.

50. Interview with Hector Tarango, Santa Ana, California, April 15, 1989; Interview with Santiago Canales, Anaheim, California, September 7, 1988.

51. Interview with Cecil Rospow, Placentia, California, July 18, 1988; Interview with George Key, Placentia, California, August 7, 1987; Interview with Fred Aguirre, Placentia, California, September 17, 1987.

52. Junius Meriam, *Learning English Incidentally: A Study of Bilingual Children* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 2.

53. Interview with Teresa Vasquez, Placentia, California, July 13, 1987.

54. Ibid.

55. Interview with Irma Magaña, Placentia, California, August 3, 1989; Interview with Francisco Chico, Anaheim, California, February 7, 1988.

McBane, "The Role of Gender in Citrus Employment," pp. 68-81

1. Examples of these works include: Paul Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States-Imperial Valley," *University of California Publications in Economics*, 1928-1930, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930); Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Historical Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology* 1 (Sept. 1936): 281-95; Stuart Jamieson, *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 836, 1945): 43-192; Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1978); John Steinbeck, *In Dubious Battle* (New York: 1936); John Steinbeck, *Grapes of Wrath* (London: 1939); Lloyd H. Fisher, *The Harvest Labor Market in California* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953); Ann Lottis and Dick Meister, *A Long Time Coming: The Struggle to Unionize America's Farm Workers* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1977); Joan London and Henry Anderson, *So Shall Ye Reap: The Story of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers Movement* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1971); and Cletus Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farm Workers 1870-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

I would like to thank the anonymous *Cannery* editor for his great generosity in opening his magazine to me for my dissertation research. While this paper is a critical study of the company's early years, the fact that the *Cannery* Company agreed to publish this article is a testament to the changes company management has made since the post-World War II era and to one of the many contributions to California history.

2. As Devra Weber points out in her 1988 Ph.D. dissertation, "The Struggle for Stability and Control in the Cotton Fields of California: Class Relations In Agriculture, 1919-1942" (UCLA), control over essential portions of the production process is critical for both growers and workers, though for different reasons. See also Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton and the New Deal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

3. A group of researchers has begun to explore the role of citizenship, see Robert Thomas, "Citizenship and Gender in Work Organization: Some Considerations for Theories of the Labor Process," in *Marxist Inquiries: Studies of Labor, Class and States*, ed. Michael Burawoy and Theda Skocpol (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

4. Examples of works on cannery women include Jacklyn Greenberg, "Industry in the Garden: A Social History of the Canning Industry and Cannery Workers in the Santa Clara Valley, California 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985); Vicky Ruiz, *Cannery Women/Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Pat Zavella, *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987). Margaret Rose, "Women in the United Farm Workers: A Study of Chicana and Mexicana Participation in a Labor Union, 1950-1980" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), documents the role of women within an agricultural organization and the impact of gender relations within the family and on the union, but does not explore the role of gender relations in capitalist development of agriculture. Sarah Deutsch more closely examines the role gender played in capitalist field work in *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class and Gender on an Anglo Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York, 1987). Deutsch places the wives of migrant farm workers within the capitalist economy by comprehensively documenting the contributions that women make in reproducing the capitalist farm labor force by remaining in traditional communities and surviving on subsistence farms, and by mentioning, but not analyzing, women's joining the agricultural wage labor force and migrating with their husbands to the Colorado sugar beet fields.

- when subsistence farming was no longer possible.
5. Examples of these works include: Amy Barton, "A Woman's Resistance is Never Done: The Case of Women Farmworkers in California" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 1988); Anne Fredericks, "Women's Work' in Capitalist Agriculture" (Paper delivered at the West Coast Women's History Association, Huntington Library, May 1984), and "The Creation of 'Women's Work' in Agriculture: Labor 'Crises' and the Redefinition of Jobs," (M.A. thesis, University of Michigan, 1981).
 6. Throughout this paper I use the terms European American, Anglo American, and white American interchangeably. Each term in and of itself does not fully describe the labor group to which I am referring. Many of the "white" workers were not only from Europe, but were English in origination. Similarly many were European and not only English. "White" is equally equivocal in that, according to U.S. census records, Mexicans, who differ culturally from Anglo Americans, are still considered racially white. Yet within the paradigm of California race relations, Mexicans are a distinct category from Anglo Californians.
 7. The issue of corporate paternalism appears in several studies of company towns, including Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, and Christopher B. Daly's, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1987), and Gerald Zahavi, *Workers, Managers and Welfare Capitalism: The Shoe-workers and Tanners of Endicott Johnson, 1890-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988). The concept of corporate paternalism has only begun to be examined as a gendered approach to urban industrialization; see Jan Rieff's forthcoming research on the Pullman Company. Within the agricultural sector, there has been little analysis on corporate paternalism as a concept, much less as a gendered term.
 8. The Limoneira Company is a unique citrus ranch in that it owned both its own fields and packinghouses (lemon, oranges, and walnuts). Therefore, farm workers of the Limoneira Company were more closely scrutinized by management than farm workers of other citrus ranches, where the packinghouse, which hired citrus workers, was not located on the rancher's property. Outside the Limoneira Company, packinghouses in both the California Fruit Exchange (later renamed Sunkist, of which the Limoneira Company was a part), and the Mutual Orange Distributors (a rival producer cooperative to the exchange) hired workers directly, and then sent their work crews out to growers' ranches as labor was needed. Similarly, citrus workers hired by the Limoneira Company were sent to growers' ranches, which sent their fruit to the Limoneira Company for packing and distributing, such as the Blanchard Ranch and the Teague-McKevett Ranch. Nicholas Fuentes, interview with author, La Verne, California, 10 November 1994; Pasqual (Paco) Castenada, interview with author, La Verne, California, 15 November 1994; U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on Education and Labor Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor: Report of the Committee on Education and Labor Hearings. Senate Resolution 266, Report no. 1150. 76th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), 155-56; La Wanda Cox, "The American Agricultural Wage Earner, 1865-1900: The Emergence of a Modern Labor Problem," *Agricultural History* 22 (April 1948): 97, 103; Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*, 43.
 9. Examples of these corporations include: Thermal Belt Water Company, Santa Paula Water Works, Peoples Lumber Company, Santa Paula Fruit Packing Company, the Bank of Santa Paula (in 1889 the bank changed its name to the First National Bank of Santa Paula; currently it has merged with the Bank of America), the Santa Paula Horse and Cattle Company, and Santa Paula Hotel. Blanchard, Hardison, and C.C. Teague had separate farms in Santa Paula and near Fillmore. Hardison acted only as an investor in the Limoneira, tending personally to his other investments in the Hardison Stewart Oil Company in Ventura County; in Los Angeles the Columbia Oil Company, the Los Angeles Herald, the Raymond Improvement Company (a real estate development in South Pasadena); a steel tank in San Francisco; and gold mines in South America. Robert Clarke, *Narrative of a Native* (Los Angeles: Times Mirror Company, 1936), 27-28; Charles Collins Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 2nd edition (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1944), 37; "C.C. Teague: Grand Old Man of California Agriculture," *Ventura Star-Free Press* (October 9, 1965).
 10. During the 1897 harvest season, the company also introduced vertical integration with the construction of a packinghouse. Six Chinese men and five Mexican men, remnants of the *californio* population, found work at the company. By 1898 the number of Chinese male workers dropped to one and fluctuated between 1 and 5 until the 1910s. Limoneira Company Journal, Number 1, 1893 to 1899; Limoneira Company Journal, 1913 to 1920. For more information on the class transition of Ventura County *californios* see Tomas Almaguer, "Class, Race and Capitalist Development: The Social Transformation of a Southern California County, 1848-1903" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), and Tomas Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historic Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
 11. During the early 1900s Chinese men moved from field work to provision contractors to domestic work, eventually finding employment in the homes of Limoneira Company owners such as the Blanchards and the Teagues by the 1910s and 1920s. Dea Hobbs Blanchard, interview with the author, Santa Paula, California, 20 May 1994; Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 142-43; Dea Hobbs Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire: A Rainbow Arches from Maine to Ventura County*, ed. Grant Heil (Pasadena: Castle Press, 1983), 101; Loftis and Meister, *A Longtime Coming*, 6; Paul Taylor Collection Orange County File, Bancroft Library; J. H. Russell, *Cattle on the Conejo* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1957), 16-18.
 12. By 1870, 77% of all Chinese in the United States lived in California. This population of 48,510 represented 9% of the state's population. Most Chinese worked in California agriculture between the 1870s to 1890s, comprising 7/8 of the California farm labor force by the 1880s. Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1989), 79; Victor G. and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californi: A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (New York: Random House 1972), 18; Loftis and Meister, *A Longtime Coming*, 6; Abstract of the Report on Japanese and Other Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States, U.S. Commission on Immigration (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 42.
 13. U.S. labor recruiters preferred to hire single men. In addition, the Chinese men felt it was safer and cheaper to maintain a family in the mother country than in California. Due to the patriarchal nature of Chinese society, Chinese women never sought immigration alone. According to the U.S. Supreme Court, states could not control immigration, which was a form of international commerce. Therefore, California had to wait for the passage of a federal exclusion act. The Chinese Exclusion Act was renewed in 1892 and 1902 before its indefinite passage in 1904. The first federal laws regulating Chinese immigration focused on Chinese women. In 1875 a federal law passed, which prevented most Chinese women from entering the United States. The rationale for the act lay in the high number of prostitutes among female immigrants. This law is significant, for it passed just when Chinese male immigrants might have sent for their wives and children; therefore the law prevented the natural development of the Chinese community. After the 1882 Exclusion Act, exclusion for women followed their husbands' occupation. The wife of a laborer could not immigrate, whereas the wife of a merchant could. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1992), 54-55, 105-106.
 14. This law targeted Chinese men who, after the initial exclusion and anti-miscegenation laws, tried to return to China to bring back their Chinese wives. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 60.

- In 1870 most of the Chinese in California were rural residents. By 1900 they were urban. The Exclusion Act exacted a significant toll on the Chinese population, demonstrating a decline from 105,465 in 1880 to 61,639 in 1920. Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore*, 79, 92, 111–12; Chan, *Asian Americans*, 50, 52.
- White men worked in the more highly paid skilled work of teamster, construction, irrigation, and field crew supervision. This pattern affirms the findings of the 1911 Dillingham Commission, which found the Chinese doing the hoeing, weeding, pruning, and harvesting. *Abstract of the Report on Japanese and Other Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States*, U.S. Commission on Immigration (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 42.
- By 1909, Japanese harvested half of California's agricultural output. By 1910, they dominated the California farm labor force. By 1890, 1,224 Japanese lived in California; in 1900 there were 10,264; by 1910 there were 41,356; and by 1919 there were 87,279. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 145–46; Clarke, *Narrative of a Native*, 10; Karl G. Yoneda, "Japanese Farm Labor History in California" (Paper delivered to the Asian American Studies Department at California State University, Sacramento, 28 April, 1970); H.A. Mills, *The Japanese Problem in the United States: An Investigation for the Commission on Relations with Japan* (Appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America) (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1915); Emile T.H. Bunje, *The Story of Japanese Farming in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 5; *Statistical Report of the California State Board of Agriculture for the Year 1919* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1919), 23, 30–31; Loftis and Meister, *A Longtime Coming*, 8; McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 105, 111.
- In 1923 Saku Otsuki, in his Columbia University Master's thesis, found that the Japanese comprised 58% of the citrus picking labor force (as compared to the white 42%), and only 24% of the citrus packing-house labor force (as compared to the white 76%). Saku Taro Otsuki, "Economic Conditions of the Japanese Farmers in California" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1923); Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 30, 47–53, 70; Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 100–101, 103, 107, 120, 131.
- H.A. Mills, *Japanese Immigration: Remaining Problems and Suggestions* (San Francisco: Commission on the Relation with Japanese of the California State Church Federation, 1920), 5. Exclusion legislation toward the Japanese differed from the Chinese and therefore affected changes in the development of family, labor, and community differently for the two ethnic groups. The U.S. government imposed Chinese exclusion suddenly, whereas the government restricted Japanese immigration in stages. The lengthier pattern of Japanese restriction allowed Japanese men the opportunity to decide whether to bring over wives. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 107.
- In 1905 the California Civil Code changed its wording to prohibit intermarriage between Mongolians (referring specifically to Japanese, not just Chinese) and whites. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 60; Nee, *Longtime Californian*, 19.
- Younger female relatives also came for elder relatives in California. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 38, 54–55.
- Kinue Otsuka, interview with author, Altadena, California, 5 April 1975.
- Before the picture bride campaign, the ratio of Japanese men to women was 24 to 1; by the end of the campaign in 1920, the ratio dropped to 1.9 to 1. V.S. McClatchy, "Picture Brides and Their Successors," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 November 1921; Dr. T. Iyenaga, *Japanese and the California Problem* (New York, 1921), 113; *Our New Radical Problem: Japanese Immigration and Its Menace*, *Startling Results on Congressional Inquiry* (San Francisco: Japanese Exclusion League, 1921), 18; Takaki, *Strangers From a Different Shore*, 208.
- Japanese women formed the first large female labor force to work in California agriculture.
- More than 6,000 Japanese families became tenant farmers in California by 1913, when California passed its first alien land law. This meant that the Japanese farmed one in every 895 acres of improved land in California. By 1917, the number increased to 8,000. In 1917, at the time the United States entered World War I and the demand increased for food stuffs, Japanese tenant farmers produced 90% of California's output of celery, asparagus, onions, tomatoes, berries, and cantaloupes. Between 1910 and 1920, the Japanese in California increased their landholdings 520%. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 38; Karl Yoneda, interview with author, San Francisco, California, 27 January 1974; Kinue Otsuka, interview with author, Altadena, California, 5 April 1978; *Abstract of Report on Japanese and Other Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 48, 56–57; *Japanese Farmers in California*, (San Francisco: Japanese Agricultural Association, 1918), 2, 11; Iyenaga, *Japan and the California Problem*, 2, 17, 25, 110, 136; Bunje, *The Story of Japanese Farming in California*, 25.
- The Limoneira Company tended to hire only single Japanese men, particularly before World War I. In 1911 the Limoneira Company built two two-story dormitories for single Japanese men and only six houses for Japanese families. Single Japanese men tended to work on industrial-type farms engaged in capital- and labor-intensive specialty-crop production such as citrus. As picture brides arrived in California, the number of single men remaining as farm workers declined. In 1905, 8,000 Japanese were in California. By 1915, the number decreased to 12,794. Limoneira Company Records. McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 9, 110, 108; Iyenaga, *Japanese and the California Problem*, 131; California State Board of Agriculture, *Annual Statistical Report for 1920* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1920), 109; *Abstract of the Report on Japanese and Other Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 56–57.
- One married woman was the first to work at the Limoneira in 1896. By 1897, ten Anglo women, half married and half daughters, worked in the peak packing season of August, one as a cook, the rest in the packing-house. The first women were paid under their husbands' wages. Of the larger number of women working in 1897, only one third were paid under their husbands, the remainder were paid directly. In 1899, however, all the women working in the packinghouse were paid under the family wage of their husbands. Limoneira Company Journals 1–4, Limoneira Company Archives, Santa Paula, Calif.
- In 1905 the Limoneira Company purchased 125 acres of walnut groves from W.L. Hardison, one of its owners. In 1907 the company purchased Oliveland's Ranch, with an additional 2,365 adjoining acres with water rights. Over the 868 acres of irrigated land on this property the company converted 400 acres of walnuts to citrus. The owners' private ranches were also large by regional standards, such as the 160-acre Blanchard Ranch. This new land included 500 acres already planted in walnuts and an additional 500 acres on which the company planted 30,000 new lemon trees (the amount comparable to its initial planting in the 1890s). Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 106, 127; *The Home of the Lemon: A California Story in a Few Words with Illustrations* (J.C. Newitt Press, 1905), 1–2; *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 29 July 1920.
- Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 30, 47–53.
- In 1900 the Limoneira Company joined the California Fruit Growers Exchange. In 1901, within Ventura County the Limoneira Company, in partnership with other county citrus ranches, formed the Ventura County Fruit Growers Exchange. Almaguer, "Class, Race and Capitalist Development: The Social Transformation of a Southern California County, 1848 to 1903," 220; Benjamin Brooks, C.M. Gidney, and Edwin M. Sheridan, *The History of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Ventura Counties, California*, 1 (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1917), 415; Richard Lillard, "Agricultural Statesman: Charles C. Teague of Santa Paula," *California History* LXV (March 1988), 7.
- The rooms in the Japanese dormitories rented for \$28 a month in 1906; Limoneira Company Records.

32. Statewide, the Japanese comprised 70% of the 1915 citrus labor force, which existed primarily in southern California. In general, the Japanese gained the highest wage ever paid to non-white California farm workers between 1910 to 1920, increasing their earning 1220%, and to any farmworkers between 1916-1917, increasing their wages 40%. Japanese farmworkers who received room and board in addition to pay received a higher daily earning than white farmworkers by 1911 (\$1.49/day Japanese vs. \$1.38/day white). However, almost all Japanese were hired by crews, without room and board, and their daily wage eventually dropped below that of white male workers (\$1.80/white without room and board vs. \$1.54/Japanese). *Abstract of the Report on Japanese and Other Immigrant Races* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 55. These findings, however, contradict 1910 findings of the Japanese Association of America, which found that Japanese farmworking men earned more than their white counterparts in California in wages that did and did not include room and board (monthly wages of Japanese: \$101.91 with room and board, and \$130.66 without; monthly wages of whites: \$97.22 with room and board, and \$128.32 without). Otsuki, "Economic Conditions of the Japanese Farmers in California," 11-12, 25; Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 13th Report, 1910, vol. IV, Occupational Statistics, 1914, 636-637; Bunje, *The Story of Japanese Farming in California*, 25; R.L. Adams and T.R. Kelly, *A Study of Farm Labor in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), 2.
33. While statewide anti-Japanese newspaper stories were reported in the *Santa Paula Chronicle*, there did not appear to be a local anti-Japanese sentiment in the Limoneira Company and the Santa Paula region. In fact, most of the derogatory local newspaper stories focused on Mexican workers. School segregation existed between whites and Mexicans, yet the Japanese were included in the local Santa Paula white schools. See *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 1900-1925; Briggs Elementary Unified School District records; Santa Paula Elementary Unified School District records.
34. Bunje, *The Story of Japanese Farming in California*, 5; Kevin F. Goss, Richard D. Rodefeld, and Frederick H. Buttel, "Political Economy of Class Structure in United States Agriculture: A Theoretical Outline," in *The Rural Sociology of Advanced Societies: Critical Perspectives*, eds. Frederick Buttel and Howard Newby (New Jersey: Allenheld, Osman and Co., 1980), 113-14; Howard S. Reed, "Major Trends in California Agriculture," *Agricultural History* 20 (October 1946): 253.
35. Adams and Kelly, *A Study of Farm Labor in California*, 2; "Not Enough Farm Labor," *Literary Digest* 56 (March 9, 1918): 17-18.
36. The Limoneira Company purchased 2,365 adjoining acres with water rights attached. Of the 868 acres of irrigatable land on this property, the company converted 400 acres of walnuts to citrus. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 106, 127; Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 55; *The Home of the Lemon* (J.C. Newitt Press, 1905).
37. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 141-42. Mexicans were first imported by sugar beet growers, and then with the decline of sugar beets they changed to railroad and citrus work. According to Paul Taylor, in southern California, Mexicans began working in citrus in 1910, though at the Limoneira Company they appear in the wage records in 1907, and by 1917 they were used almost entirely for picking. Paul Taylor Collection, Orange County file, Bancroft Library; Limoneira Company Records.
38. Commissioner General of Immigration, *Annual Report* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), 397; Wayne Cornelius, *Mexican Migration to the United States: Causes, Consequences, and U.S. Response* (Cambridge: Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 14-15.
39. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 145.
40. R.L. Adams, "California's Deficiency in Farm Labor," *Pacific Rural Press* (May 1918): 31. Initially formed by the U.S. Department of Labor in 1917, the National Boys Working Reserve later fell under the aegis of the YMCA in 1918. Rural schools established Employment Bureaus of the U.S. Employment Service to promote recruitment for harvest time, temporary summer employment. *Los Angeles Times*, 15 April 1918; *Oxnard Daily Courier*, 13 June 1917; *Los Angeles Times*, 4 June 1917.
41. Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 24; John Martinez, "Mexican Emigration to the United States, 1920-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, reprint by R and E Research Associates, 1971), 17.
42. The Ventura County Women's Committee of the State Council of Defense was formed June 9, 1917, and consisted of representatives from the county women's organizations. The California State Women's Committee of the Council of Defense worked on recruiting California women to do farmwork, through the Food Production Committee and the Committee on Women in Industry. Women's auxiliaries were formed throughout the county to help with the "food problem." In May of 1918, 200 women of Ventura County met under the sponsorship of the Shakespeare Club of Ventura to plan forming a division of the Woman's Land Army of America. *Oxnard Daily Courier*, 23 May 1918; Catherine Gabriel Kipp, "Women on the Land: The Woman's Land Army California, Northern Division, 1918-1920" (M.A. thesis, Sacramento State College, 1960), 38-39; Mrs. Katherine Philip Edson, "Women in Industry," *California in the War* (Sacramento, 1918), 77; California State Council of Defense, *Report of the Activities June 1, 1917 to January 1, 1918* (Sacramento, 1918), 32, 77; Jean Steinson, "Female Activism in World War I: The American Women's Peace, Suffrage, Preparedness and Relief Movements, 1914-1919" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977); California State Council of Defense, Governor William D. Stephens, "California and the War," *California in the War* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1918), 9.
43. *Los Angeles Times*, 9 May 1918, 6 April 1918, 17 April 1918, and Part II, 20 May 1918; *Oxnard Daily Courier*, 16 Sept. 1918.
44. *Los Angeles Times*, Part III, 18 July 1918.
45. *Ibid.*, 28 June 1918. Liston Pope makes a similar point describing the process of southern textile employers requiring similar religious referral as a means of deterring labor strife in the 1930s. Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).
46. WLAA recruits were given physicals to determine if they were fit to work. They then received chaperones to see that they were properly supervised, "housed and had suitable surroundings." The ages of recruits ranged between 23 to 42; many were university graduates, and 90% were unmarried. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 23 May 1918; *Los Angeles Times*, 28 June 1918 and 3 June 1918.
47. Between 1918 and 1920 state law required that women working in agriculture: have an abundant supply of pure drinking water, not lift more than 25 lbs., have camps for living that were constructed in conformity with the codes of the State Commission of Immigration and Housing. During the war, wages ran as high as 35 cents an hour for women of the WLAA. By June 17, 1920, minimum wage for 8 hours of work a day, 6 days a week totaled \$16 a week for agricultural women working in fruit (including citrus), vegetables, and berries, according to the California Industrial Welfare Commission. For more than 8 hours a day of harvesting perishable fruits and vegetables, growers were required to pay 1/4 rate for the first 8 hours, then double the pay. One day of rest a week was required, as seen in the WLAA work schedule. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 3 August 1922.
48. The secretary of labor authorized Mexican farm laborers to enter the United States in 1917 to work on southwestern farms on a temporary basis. The House of Representatives Immigration Committee questioned this authorization as violating immigration law. The immigration regulation was modified in April 1918 to allow the importation of Mexican workers to help southwestern farmers, such as the owners of the Limoneira Company. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 June 1917; *Oxnard Daily Courier*, 29 June

918. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 13 May 1920; Paul Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States: Imperial Valley," *University of California Publication in Economics* 1928-1930, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 16.
919. Reisdler, *By the Sweat of Their Brows*, 27. Labor Conditions: Results of Admission of Mexican Laborers, Under Departmental Orders for Employment in Agricultural Pursuits," *Monthly Labor Review of U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics* 11 (Nov. 1920): 1095.
920. Citrus surpassed lima bean and walnut production in Ventura County during the post-war period. See *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 4 August 1921; "C.C. Teague: Grand Old Man of California Agriculture," *Ventura Star-Free Press*, 19 October 1965. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*. Judith Friem, *Ventura County: Land of Good Fortune* (Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1985), 183.
921. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 16 March 1920.
922. C.C. Teague stated that growers with a short harvest season cannot afford the same type of housing as growers whose needs are continuous. A seasonal-crop farmer cannot afford the cost of permanent housing. Most seasonal crops ripen in the summer, so farmers just provide tent housing with floors and proper sanitary facilities. Year-round growers provide year-round housing. Interestingly, Teague, at the Limoneira Company, was able to combine year-round with short-term crops. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 144-45; *Oxnard Daily Courier*, 25 May 1917; *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 25 May 1917.
923. George Guzman, interview with author, Santa Barbara, California, 11 May 1987; Fidel and Carmen Corona, interview with author and Mary Gadsby, Ventura, California, 11 August 1987.
924. On the remaining acreage the company farmed 240 acres of English walnut trees, 300 acres of lima beans, and 300 acres of hay (for animal feed).
925. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, 56-61. The closest rivals to the Limoneira Ranch, the Teague-McKevett Ranch, hired 100 men and women in the shed and ranch, and the Blanchard Investment Company employed 80 workers on its 100 acres of citrus. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 127. The number of Mexican workers employed by southern California growers increased from 2,000 in 1917 to 12,000 in 1918. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 9 May 1918; *Los Angeles Times*, Part I, 2 June 1918. Paul Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States-Imperial Valley," S. Grant Heil, interview with author, Ventura, California, 29 July 1987.
926. Fidel and Carmen Corona, interview with author and Mary Gadsby, Ventura, California, 11 August 1987. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 142; Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States-Imperial Valley," 35, 38. It is hard to determine annual earnings of Mexican farmworkers because of the varying basis of payment, irregularity of employment, and lack of uniformity in rate and migration. McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 125-26; Lloyd Fellows, "Economic Aspects of the Mexican Rural Population in California with Special Emphasis on the Need for Mexican Labor in Agriculture" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1929), 74-76. Paul Taylor Collection, Orange County File.
927. These washing machines employed only seven Japanese or Mexican male workers and eliminated 25 labor-intensive hand-washing jobs when they were first installed.
928. In Los Angeles alone, one third of the 100,000 Mexican residents were repatriated during the early 1930s. The reasons include: the voluntary decision of many Mexicans to leave the United States in 1929 and the early 1930s; the role of local U.S. government officials in sponsoring trains to return Mexicans, who were charged with taking away "American jobs," to the border from 1931 to 1934; the role of the consulate office in Los Angeles in encouraging repatriation in order to encourage a loyalty of Mexican emigrants to their mother country; and the role of various branches of the Mexican federal government in repatriation, such as the attempt to promote agricultural cooperative communities among the returnees. George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 122-24, 314; Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 36-37; Francisco Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982); Mercedes Carreras de Velasco, *Los Mexicanos que devolvio la crisis, 1929-1932* (Mexico, D.F.: Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1974); Abraham Hoffman, "Stimulus to Repatriation: The 1931 Federal Deportation Drive and the Los Angeles Mexican Community," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (1973): 205-19.
929. Foreign consulate records for Los Angeles, Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City, D.F., Mexico.
930. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 18 March 1920.
931. In his 1920 statement to the Citrus Institute, J.D. Culbertson stated that each Mexican camp consisted of 10-36 cottages, a figure that differs from other accounts by workers and researchers. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 18 March 1920.
932. Blanchard, *Of California's First Citrus Empire*, 145-146. Clarke, *Narrative of a Native*, 10; Loftis and Meister, *A Long Time Coming*, 8; Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, 105, 111; Yoneda, "Japanese Farm Labor History in California"; Mills, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, 30 June 1921.
933. For a collection of wonderfully reproduced crate labels, along with a useful description of their production and role in the citrus industry, see Gordon T. McClelland and Jay T. Last, *California Orange Box Labels: An Illustrated History* (Santa Ana: Hillcrest Press, Inc., 1985).
934. *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean*, September 10, 1893, cited in *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission*, 75.
935. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, cited in Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 219.
936. *Katō Field's Washington*, Washington, D.C., cited in *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission*, 75.
937. The global history of citrus is usefully summarized in the first volume of the University of California's multi-volume work on the subject: Herbert J. Webber and Leon D. Baxter, eds., *The Citrus Industry, vol 1: History, Botany, and Breeding* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 1-40, 530-33.
938. See Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 87-93.
939. See Kevin Starr's revealing exploration of how the "California Dream" was partly composed with mythic visions of the state's fertility: "Works, Days, Georgic Beginnings," *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 128-75.
940. John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 446-47.
941. For a brief discussion of the origins of this law and how it related to horticulture in California, see Jack Doyle, *Altered Harbors: Agriculture, Commerce and the Making of the World's Fair, 1889* (New York: Viking, 1983), 48-53.
942. Cited in Peter Dreyer's superb biography,

- A Gardener Touched with Genius: The Life of Luther Burbank* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 13.
 14. For development of this position with respect to twentieth-century biology and physics, see Evelyn Fox Keller, *Secrets of Life, Secrets of Death* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
 15. This is Roland Marchand's phrase. See his *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 1-24.
 16. Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1093. Donna Haraway, "The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d Others," in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 296-97.
 17. Sunkist Growers, *The Story of the California Oranges and Lemons* (Los Angeles: California Fruit Growers Exchange, 1931), 13.
 18. This organization was called the Southern California Fruit Growers Exchange. Responding to the citrus industry's expansion into Tulare County in the San Joaquin Valley, it was re-christened the California Fruit Growers Exchange in 1905.
 19. *California Citrograph*, July 1929, p. 359.
 20. Spencer Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 105-10.
 21. For an excellent discussion of the tension between modernist and agrarian attitudes about agriculture in the politics of California, see Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), esp. 15-70.
 22. *California Citrograph*, October 1937, p. 555.
 23. Minutes of Southern California Fruit Exchange, June 10, 1904, cited in Rahno Mabel MacCurdy, *The History of the California Fruit Growers Exchange* (Los Angeles: G. Rice and Sons, 1925), 50.
 24. William Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing: Its Advances as Exemplified in the California Fruit Growers Exchange* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917), 8.
 25. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991), 362.
 26. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977).
 27. Cited in William Cumberland, *Cooperative Marketing*, 135.
 28. *California Citrograph*, December 1920, p. 66.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *California Citrograph*, November 1931, p. 7.
 32. *California Citrograph*, October 1937, p. 4.
 33. *California Citrograph*, May 1931, p. 315.
 34. *California Citrograph*, April 1918, p. 131.
 35. Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 147-60.
 36. Sunkist Growers, *Story of the California Oranges and Lemons*, 25-26.
 37. *Ibid.*, 26.
 38. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table*, 154.
 39. See Lears, *No Place of Grace*.
 40. *California Citrograph*, November 1939, p. 36. During World War II, the Nutrition Division of the federal government directly distributed Sunkist's pamphlet. See Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 75.
 41. *California Citrograph*, November 1939, p. 36.
 42. See Martha Banta, *Taylored Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen and Ford* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).
 43. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 298-99.
 44. *California Citrograph*, May 1935, p. 207.
 45. Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 143.
 46. Carey McWilliams uses this phrase as an epigraph in *Factories in the Field* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939).
 47. I do not mean to detract from the way this term has been used by William Cronon and others to make a valuable critique of the labor theory of value.
 48. John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*, 449.
 49. These are all terms Luther Burbank used to describe the daisies in John, Whitson, and Williams, eds. *Luther Burbank*, 7-14.
- Hartig, "In a World He Has Created," pp. 100-111.
1. A.D. Shamel, "The Esthetic Side of Orange Growing in the Southwest," *California Citrograph*, January, February, March, and June 1928; November 1929; January, March, August 1931; May 1932; July 1934; May 1936; August and December 1937. Each essay is accompanied by two to five photographs.
 2. "Esthetic Side," No. II (February 1928): 110, and No. V (November 1929): 4.
 3. "Esthetic Side," No. I (January 1928): 79.
 4. The concept of a "cultural landscape" as one that results from humans' shaping of the natural lay of the land for their own needs has recently received scholarly and professional attention. See in particular John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscapes of America, 1580-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); J.B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). The official recognition has come in the form of the federal government's inclusion of cultural landscapes as important national resources with the publication of U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*.
 5. Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, as quoted in John McMurtry, *The Structure of Marx's World View* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 29.
 6. "Esthetic Side," No. IV (June 1928): 281, prefiling the Charles Wagner residence of Placentia.
 7. "Esthetic Side," No. I (January 1928): 7 and 97.
 8. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973).
 9. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1983 [1946]), 354-55.
 10. "Esthetic Side," No. XIV (December 1937): 472.
 11. "Esthetic Side," No. XI (July 1934): 230-31.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. Williams, *The Country and the City*, 149.
 14. Starr claims that comparisons made to the Mediterranean during the early decade of American settlement "invoked values of responsible order and conveyed a sense of impending civilization. . . . The Mediterranean was rich in both nature and history, and Southern Californians wanted both blessings," *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46. Starr credits the union-busting and aggressive, if paranoid, Harrison Gray Otis and journalists like Charles Fletcher Lummis with solidifying the myth/image package begun by Helen Hunt Jackson. The myth package quote is found in *Inventing the Dream*, 72-77.
 15. "Esthetic Side," No. XI (July 1934): 230.
 16. The concept of the citrus industry as a significant example of the enactment of managerial capitalism has been synthesized by the current work of Vincent Moses, Ronald Tobey, and Charles Wetherell. Both Starr and McWilliams focus on the politically conservative and elitist underpinnings of the citrus belt's development. That the arid, but ever-hospitable, lands were the destined home of Anglo-Saxons, according to Starr, was the underlying "racial myth" in the creation of southern California's usable past and marketable present; *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era*, 89-98. In his writings for the magazine *Land of Sunshine* (renamed *Out West*), Charles Fletcher Lummis promoted southern California as the "new Eden of the Saxon homeseeker," wherein good, solid Americans could escape the new eastern European immigrants pouring into eastern seaports. Starr provides an illustrative biography of Lummis in "Art and Life in the Southland," *Inventing the Dream*; in particular, Starr relays these racist sentiments on pages 89-90.
 17. "Esthetic Side," No. XIV in the series (December 1937): 61. The laborers worked oranges during the winter, spring, and early summer months at Riverside and then

- moved on to Kingsburg, where they spent the rest of the year picking the cotton crop.
8. "Esthetic Side," No. IX (May 1932): 297.
9. "Esthetic Side," No. XI (July 1933): 230, and No. IX (May 1932): 297.
10. McWilliams, *An Island on the Land*, 207, 208.
11. Or a sampling, refer to the synthetic introduction of Elaine Showalter, *Speaking of Genre* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 1–11.
12. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women in Economics* (Boston: Small and Maynard, 1889), 41–56.
13. "Esthetic Side," No. XIV (December 1937); profiling Mr. and Mrs. Edgar L. Wall of 7390 Magnolia Avenue, Riverside, California; p. 61.
14. Marx, as explained and explored by McLurty, *The Structure of Marx's World View*, 152–54.
15. "Esthetic Side," No. III (March 1928): 154.
16. "Esthetic Side," No. VIII (August 1931): 452.
17. Ibid.
18. "Esthetic Side," No. IX (May 1932): 275.
19. Here, Shamel profiled Joy Jameson of the W.H. Jameson family of Corona, California, believers "in education, their country, and their home community," p. 297.
20. David Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), offers one of the more comprehensive analyses of this union, especially in chapter 7, "Science for Industry: The Organization of Industrial and University Research," 110–66. Noble's assertion was that "with the introduction of organized research laboratories in industry, and unprecedented effort to integrate universities within the industrial structure, the corporate engineers undertook to anticipate scientific discovery, to guarantee and regulate the supply of what had become the lifeblood of modern industry." Cletus Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), brings Noble's arguments westward to California agribusiness, claiming that by the end of the nineteenth century, "a close, mutually beneficial relationship was well established between large-scale farmers and the faculty of the College of Agriculture at the University of California, with the latter not only providing technical expertise but serving as a conduit for those ideas and practices of urban industry and commerce that the state's agribusiness community was moving to adopt," 41–42.
21. Ibid., 453.
22. "Esthetic Side," No. III, focusing on the Albert Heinecke home, (March 1928): 281.
23. steiner, "Reading the Citrus Landscape," pp. 112–117.
24. Virginia Woolf, *Jacob's Room and The Waves* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1971), 34.
25. Henry Glassie, "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies," in *Proceedings of the American Cultural Studies*, Jack Salzman, ed. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 32–33.
26. Ibid., 32.
27. Barry Lopez's notion of how glossy mass-mediated images of nature—"false geographies"—sell products and separate consumers from the real contours of the land is germane to Hartig's and Sackman's work. See Lopez, "Mapping the Real Geography," *Harpers* (November 1989): 19–24. Lopez's indictment might be contrasted to D.W. Meinig's analysis of the power of the southern California suburb, replete with snow-capped mountains framing orange groves, as a deeply compelling "symbolic landscape." See Meinig, "Symbolic Landscapes," in D.W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 164–92.
28. Yi Fu Tuan, "Thought and Landscape: The Eye and the Mind's Eye," in Meinig, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, 92.
29. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (1946; rpt. 1973, Peregrine Smith, Santa Barbara, 1973), 218, 220.
30. Raymond Williams's *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) is the most important discussion of this general thesis. McWilliams's chapter, "The Citrus Belt," remains the best dissection of the inequities of citrus culture, and Richard Lillard's surprisingly neglected *Eden in Jeopardy: Man's Prodigious Meddling With His Environment: The Southern California Experience* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966) also contains stinging observations. "The fact that much of the hard physical labor was done by Mexican-Americans, who lived in shacks in segregated quarters of towns, did not affect the general picture of Anglo-American opulence as most visitors saw it," Lillard observed. "While the big farm owners lived well in coastal cities, sent their children to Stanford, and vacationed in Europe, the California farm workers lived in dirty shacks, drank impure water, used filthy privies, and ate poor food while they picked Visalia grapes (and) Tustin oranges . . ." *Eden in Jeopardy*, 76, 80.
31. Paul F. Starrs, "The Navel of California and Other Oranges: Images of California and the Orange Crate," *California Geographer* 28 (1988): 1–41, offers a thorough, though uncritical, survey of citrus symbolism. Starrs asserts that "No other symbol, not even the highly abstracted vision of Hollywood, has summoned the power and weight of orange culture," and he stresses the ironic fact that the symbol's drawing power led to its destruction: so many people were lured to southern California by this Edenic image that their very numbers bulldozed it to extinction.
32. See Michael C. Steiner, "Pleasures and Perils of the Southern California Landscape," *Journal of American Studies* 2 (Spring 1968): 48–60, a discussion of both nineteenth-century and twentieth-century "picturesque" and regional myth and architecture help perpetuate patterns of injustice.
33. John Jakle, "Time, Space, and the Geographic Past," *American Historical Review* 75 (1971): 1087.
34. Donald Worster, *The Word of Nature: Environmental History and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 30; Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973); Walter Wriston, former C.E.O. for Citicorp, cited by Michael Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1992), xi.
35. Continuing his survey, Jakle still complains that "Too many historians have a tendency to conceptualize 'history' as something a-spatially suspended"; in "Toward a Geographical History of Indiana: Landscape and Place in the Historical Imagination," *Indiana Magazine of History* 89 (September 1993): 182.
36. Wayne Franklin and Michael Steiner, "Taking Place: Toward the Regrounding of American Studies," in Franklin and Steiner, eds., *Mapping American Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), 3–23.
37. Donna Haraway, as cited by Sackman; Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1087–1106; and William Cronon, "Modes of Prophecy and Production: Placing Nature in History," *ibid.*, 1131.
38. Cronon elaborates this argument in "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1347–76.
39. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Verso, 1990).
40. Dolores Hayden's discussion of the ever-vital "pre-industrial vernacular" as a counterforce to the commercial landscapes of Ford, Levitt, Moses, and Disney may provide a useful model. See her "The American Sense of Place and the Politics of Space," in David G. De Long, et al., eds., *American Architecture: Innovation and Tradition* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 184–97.
41. Herbert Richardson, *Toward an American Theology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 28.
42. John McPhee's insightful book, *The Control of Nature* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1989), with its double-edge title and its critique of foolish efforts to cinch and corset the recalcitrant San Gabriel Mountains, is useful here. Among his many books, Yi-Fu Tuan's *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) is an imaginative and evocative survey of the artifactual impulse—the human urge to dominate, control, and refurbish nature.
43. McWilliams, *Southern California*, 230.

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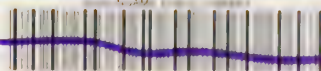
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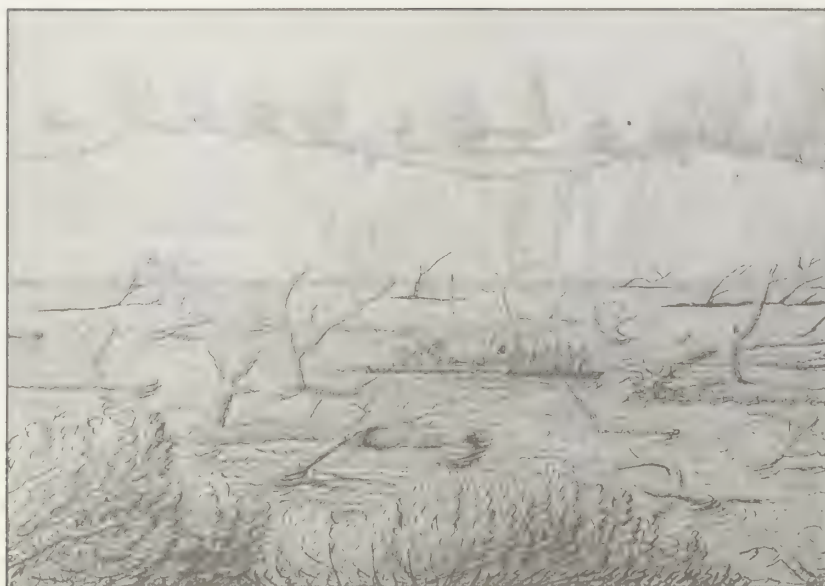


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J. Goldsborough Bruff



"Perilous Ferriage" by Goldsborough Bruff depicts his wagon train's crossing of the Missouri River, which took four days to complete successfully. On June 1, 1849, he "set mechanics to work," and by 3 P.M. on June 4, the entire company was safely across. The ferryman charged only half the usual price, since Bruff's party took all responsibility for the crossing and taught the ferryman a great "wrinkle." Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

On April 14, 1889, Joseph Goldsborough Bruff died within a few blocks of his birthplace. Far from remaining within the narrow confines of his Washington, D.C., neighborhood for the eighty-five years of his life, however, this artist, diarist, and adventurer had sailed to distant ports, and, more significantly, he had crossed the continent on the Overland Trail. His legacy of journals and drawings has provided researchers with some of the most valuable source material for the study of the westward migration in the mid-nineteenth century.

By late 1848, a contagion raged on the eastern seaboard—Gold Rush fever—and Bruff caught it. Having attended West Point, sailed on both naval and merchant vessels, and worked for a couple of decades as a draftsman, Bruff was uniquely qualified for the task he undertook in 1849. Instrumental in forming the Washington City and California Gold Mining Association, he organized and led a group of some five dozen men who set out for California to find gold. In addition to his hope of becoming rich by his venture, Bruff planned to maintain "a correct and precise journal...for which I shall furnish sketches and meteorological observations."

His journals, dating from April 2, 1849, to July 20, 1851, contain more than his modest statement implies. For example, a long journal entry made at Black Rock Valley in northwestern Nevada on September 25, 1849, (over 1,500 words and two sketches) demonstrates the diverse and precious nature of his chronicle. It includes four weather reports. One reads: "Temp. at 3 p.m. (in shade) 105 [degrees]." Bruff observed some eight types of minerals and seven varieties of plant life. He also noted that "about 2 miles beyond the entrance here, on right of the road—mere trail,—on a small elevation, surrounded by marsh, is a grave, the board enscribed thus: 'C.H. Bintly, from York-

shire, England, Died Sep. 9th, 1849, Aged 43 years.'" Just after noon, he encountered the Keller family, who informed him "of old Mr Abbots' death, far back on the Platte—So the silver headed Swiss philosopher found a romantic grave in the wilds of the Platte." The trail at that point was littered with the remnants of less fortunate travelers: "broken wagons, wheels, hubs, tires, axles, &c and 3 dead oxen." Through his account, readers can follow the sharp turns, detours, ups and downs of the company. In the midst of it all, Bruff had humor enough to pun about one "very de scent road."

In October, Bruff's company abandoned him in the Sierra Nevada with their extraneous wagons and gear, promising (falsely) to return in a few days with fresh pack animals. After much hardship, Bruff did make it to safety, but he did not strike it rich in the gold fields of California. By mid-1851 he was back in Washington to resume his long career of government employment. But what he left for future generations was truly a gold mine of information. In addition to an abundance of geological data and hundreds of illustrations, the journals abound with observations of the social interaction of the emigrants.

In 1949, a selection of Bruff's journals and sketches was published by Columbia University Press under the title *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff*.... Containing a valuable introduction by the editors, Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, *Gold Rush* is not only essential to any study of the Overland Trail, it is a fascinating document that illustrates the extraordinary character of the men and women who migrated west across America a century and a half ago.

SAUNDRA WARREN
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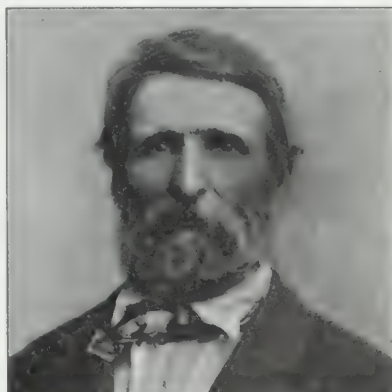
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"Sometimes When I Hear the Winds Sigh"

Mortality on the Overland Trail¹

by Robert W. Carter

The overland migrations of mid-nineteenth-century America were indeed full of difficulties, hardships, and all too often tragedy. The problems experienced by the emigrants, contrary to popular folklore, did not generally involve outlaws or Indians. Trouble instead manifested itself not through these romantic images created by popular fiction and media, but through mundane, though more lethal, encounters with disease, accidental trauma, and the elements. What kept the emigrants alive and moving was not merely their will to survive, but their mutual support and willingness to work together as a community.

The nomadic community of the overland trail was, like any other frontier community, organized under the need for mutual assistance. This was especially important in time of dire need, and it was in these critical times that the community and its members were at their best. Whether to defend the company from a hostile environment, feed the starving, care for the sick, or bury the dead, this nomadic community, like its sedentary counterpart, pulled together to support its own. As one gold-rush emigrant stated in 1849:

Never have I seen so much hospitality & good feeling anywhere exhibited as since I have been on this route. Let any stranger visit camp no matter who or where, & the best of everything is brought out, he is fed, & caressed almost universally.... Nor have I seen any man in trouble, deserted, without all the assistance they could render²

Almost immediately upon departure from one of the many jumping off points along the Missouri River, the need for communal support became read-

ily evident. The emigrants had barely reached the actual trail when they ran head-on into the worst dangers and most prevalent cause of death on the overland trail: disease,³ which was responsible for nine out of every ten overland emigrant deaths enroute.⁴ Of all the diseases the emigrants encountered along the trail, cholera was the most common and the most deadly. It was a disease with which people were more familiar, yet it was little understood. It would strike suddenly, with no warning, often killing the victim within hours of the first symptoms.⁵ It was so uncontrollable that often entire families, even whole emigrating companies, would be wiped out.⁶ In one case in 1849, cholera took six out of a company of seven.⁷

A waterborne disease caused by the lack of proper sanitation, cholera was especially prevalent in crowded urban areas. It was transmitted through the polluted drinking water in the already congested cities of Independence, St. Louis, and St. Joseph, Missouri, all of which were major jumping off points for the overland trail, a situation that further augmented the problem. During the peak emigration years, with the influx of thousands of emigrants, these cities were especially susceptible to the bacteria, and with the lack of proper facilities to control the disease and the lack of knowledge of germs and bacteria as causation for cholera, all three cities became prime breeding grounds for the disease. The spread of cholera went unchecked and soon reached epidemic proportions between the years of 1848 and 1855, particularly in 1849, 1850, and 1852, when the mortality rate averaged 2,000 deaths annually. It killed over 4,000 in the city of St. Louis alone in 1849.⁸ St. Louis was not the only city affected; the pestilence swept



"Death Scene on the Plains," artist unknown, appeared January 1, 1856, in the *Sacramento Pictorial Union*. The number of deaths from cholera on the overland trail is difficult to establish. Many grave-markers observed and meticulously recorded by diarist J. Goldsborough Bruff do not list the cause of death, and many graves were left unmarked. Estimates for the number of deaths for the year 1849 alone range from 750 to 5000. Courtesy Bancroft Library.

through all cities along the Missouri River and out onto the overland trails. "I arrived in St. Louis," wrote Osborne Cross, "and on finding the cholera prevailing to an alarming extent...left after making hasty outfit there....the cholera....had spread through every town on the Missouri River."⁹

Misconceptions of the disease's cause were evident from the entries recorded in emigrant diaries and journals along the trail. Many thought the cause was drinking from "holes dug in the river bank and marshes"¹⁰ and "shallow wells...impregnated with alkali."¹¹ One author of a guidebook, taking the opposite view, stated that "some people hold the radically different idea that cholera is transmitted by bad water. Surely some of the water is poor....However it's doubtful that it actually causes cholera."¹² Some emigrants even believed that beans were the cause, so much so that beans were banned from many overland companies and even by the commander of Fort Kearny.¹³ Other common theories of causation of the disease held by the emigrants, besides poor water quality, included diet, climate, night air, evening mists, and overindulgence in alcohol.¹⁴ Few realized the actual cause.

Cholera manifested itself first through digestive disorders, the symptoms of which were common along the trail, and included diarrhea, vomiting, and stomach cramps. If the victim was afflicted with a bad case, the initial symptoms would eventually worsen, which in time would lead to physical collapse, uremia, dehydration, kidney failure, and subsequently coma and death. During an epidemic, however, the disease might develop directly into one of the later stages.¹⁵

Treatments for cholera along the trail varied greatly, but a common one consisted of a mixture of calomel, camphor, opium, and cayenne pepper. Other remedies included anal injections and applications of tree bark, brandy, and mustard plasters.¹⁶ These concoctions were of little value in curing the disease, however, and were provided primarily for relieving symptoms.¹⁷ One doctor traveling in 1849 was often called on to treat the symptoms of cholera. He recorded his treatments in his diary:

I prescribed a pill of opium every hour which quieted the gripping but did not stop the diarrhoea. I next ordered hyd. chlorite grs. viii, capsium grs. iii, and camphor, but it has not had the desired effect yet.¹⁸

Another doctor described the disease in its various stages and the treatments he used to control it:

The cholera is a rapidly fatal disease, when suffered to run its course unrestrained, & more easily controlled then most diseases when met in time....It commences with diarrhoea in every case. A single dose of laudenum, with pepper, camphor, musk, ammonia, peppermint or other stimulants usually effect a cure in a few minutes. If pain in the bowels was present, another dose was required. If cramp in the calves of the legs had supervened, a larger dose was given. If skin had become cold, and covered with sweat (Which did not happen unless the disease had run several hours or days) the doses were frequently repeated until warmth was restored. The medicines were aided by friction, mustard plasters, and other external applications. If to all these symptoms vomiting was added, there was no more to be done. Vomiting was the worst symptom, and every case proved fatal where vomiting, purging, cramp, and cold sweating skin were present....¹⁹

The only sure way of surviving cholera was to avoid getting it, and the only real method of avoiding the disease was to boil drinking water before consumption, a practice commonly used by emigrants, not to kill the cholera bacteria, which was still unknown to the emigrants,²⁰ but to distill the water to remove the alkali and saline or to kill the insects often living in the water ("wiggles" as they were commonly referred to). One emigrant found so many organisms in his cup that he noted that his "drinking water is living."²¹

Actually, if a person was infected with cholera, treatments often did little good, and people could do little but hope for the best and let the disease run its course. Usually, cholera took the life of its victim, often within hours of the first symptoms. One of the more poignant accounts of death along the trail belongs to a woman whose mother contracted cholera:

...our mother was taken about two o'clock this morning with a violent diarrhoea attended with cramping...everything was done to save her life; but her constitution...was unable to withstand the attack and this afternoon between four and five o'clock her wearied spirit took its flight and then we realized we were bereaved indeed....The place of her internment is a romantic one....The grave is situated on an eminence which overlooks a ravine intersected with (groves of) small pine and cedar trees; In about the



"The Fate of Many." This sketch by diarist and artist J. Goldsborough Bruff records a grim reality: many emigrant graves had to be covered with stones to prevent later "excavation" by hungry animals. Bruff also catalogued the medications emigrants should include with their supplies. For cholera he listed powdered rhubarb, calomel, and salts of opium. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

center of this ravine...there wells forth from a kind of bank a spring...clear as crystal....In the outskirts...clusters of wild roses and various other wild flowers grow in abundance....We call the place Laramie's Point or Castle Hill....

Accounts of sickness and especially death related to cholera dominate overland letters, diaries, and journals, particularly in the epidemic years of 1849, 1850, and 1852.²³ Especially tragic were the cases in which entire families were afflicted. One incident occurred during the 1849 emigration, in which a father and mother died, leaving a teenage girl and a sick boy, who were then abandoned by the train in which they were traveling:

...on the bank of the creek, I could discern an emigrant wagon...abandoned by its owners...In the valley...I observed a rude head-board indicating a new grave and going to it read this double inscription. Died of cholera, July 18, 1849, Rev. Robt. Gilmore....Died of cholera, July 18, 1849, Mary, wife of Rev. Robert Gilmore....I was surprised to see a...girl of 17 sitting on the wagon tongue....She seemed like one dazed....I then learned...that she was Miss Gilmore, whose parents had died two days before; that her brother, younger than herself, was sick in the wagon, probably with cholera; that their oxen were lost or stolen by the indians; and that the train they had been traveling with...had gone on in the morning, tearful...of being trapped by winter in the Sierra Nevada mountains.

Confronted by the fears of cholera and becoming snowbound in the mountains, emigrants and their train, as in this case, sometimes lost their perspectives, and as a result the community broke down. Often this was only a temporary setback, just as it was with these children until another passing train stopped to render them assistance. That was often how the community functioned along the trail.

Deaths from cholera also caused families and companies to abandon their journeys and return

home. One family bound for Oregon in 1852 "met a company to-day who had started back (to the states) on account of sickness and death; They buried one man yesterday and another this morning,"²⁵ and another company with "three men returning who were the only ones left out of a party of seventeen."²⁶

Once the emigrants passed Fort Laramie, incidents of cholera, for reasons still undetermined, decreased dramatically.²⁷ However, travelers soon encountered a new problem, commonly referred to as "mountain



Willie Handcart Disaster Site, a modern-day photograph by Gregory A. MacGregor. The Mormon Church provided hand carts for Utah-bound English converts who could not afford to purchase the necessary wagon and team for the overland trail. In 1856, one such group had discarded a hundred buffalo robes because they thought them to be too heavy. They were later caught in a snowstorm at Rock Creek Campground (above) in Fremont County, Wyoming, where the luckier ones lost only fingers, toes, or entire hands or feet. Sixty-seven members of their party froze to death. Courtesy Gregory A. MacGregor.



A recent photograph of Red Vermillion Creek Crossing and trail, by Gregory A. MacGregor. Because of Red Vermillion Creek's twenty-five-foot perpendicular banks, this crossing on the overland trail (in Pattawatomie County, Kansas) was especially difficult. In 1848 Louis Vieux built a bridge at this site, earning his living by charging a toll of \$1.00 and acting as interpreter and business agent. In 1849, in less than one week's time, fifty members of a large group of emigrants camping here died of cholera. *Courtesy of Gregory A. MacGregor.*

fever," which was most likely either Rocky Mountain spotted fever or Colorado tick fever.²⁸ This disease was prevalent in the early spring and summer months and was defined by symptoms including headache, fever, chills, constipation, and severe muscle, chest, and back pains. Although journal-entry descriptions of mountain fever are not as common as those of cholera, one account by a young woman diarist, Mariett Foster Cummings, who contracted the disease, gives us an idea of the severity of this mysterious illness:

....I was attacked with the mountain fever, a violent pain in my limbs, back and head with a high fever....It seemed to me I must die, and that same evening William [her husband] was attacked with the same disease. We were a sick pair...burned up with fever, racked with pain. [Two weeks later they both still had the disease.]I am yet sick. Sometimes I think I shall not live long. It is hard to die so young and William. . .who will console him?

Although the Cummingses survived their ordeal with mountain fever, other diarists had the grim task of recording the deaths suffered by their comrades.

Charles Gray, in 1849, described the slow demise from mountain fever of a messmate and close friend. He wrote:

....visited him & should have hardly known him, such ravages had the fever made upon him...his powerful limbs wasted away, his skin like fire, his lips & tongue black & mortification of the stomach commenced. The whole camp was thrown into deep gloom by it & no sound louder than a low tone was heard....About noon poor Denman expired just as I went to him to see how he was, he died gently & totally unconscious. In him I lost a good friend.³¹

If travelers were lucky enough to escape both cholera and mountain fever, they were still subject to scurvy, "the last of a trio of ills that filled many a grave" along the overland trail.³² Caused by a deficiency of vitamin C, this affliction, although not usually fatal, caused great suffering from such symptoms as fatigue, skin lesions, severe joint pain, pain and swelling in the legs, and swollen and bleeding gums. One of the many means of dealing with scurvy was to bring along preventative food items and medicines such as citric acid, pickles, and dried fruit.³³ Another would have been to utilize the indigenous plants abundant along the trail. Many of these, such as wild fruit and greens and buds from fir and pine trees, were indeed beneficial in preventing and even curing scurvy.³⁴ Due to a prevailing lack of knowledge of the properties of these plants, however, few emigrants are known to have used them.

If emigrants escaped harm from cholera, mountain fever, and scurvy, there were a multitude of other diseases, many serious, that overland travelers had to contend with. These included typhoid fever, dysentery, measles, mumps, smallpox, bilious fever (liver disease), flux (chronic diarrhea), ague (malaria), typhus, and consumption (tuberculosis), not to mention such minor ailments as influenza and common colds.³⁵ Other less serious, yet annoying, health problems were also frequent, and caused an immense amount of suffering. Exposure to dust caused lung and eye irritation and severely chapped lips and was so much of a problem that, as one emigrant stated, "the dust is very annoying...I have seen several people completely blinded by it...If I have yet seen the elephant it is in this shape, for certainly nothing has annoyed me so much."³⁶ Insects such as mosquitoes, gnats and flies could also cause severe misery, including skin irritation and

sometimes infection.³⁷ One woman mentioned mosquitoes and how they affected her young son: "I never saw mosquitoes as bad as they are here. Chat has been sick all day with fever, partly caused by mosquito bites."³⁸

Although one of the motivations for westward migration was to seek improved health, emigrants, even those in good health, were subjected to the strains of disease, and few escaped without being afflicted by something. In one case, a doctor traveling to California in 1849 tells of a man who had made the trip west as a remedy for his consumption, but died en route:

Poor soul died of consumption away from friends and home. Tis the same old story. Consumptives going from the comforts of home and friends to seek health. Bad judgement.³⁹

The overland trail took its toll on the health of those who traveled it, especially women and their babies during childbirth. Most women were exposed to childbirth at some time along the trail, either as mothers giving birth or as midwives assisting in delivery. In her study of overland women, Lillian Schlissel states that of the seventy-three married women studied, sixteen were pregnant or had recently given birth, and eighteen had assisted in the birthing process in neighboring trains.⁴⁰ One woman, Patty Sessions, delivered and recorded fourteen births during her journey west.⁴¹ Traveler James Jory mentioned that women took charge of the birthing process: "There was no regular medical attendance, but with such care as the women could render each other there was no difficulty."⁴²

Because of the social taboos present during this time, it is difficult to ascertain specific aspects of pregnancy and childbirth along the trail. Childbirth was mentioned only after the birth, and pregnancy was rarely mentioned at all. Amelia Stewart Knight started her journey west in the first trimester of her pregnancy and made no mention of it whatsoever. Her only reference to the pregnancy was in passing, when she described feeling ill.⁴³ When a woman did go into labor, it was often mentioned, if at all, in a left-handed fashion. John Minto wrote that "at Black Vermillion owing to some indisposition of one of the general's married daughters, we camped a day and a half." Minto continued later that "the first birth occurred in our camp...camped for two days out of respect and care for motherhood."⁴⁴ Another emigrant stated that "we lay buy on the count of

John Pennington's wife being sick. She had a daughter."⁴

One particularly sad, but all too common, event of the trail was death of a baby in childbirth.⁴⁶ In 1860, Lavinia Porter wrote of such an event:

One day we overtook a belated team on its way to one of the distant forts with only a man and his wife....The wife was quite ill in the little tent, having given birth to a child a day or two before, which had lived only one day. The father had put it in a rude box and laid it away in its tiny grave by the wayside. The poor mother was grieving her heart out at leaving it behind on the lonely plain with only a rude stone to mark its resting place.⁴⁷

Although it is not often recorded in the journals, women also died from childbirth along the trail. Catherine Haun described one woman "who suddenly sickened and died....We halted a day to bury

her and the infant that had lived but an hour."⁴⁸ The event again is accounted for without specifically mentioning that it was related to a childbirth. Childbirth was a risky undertaking for American and European women in the nineteenth century, and the trail only augmented the problems. Because of the heavy societal taboos placed on such subjects as sexual relations, feminine hygiene, and childbirth at the time, however, it is difficult to ascertain all the specific reasons for birth-related deaths. One can only assume that women exposed to unhealthy sanitation, deficient diet, anxiety, overwork, exposure, and the rigors of crossing the hard terrain were particularly susceptible to this tragedy.

According to John Unruh, of the 296,295 people who emigrated west between 1840 and 1860, four percent or 11,852, were thought to have died en route. If his claim that nine out of ten deaths were



"Capsize of No 1.," by J. Goldsborough Bruff. Injuries resulted from carelessness. In this drawing made near Grand Island, Nebraska, the loaded wagon bed was tossed "upside down, in the road, while the mules ran off with the running gear." Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library.



"Rabbit Hole Springs," by J. Goldsborough Bruff. Animal carcasses and wagon parts were familiar debris found along the trail by overland trail emigrants—testimony to some of the problems encountered by previous companies. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library.

caused by disease, that then would account for 10,667 of those deaths. Emigrants who survived the host of diseases common along the overland trail faced the second highest cause of death—the trauma of accidental death.⁴⁹ No matter how much an emigrant company organized and prepared for the journey, accidents simply could not be avoided. The most common cause of accidental death was drowning, caused by failed attempts to cross the many rivers along the trail.⁵⁰ As S.H. Taylor noted:

Fords on this stream [the Loup fork of the Platte River] are essentially dangerous. Its waters are a mere mass of quicksand, rushing along with velocity of a mountain stream. In fording our cattle they sink right down into the sand, and the farther they sink the faster they sink, while the current is so swift that even ferriage is attended with some hazard.⁵¹

Many accounts tell of drownings and near drownings by swimming, fording, and ferrying across water. Often, accidents during ferriage were due, not to the emigrants' ignorance, but to carelessness by the ferrymen themselves.⁵² One account of a ferry accident is found in the 1852 journal of Polly Coon, who wrote:

...3 yoke of oxen...backed off and sunk the boat drowning three men one of them the emigrants sons aged 16 and two of the ferrymen. The boat was a miserable one & a good deal of indignation was felt...I have never felt more sympathy for any distress than for the emigrants, who stood on the bank and saw one of their number sink in the rapid water without being able to render assistance....⁵³

An eyewitness account of drowning while attempting to ford is given in the journal of Elizabeth Dixon Smith in 1847:

The man...took the horse and swam after the cattle and while coming back by some means got off of the horse and sunk and was seen no more he left a wife an 6 helpless children my husband stood watching him it is supposed that there was a suck in the bottom of the river.⁵⁴

Close calls are frequently recorded in the journals, such as the experience of Sally Hester, who while

fording the Truckee River, "came near being drowned at one of the crossings. Got frightened and jumped out of the carriage into the water. The current was very swift and carried [me] some distance down the stream."⁵⁵ Jared Fox also had a close call while fording the Loup Fork of the Platte River in 1852, and had it not been for his fellow emigrants, he would have drowned: "The first two teams came near drowning & 3 or 4 men would have drowned but for timely aid afforded," he wrote, "I should have been among those who passed away."

Next to drowning, the most common of the fatal accidents on the trail were due to the careless or reckless use of firearms.⁵⁷ Deaths associated with guns were primarily caused by the accidental discharge of the firearm, which often resulted in a fatal, self-inflicted wound. In one instance, a man was killed when he took his rifle out of a wagon.⁵⁸ Another tragedy occurred when a hunter "sprang to his feet, at the same time catching up his gun...with the muzzle toward him and it went off, the ball passing through his lungs. He was still alive but sinking rapidly."

Another common cause of gunshot wounds occurred when emigrants mistook a fellow traveler for an intruder (usually thought to be an Indian attempting to steal stock) around the campsite during the night:

During the night a mule...broke from its tether, and in attempting to secure it, its owner was repeatedly shot at by the guard; but fortunately, was not hit....The guard mistook him for an Indian, trying to steal horses....We regarded it as providential that the man escaped as the guard was a good shot....This incident made us somewhat more cautious about leaving the camp....

In a similar incident in 1850 the victim was not so lucky:

Mr Hugh Riddle...Steeped out...at a late hour...to see his mules, and was discovered...by a fellow called Kirkland, a great poltroon and fool doubtlessly, but not knowing who it was, hailed him three times...but getting no reply...shot him.... He...died on the morning of the 19th.

Many a life was also lost due to trail or road accidents.⁶³ Children were particularly victimized by these accidents. One especially sad case involved a ten-year-old boy who fell out of a moving wagon and was run over:

Johnny, a bright lad of ten years had a ked...rifle in the baggage wagon...considered an adventure by the boys...the driver fell asleep...and the oxen...took fright and ran away, throwing little Johnny out of the wagon. We were the first to reach poor little Johnny, and we saw at once that he was beyond earthly aid. The heavy wagon wheels had passed directly over his forehead and face, and death must have been instantaneous....A rude casket was improvised from a large trunk...and the body of the dear little lad...was tenderly buried near the scene of the accident...For many days we could not forget this agonizing experience. It hung over us like a black shadow. It took all the joy out of our lives....⁶⁴

A variety of other accidents, some bizarre, brought death along the trail as well. One account tells of a case in which a ten-year-old girl died of an accidental overdose caused by drinking an entire bottle of laudanum.⁶⁵ Another tells of a woman and her son, who, while curiously examining a hot spring, were scalded to death when the ground surrounding the spring caved in, swallowing both her and her young child.⁶⁶ Other incidents included death by lightning,⁶⁷ fire,⁶⁸ and falling trees.⁶⁹

Regardless of the causes of illness, injury, and death, it was critical for travelers to help those in need. One of the more important aspects of the overland community was the social support services it provided to the sick, injured, starving, and dead. When necessary, the sick and injured were nursed back to health by whoever was available, the hungry were fed by those who had food, and the dead were buried, usually by the company as a whole.

Emigrants within the company were often called on to care for the sick when there was no doctor to do so. Sick with mountain fever in 1849, Charles Gray wrote of the care his traveling companions gave him as they nursed him back to health:

The Gen'l's boy Ash & Andrew waited on me constantly night & day as well as the Gen'l himself, who order'd the guard to wake him at all hazards at any hour of the night, if I wanted him.

In a number of cases, however, the sense of communal responsibility did not prevail. Several accounts describe companies or messes abandoning sick comrades along the trail, often without provisions. One company picked up a man abandoned along the Humboldt desert road and attempted to care for him:

He was left there by his messmates sick, without food or water, and when found, his hands and face were so blistered...that the skin all peeled from them....Poor Fellow! When found he was crying in the most excruciating agony for a drop of water....The gentleman who picked him up had been lying by two or three days expressly on his account. One of them was a physician; although the poor fellow was a stranger to them, they tended him with all the assiduity of brothers.⁷¹

Even though this particular instance again shows an obvious breakdown in communal and cooperative effort, the assistance afforded by the passersby demonstrates that abandonment was indeed an aberration of communal behavior on the trail.

When illness or injury did strike an emigrant train, there was no one more welcome than the company doctor. Although there were a number of doctors traveling along the trail, their services were often stretched thin, and many people were forced to substitute for physicians out of necessity. On his trip to California in 1846, Edwin Bryant acted as such whenever needed:

...I had consented on several occasions, when persons belonging to our train were seized with sickness, to give them such advice and to prescribe and administer, such medicines as I thought would be beneficial. I informed the patients in all cases that I was no doctor, but acted rather in the character of a good Samaritan.⁷²

Bryant acquired the reputation of being a "great doctor,"⁷³ and was often called on to perform his duties in other companies. On one evening, he was asked to look in on a young boy who had been seriously injured in a wagon accident, the wheel running over his leg:

The limb had been badly fractured...and from neglect gangrene had supervened....He was so much enfeebled by his sufferings that...I was satisfied that he could not live twenty-four hours...I so informed the mother, stating to her that to amputate the limb would only hasten the boy's death; declining at the same time...all participation in a proceeding so useless....But this would not satisfy a mother's affection. A Canadian Frenchman...stated...that he would amputate the child's limb, if...the mother desired it....I could not repress an involuntary shudder when I heard this proposition...and saw the preparations made...the boy never uttered a groan...but I saw from the change in his countenance that he was dying. The knife and

saw were then applied and the limb amputated...the child was dead.⁷⁴

Later, while at the same camp, Bryant treated several other members of the company for lesser afflictions and left the camp that night at the same time they were burying the boy. He noted that, "I could see from the light of the torches and lanterns the funeral procession that was conveying the corpse of the little boy whom I saw expire....The faint glimmer of these lights, with a knowledge of the melancholy duties which those carrying them were performing, produced sensations of sadness and depression."⁷⁵

The death and burial of a company member was an especially sad communal responsibility. Burials, and funerals when circumstances allowed, were always treated with the greatest degree of dignity and respect, and often accompanied by a traditional ceremony. The detail used by the writer in the following entry suggests the solemnity the occasion had for the emigrant company. Edwin Bryant described the death and burial of an elderly member of his train, a woman named Sarah Keyes:

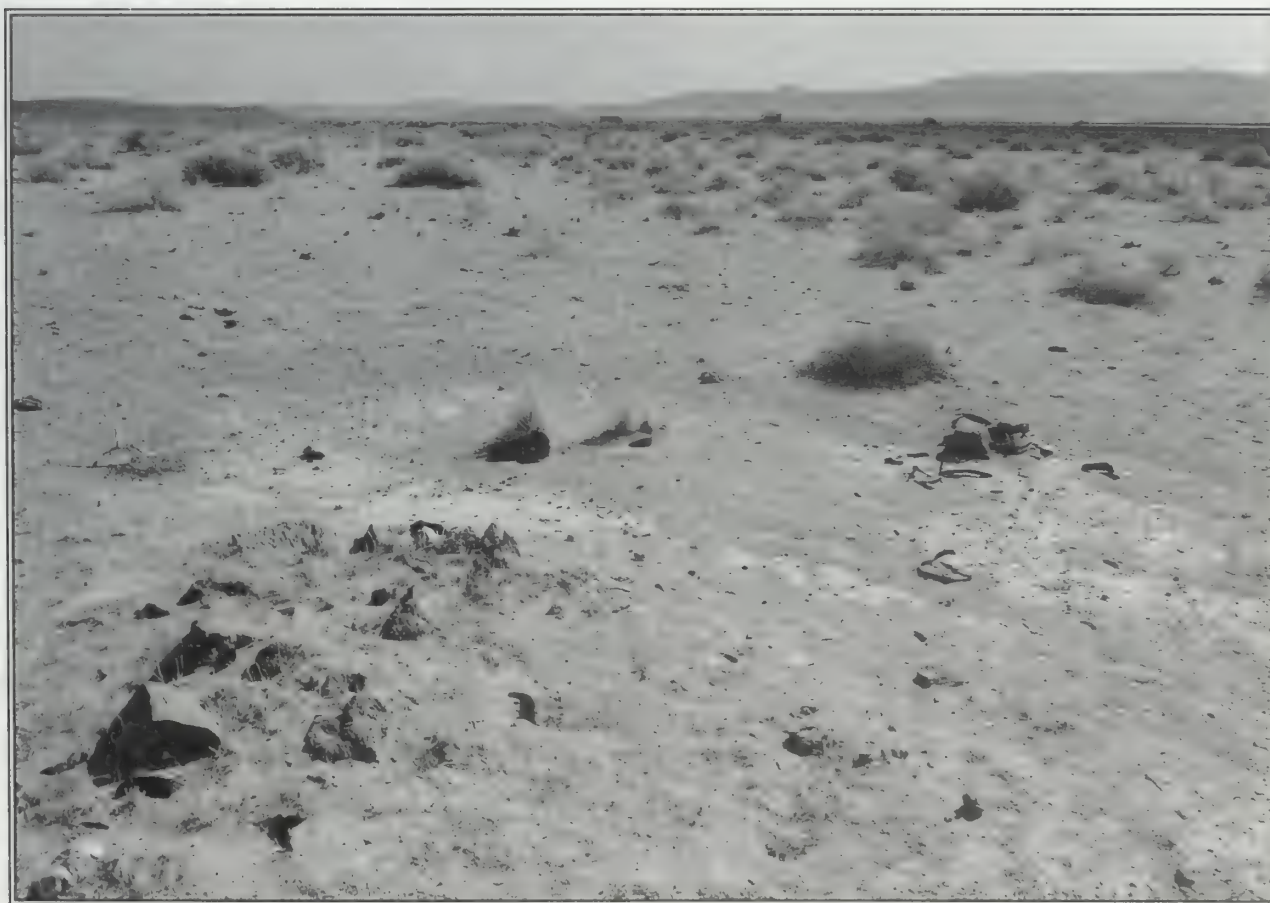
The event cast a shade of gloom over our whole encampment....The construction of a ferryboat and all recreations were suspended, out of respect for the dead, and to make preparations for the funeral. A cotton-wood tree was felled, and the trunk of it split into planks...were constructed into a coffin....A grave was excavated a short distance from the camp, under an oak-tree....A stone was procured...it was fashioned into the shape of a tombstone, and the name and age, and the date of the death...were engraved upon it. At 2 o'clock p.m., a funeral procession was formed, in which nearly every man, woman, and child of the company united, and the corpse of the deceased lady was conveyed to its last resting-place....A prayer was offered...by the Rev. Mr. Cornwall....An appropriate hymn was sung by the congregation....The grave was then closed and carefully sodded.⁷⁶

Funerals, like the one mentioned above were, however, a rarity on the trail. Time and resources did not usually allow for an elaborate ceremony, so most trail burials were simple, yet dignified, often without a coffin (due to the lack of wood), with the body wrapped in a favorite quilt or blanket, and the grave unmarked. Catherine Haun described such a

simple burial of two members of her company (a woman and her infant child) on their way to California in 1849:

The bodies were wrapped together in a bed comforter and wound, quite mummified with a few yards of string that we made by tying together torn strips of a cotton dress skirt. A passage of the bible (my own) was read; a prayer offered, and Nearer My God to Thee sung. Owing to the unusual surroundings the ceremony was very impressive. Every heart was touched and eyes full of tears as we lowered the body, coffinless, into the grave. There was no tombstone....

Although the community came together for support during tragedy, the role of the community was especially significant in helping to avoid tragedy. This became particularly evident during the final leg of the journey across the Rocky Mountains. As the trail entered into the mountainous regions, travel became frustratingly slow and provisions dangerously low, and food for emigrants and livestock became difficult to secure. During these episodes of extreme hardship, communal efforts and acts of generosity are prevalent in the emigrant accounts. More often than not, fellow emigrants, low on pro-



This unmarked emigrant grave in Churchill County, Nevada, was covered with rocks obtained at considerable effort by the bereaved, since the immediate landscape is comprised only of deep sand. The metal scraps are barrel hoops from the wooden water barrels that were abandoned when empty, as there was ample water from the Truckee River on west Interstate Highway 80 is in the background. This modern photograph was made by Gregory A. MacGregor as part of his series documenting surviving evidence of the overland trails. *Courtesy Gregory A. MacGregor.*



"Gold Rush Immigrants in Distress," artist unknown, depicts the dismay on the faces of those who would now have to find a way to replace their dead oxen—only one of many hardships they would encounter before they reached the gold fields. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

visions themselves, would offer what little they had to the destitute. This problem was most common in the gold-rush years, as demonstrated by this entry of an emigrant in 1850:

Hundreds are entirely out of provisions, and there are none who have any to spare, and but very few who have enough to carry them into the mines. Often, almost daily, will some poor starved fellow come up to the wagon and pray us in God's name to give or sell him a crust of bread; some of them asserting that they had eaten no food for two, or even three days. Money is no consideration for food here; no one will sell it for money, but we always give

enough to prevent starvation, when thus importuned, although we have not over five day's provisions on hand....⁷⁸

Mountain travel was indeed slow, and delays were common and could be extremely dangerous. Of the many problems causing these hazardous delays, the loss of emigrant livestock due to theft or death could be the worst. The loss of draft animals could render a group of travelers helpless through the rough mountain terrain, with no chance of replacing the animals.⁷⁹ Origen Thomson came upon such a family stranded along the Snake River in 1849:

...found a family consisting of a man, (sick) his wife and four children, one of them sick. They had been left there by an emigrant who had kindly brought them forty miles. Their team had died and they had left their wagon and almost everything they had; Hays' train...had given them some provisions. They were afraid of Indians, and Scott, McCoy and I took our rifles and blankets and went and slept with them.

The next day Thomson's company took in the stranded family temporarily, and three days later, as he noted, "the sick family were afterwards taken up by a team who undertook to take them clear through. I have heard nothing of them since."⁸¹

The loss of emigrant livestock was due to several reasons. Losses from overwork and lack of food and water were common, but primarily livestock became a favorite target of Indians, who stole the animals outright, or "arrowed" (wounded) them so that they would no longer be of any use to the emigrants. The livestock, at that point valueless to the emigrants, would then be abandoned, and the Indians would butcher and eat the animals. One emigrant describes a scene he awoke to in 1849:

We saw an ox which had been shot during the night with arrows, which were found sticking in him in the morning. The same company lost several head of oxen the same night, and taking their trail into the mountains, found the remains of two, which the Indians had slaughtered and eaten.⁸²

Almost as common as Indians' killing the animals for food, the emigrants, to avoid starvation, were forced to condemn their stock to a similar fate. One emigrant, in a letter to her family, said, "as the only alternative...Mr. Pringle's son Clark shot down one of his father's best oxen and dressed it; we had then something to eat."⁸³

If a party of emigrants did lose their livestock, they could usually depend on the kindness of fellow travelers; but sometimes they had to fend for themselves.⁸⁴ A family that had lost its entire outfit had to resort to traveling on foot, "the man carrying the blankets and other necessities, and his wife carrying their only child."⁸⁵ More often, efforts were made by fellow members of the train, or other trains passing by, to lend whatever assistance they could to the people in need. An example is the young woman and her sick brother of an earlier passage who had lost their parents to cholera, their cattle to Indians, and their company by abandonment:

When the sad story was passed from mouth to mouth a handsome purse was soon raised to purchase other oxen, if the chance should offer, and to supply any other needs of the orphans. Our train...camped in the vicinity, and before we moved on we had the satisfaction of knowing that another ox-train...were able to take the deserted children and their wagon with them and care for them.

Many times as well, emigrants wanted to assist their neighbors, but due to hard circumstances they could not:

...we came to two waggons coralled upon the side of the road...the Diggers [Indians] had stolen all of their animals during the night. they were in a most lamentable & unfortunate predicament, and we felt much disposed & anxious to help....But charity must begin at home, this far out...& we could not do it. Several emigrants offered to go with them to look for their animals, but the chances are many against it.⁸⁷

Oftentimes, one emigrant (or a group) lent animals to those in need, as did Charles Gray in 1849: "The team in company with us lost 3 of their oxen & we were obliged to lend them one of ours, without which they could not move."⁸⁸ Other times, two groups formed a "companionship" for mutual assistance by combining their resources. In one case, a man with a wagon and worn out oxen joined a family with good oxen but no wagon so that one party "received transportation for his wife and child," and the other "mess obtained the use of stock they would badly need."⁸⁹ Another example was much more succinct; one man had food, the other transportation.⁹⁰

The loss of stock was especially dangerous on certain areas of the trail, particularly if the route chosen was not an established or familiar one. Some of the more tragic stories of overland travel arose from the use of the so-called "cut-off" trails, often recommended by ambitious or incompetent trail blazers as easier or shorter routes through the mountain regions. On the Oregon route, there was the Meek Cut-Off along the Malheur River. In 1845, a group of one thousand Oregon-bound emigrants led by ex-mountain man Stephen L. Meek took this route, convinced by Meek that it would save them two hundred miles. The problems encountered along this route included the lack of water and forage, an epidemic of mountain fever, impassable roads, the death of livestock, and eventual starvation, all of which took the lives of seventy-five of the company

members before a relief party could reach them.⁹¹ On the California route, a group of emigrants met a similar fate on a trail known as the Lassen Cut-Off. This particular party continually encountered dead-end canyons and impassable roads until they ran out of provisions. Fortunately, they fell in with a party of amply supplied Oregonians headed to the gold fields, which "prevented a total disaster."⁹² The most recorded and readily identifiable of these uncharted trails was the infamous Hastings Cut-Off, immortalized by the grisly fate suffered by the Donner Party, a large group of 1846 California-bound emigrants who became snowbound in the Sierra Nevada and survived only by eating animal hides, their dogs, and their dead companions.⁹³

Of all the assistance accorded to the overland emigrants, the most poignant was that of the humanitarian aid and efforts offered by the overland relief parties. Relief efforts from the western settlements came from a number of different sources. Often an account was given of a company or companies in trouble, usually in a newspaper; a relief committee was organized; a collection of money and provisions was taken up; and a volunteer expedition was chosen to transport the supplies. During the difficult trail years of the early 1850s, the state of California dispatched several official relief expeditions to bring in overland migrants stranded east of the Sierra. One account of a relief effort came from a forty-niner who simply wrote a letter to a local newspaper in 1850:

Those emigrants that are yet back several hundred miles must receive relief, or die...and to whom can they look but to the citizens of California....If dust is scarce, finger-rings and breast-coins are not. There are enough of them to send bread to every starving emigrant....And I would ask, is it possible for an American to wear a ring without blushing with shame...?⁹⁴

Although efforts organized by relief committees were the most common, individuals with the capacity to do so sometimes acted on their own. From his fort in the Sacramento Valley, John Sutter assisted numerous parties stranded in the Sierra in the 1840s. An unlikely rescuer was Dr. John McLoughlin, superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver in the Oregon country, who was loath to see Americans settle on land claimed by Britain. One emigrant noted in 1845 that:

Doctor McLoughlin...has rendered great assistance to the emigrants in loaning them his boats and furnishing them with provisions to take back to the companies that are yet behind—at the same time refusing any compensation for either.⁹⁵

Many accounts exist of these relief parties rescuing emigrants who had found themselves in extremely dire straits. A member of the party that traveled the ill-fated Meek Cut-Off in 1845 tells of "the good people of that place (the mission at the Dalles) immediately raised by donation...flour...sugar, some tea, &c., hired horses and the Messrs. Gilmore and Mr. Stewart volunteered to bring these articles to us."⁹⁶ However, the most famous account of these relief expeditions was that of the Donner Party in 1846. An article in a California newspaper on February 13, 1847, tells of a public meeting that called for a relief fund and party to rescue the group:

By the arrival of Brig. Francisca...brings to us the heartrendering news of the extreme suffering of a party of emigrants who were left on the other side of the California mountain, about 60 in all, nineteen of whom started to come into the valley. Seven, only have arrived, the remainder died, and the survivors were kept alive by eating the dead bodies....A public meeting was held...and about eight hundred dollars raised for the relief of the sufferers who still remain in the mountains...under the direction 'of pas'd Midshipman [Selim] Woodworth with the intention of disembarking at the foot of the mountain and then going on foot, with packs of provisions. It is to be hoped they will succeed in reaching them with sufficient provisions to get them in.⁹⁷

Whether out of the beneficence of a kindly, affluent old gentleman, or the organized efforts of an entire community or state, the generosity of the relief efforts of the western settlers to their desperate counterparts along the trail was one of the more altruistic acts of the entire overland experience and epitomizes the concept that an overland community did in fact exist, not only along the trail, but at the end as well.

The community of the overland trail did not just consist of groups comprising emigrant companies; it involved cohesive interdependence among all those who traveled and lived along the trail. The cooperative efforts of those on the trail were not limited to the members of a particular company, but were frequently available to any who required assistance. Doctors rode hours to help the sick, many took in and cared for strangers in need, many risked their lives



"Difficult and dangerous passage of Salt Ck. bridge," by J. G. Bruff, is another depiction of the perils of the overland trail. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library.

to avoid disaster, and all turned out to bury their own. Mortality along the trail was, without a doubt, a particularly hard and sad event. Emigrants struck out on the trail with hopes and dreams for better, more productive, and healthier lives, only to fall victim to one of the many perils, the most prevalent of which was disease. Tragedy, however, was mitigated through cooperative efforts. The sick and injured were cared for, the hazards kept to a minimum, and the hostile travel environment overcome by the safety and support of the overland community. CHS

See notes beginning on page 216.

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John Baptiste Trudeau III, also "Truvido." *From The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate, by Eliza P. Donner Houghton, Grafton Publishing Corporation, 1920.*

John Baptiste Trudeau of the Donner Party: Rascal or Hero?

by Joseph A. King and Jack Steed

The saga of the Donner Party was not a major historical event. It has proved to be, however, the most popular story of a western wagon train, about people faced with a physical and moral test at the extremes of human experience. John Baptiste Trudeau, hired as a teamster by George Donner at Fort Bridger in present-day Wyoming, was not by any means a major character in the drama, but he has become one of the most important witnesses. Only recently some papers have surfaced in which Trudeau tells at great length his own story of the last days at the Alder Creek camp of entrapment. In its place, his testimony will play an important part in this paper.

Age sixteen at the time, Trudeau was among eighty-one persons entrapped in the Sierra Nevada during the terrible winter of 1846-47, and one of the forty-five who survived.¹ After over four months of entrapment, he said goodbye to the dying George Donner and made his way to the Sacramento Valley with Nicholas Clark (who had been left behind by the second relief party) and members of the third relief. Trudeau and Clark were the last survivors to see George Donner alive.

The Trudeau story reveals some of the great problems scholars have in writing history fairly and accurately. Until quite recently, what students of the Donner Party have known about Trudeau—and about the Donner Party in general—has come mainly from George R. Stewart's classic *Ordeal by Hunger*, first published in 1936, revised in 1960.² Stewart introduced him as "a little frontier mongrel from New Mexico who claimed a French trapper for a father and a Mexican for a mother and probably

had a strain of Indian from both."³ Concerning the arrival and departure of the first relief party in February 1847, Stewart commented: "The only man left to do the work of the camp was the little mongrel Jean Baptiste. He had wanted to come away with the rescuers, and had been sullen and ugly when they told him that he must remain and take care of the women and children."⁴ Writing about the arrival of the second relief party, Stewart asserted that "Jean Baptiste, now that the danger was over...was willing enough to remain" [to take care of the Donners].⁵ Regarding the departure of the third relief, Stewart notes: "These two men [Nicholas Clark and John Baptiste] had deserted the dying George Donner and Sammie, and fled to save themselves."⁶ Finally, in his closing chapter, Stewart continued his vilification of Trudeau: "The reader may have noticed that throughout the book I have been at difficulty in restraining a dislike for this character [John Baptiste]; I introduced him under the term 'mongrel,' and by so doing I intended not only to refer to his mixed blood, but also to indicate that he possessed the qualities conventionally ascribed to dogs of that sort."⁷

On the authority of Stewart, a number of historians and fiction writers have also denigrated Trudeau. For example, in the opinion of Bernard DeVoto he was "the worthless Trubode."⁸ In the eyes of Homer Croy in the novel *Wheels West*, he was "the beady-eyed little Mexican."

Just who was Trudeau? Until recently, next to nothing was known of his background prior to his joining the Donner Party at Fort Bridger in the last week of July 1846.

John Baptiste Trudeau was almost certainly the grandson of Jean Baptiste Trudeau (1748-1827), Montreal-born pioneer schoolmaster, trader, and explorer from St. Louis, and Madeline LeRoy, also Montreal-born.¹⁰ The schoolmaster had a son, also named Jean Baptiste Trudeau, who was among the hardy band of trappers and traders who traveled from Missouri southward to Santa Fe and Taos, or westward along the Arkansas River to the Rocky Mountains of Colorado and Utah, where the historic rendezvous of the trappers and the fur company agents took place in the 1820s and 1830s. With the decline of the beaver trade, many of these men applied to the Mexican government for land in New Mexico. Juan Bautista Trudeau of Taos, New

Mexico, whose birthplace was given as St. Louis, applied for Mexican citizenship and petitioned for land in 1830, the year Trudeau of the Donner Party was born. We know nothing of the identity of the wife of Trudeau of Taos. Their son, John Baptiste III of the Donner Party, wrote that his father was killed by Indians.¹¹ When and where he was killed we do not know,¹² but we now know a great deal about his son.

John Baptiste III spoke for himself publicly only once in his lifetime. That was in an 1891 interview for a St. Louis newspaper, reprinted in a San Francisco newspaper.¹³ The article is headed "One of the Donners—A Chat with a Survivor of the Ill-Fated Expedition to California":



This placid later-nineteenth-century drawing of an industrious Donner Party camp at the east end of present-day Donner Lake, with women roasting game, children playing or carrying water, and men building the snug long cabins that would see them through the winter, had little resemblance to the reality of the scene of 1846. From the start, livestock strayed or perished, food was rationed, fatigue and hunger took their deadly toll, and snowstorms rolled in upon each other, almost daily burying the compound deeper and dashing hopes of escape, rescue, or survival. The Donner family, separated from the main party at this camp, was trapped several miles to the northeast along Alder Creek. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

Up at Santa Rosa the other day I discovered another survivor of the famous Donner party who crossed the plains in 1849 [sic], writes a correspondent to the St. Louis Republic. The old gentleman was Juan Baptiste Truxido, one of the survivors of the ill-fated Donner party, whose heroism saved the lives of many members of his party, but who has been almost entirely ignored by the hands that have guided the lines of history. *It is true I am one of the few left of the unfortunate band, he said, and I might give you columns of facts concerning it, but it would be too much, perhaps.* When urged to repeat some [facts] of the ill-starred company, he brightened up and related the following:

My name is Juan Baptiste Truxido [sic], and I am 60 years old. My parents were of French birth and I was born east of the Rockies, not far from the Arkansas River. I spent my young days in the mountains and the plains and became, like most boys in those circumstances, an expert hunter and horseman. When Fremont and Kit Carson came along on their way to California I joined them and was with them until they reached the head-waters of the Green River. It was about that time I fell in with "Jim" Hedgepath, who lives in this country.¹⁴ After leaving Fremont's party I went to Fort Bridger, Utah [Wyoming], and remained there until July, 1846. The famous Donner party that had started from Springfield, Ill., in the spring of 1846, was at the fort and preparing to strike out to California. A new route had been laid out, or opened up rather, by L.W. Hastings, called the 'Hastings cut-off' and as it was said to shorten up the distance the party were anxious to go that way.

Everybody familiar with the history of the expedition knows that if the company had followed the old Fort Hall road all would have been well, but owing to the advice of friends they took what they thought was the shortest way. I was sent along by the people at the fort as a guide and guard, and was with the Donners until rescued at Donner Lake.

It was while struggling through the cut-off that the party was joined by W.F. Graves and wife and their eight children, Jay Fosdick, and John Snyder. Snyder was the man who was afterward killed in a quarrel with James Reed, who was one of the originators of the Donner Party.

Well, we struggled along through the mountains and after we had left Salt Lake a long ways in the rear things went fairly well until we got to Truckee. The party became divided by a terrible storm and never came together again until the rescue came at Donner Lake. The Reeds and Graves people were in the advance party, while the Donners, George and Jacob, and their families, were in the party left behind. Our little band worked bravely on until we came to Alder Creek Valley, where we had to stop, it being impossible to go further. The snow came on with blinding fury and being unable to build cabins we put up brush sheds, covering them with limbs from the pine trees.

It was about the first of November, I think, that we went

into that camp of snow and suffering, and we remained there until the latter part of February, when the Sutter party rescued us.

The old gentleman's story of the sufferings at his camp was graphic, indeed. At one time he was the only one in the party who was able to do anything. George Donner had an injured hand and had been laid up for some time. Death stared them in the face, and it was only by the most heroic efforts on the part of Baptiste that all did not freeze to death.

He kept the fires going through the long weary hours of the night and worked with might and main to keep the little colony warm. Starvation they were face to face with, and Baptiste secured the meat that kept them alive with the greatest difficulty.

One day he had to kill a cub, and his escape from the infuriated bear mother was almost miraculous. In the number that lay huddled in the miserable camp were George Donner, wife and five children; Jacob Donner, wife and three children; a man named Shoemaker, Jim Smith, Mrs. Wolfinger, one Rheinhart, a Dutchman whom he called Charley, himself and two or three others whose names he could not remember. Sickness, the pitiless storms and starvation relieved Jacob Donner and wife and Child, Rheinhart, Shoemaker, Smith and the Dutchman of their sufferings, and when the relief party—which Baptiste says consisted of two Indians and a white man, Rhodes, poorly mounted—reached them there was a mere handful of wretched, almost starved people left.¹⁵ George Donner's five children and two of Jacob Donner's children were among the saved.

Baptiste lives at Tomales Bay and is a widower. He has three sons and they make their living by fishing. He says that he never recovered from the effects of that four months' experience and that half of the story has never been told. No human flesh was eaten in the camp where he was; that occurred in the camp of the other party, which was about eight miles away, but which, of course, they knew nothing about. Not even a reference has been made to the noble part the old Frenchman took in saving the lives of his fellow-sufferers in anything that has been published, and it fills one with sadness to hear him speak of it. [end]

Eight years previously (in November 1884), Trudeau had told his story privately during two visits to Eliza P. Donner Houghton. Eliza, just a week shy of four years old at the time she was rescued in March 1847, was the daughter of George and Tamsen Donner. She drew on Trudeau's recollections for her own book, published in 1911.

The actual notes of the two visits of John Baptiste—on which Mrs. Houghton relied—consist of twenty-three pages in her handwriting. The notes

were inaccessible and even unknown, so it seems, to Donner party scholars until the authors inspected them in October 1994 at the home of a granddaughter of Mrs. Houghton in Arroyo Grande, California. However, two unidentified newspaper clippings in the granddaughter's collection indicate that Mrs. Houghton read her notes to an audience of friends gathered at her Los Angeles home on South Pearl Street on May 12, 1896, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Donner brothers' leaving Independence, Missouri, the last point of civilization before the long trek to California.¹⁷

Also among the granddaughter's papers, carefully preserved, are these items: the testimony Mrs. Houghton recorded of her sisters Frances and Georgia, and her half-sister Elitha; much of the original manuscript of *The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate*; seven letters of Tamsen Donner to her sister Elizabeth, written from 1824 to 1842; and much more.¹⁸

This collection may contain the most important Donner documents to surface since the Miller-Reed diary and other papers from the estate of a granddaughter of James F. Reed appeared for the first time in 1946. The authors are in the process of transcribing the documents. This paper will limit itself to two documents—the notes of Trudeau's testimony and the notes of half-sister Elitha's testimony. They throw new light on the Donner Party, especially the last days at Alder Creek, since they contain considerable detail that Houghton did not include in her 1911 book. The following are the notes of Eliza P. Donner Houghton:

San Jose, Nov. 11, 1884

My Children

John Baptiste Tribodó was born in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the year 1830. His father was a Frenchman, his mother a native of New Mexico of Spanish descent.

He joined the Donner Party at Fort Bridger and became an inmate of George Donner's Camp. His duty in the Mts. was to provide wood for the camp fires & search for the bodies of the cattle that were buried under the snow.

(He was anxious to go out of the Mts. with the 1st Relief Parties but, was not permitted to do so. When the 3rd Relief Party was expected, [Nicholas] Clark told him he would not remain at the Lake any longer, as he was afraid of starving to death. John told Clark that it was his own turn to go for he had been there all winter and he too was afraid to stay longer.)

John tells many incidents relating to 'the little Donner girls,' to whom he claims to have given a brotherly care. It seemed so wonderful to hear him speak of me as a little child. He says,

You and Georgia used to catch the corners of my Navajo blanket and each would turn toward the center until you would meet and be entirely rolled in its warm folds then you would sit and watch me work. That old blanket was a great comfort to you little girls. Some times I would stretch it on poles above your heads to keep the rain off, and at other times I would hang it as a shelter to keep the wind from piercing through you. Yes we ought always to be friends for with out me you could not have lived to reach the valley.

He took my hand to bid me good-bye, but he stopped and gave a little start, as he caught sight of the tears in my eyes. I wonder if they looked like fathers for his tones were full of feeling as he said

Oh, how your poor father died, when I left him[.] It hurts me yet to think of it.

He turned quickly from the door so that I should not see him wipe the mist from his own eyes. I know that life is full of surprises but meeting John Baptiste Tribodó this afternoon has left me in a nummed, and dreamy mood. I have asked myself more than once, Is it true, have I talked with him who can tell me what my father and mother said and did in that Mt. cabin? What brought him here? He says he went from his home in Marin Co. to San Francisco some days ago for the purpose of joining the Association of California Pioneers. Upon his arrival in that city he learned that he would not be accepted by that Association unless he was identified by two of its members. He was a stranger so he came to San Jose last night to get McCutchen to furnish the required proof.¹⁹ He was very anxious to see me, so McCutchen took him to my husband's law office. He had carried our address in his pocket two years. He said, *Little George's wife gave it to me* (Meaning Mrs. George Donner, Jr. He cannot think of any of us as grown.) My husband brought him home with him at 4.30 P.M. today. He only staid about a half an hour. He was so glad that I remembered him. He was particularly pleased when I spoke of a visit he paid Georgia and me while we lived with Grandma Brunner in Sonoma. He too remembered how we enjoyed the raisins he brought us, and says,

[continued in same hand with this introductory note:]

The following interview took place 38 years after the disaster to the 'Donner Party' which was snow-bound in the Sierra Nevada Mts.

Eliza P. Donner Houghton, from the frontispiece in her 1911 edition of the history of the Donner Party.
Courtesy of the Houghton family.



San Jose, Nov. 12, 1884

John Baptiste Tribodó called again this afternoon. I saw him coming up the garden walk and hastened to addmitt him. He seemed excited, and strangely moved for, as he took my extended hand, he leaned against the open door as if to gain courage or conceal his emotion while he said,

Eliza I have come to get you to do something for me, and I'll tell you what it is. I want you to read the History of the Donner Party to me. Yes all of it. I cannot read with out my glasses. I have never seen the book, but from what I hear there are things in it that are not true.

I did not tell him how many pages the History contained, or let him see that I thought his request too great to be fulfilled. I took him into the sitting room gave him (a seat-in) the arm chair, put his overcoat and hat away then took a brief survey of my guest whose eyes had watched my movements very closely.

He is small not much over five feet in height. His eyes are black, bright, and soft in expression. His

once black hair, mustache and beard are well mixed with grey—his voice is gentle but, he speakes rapidly and with a strong Spanish accent. His complexion is also like that of a Spaniard. He is about 54 years old, and is a fisherman by occupation. His clothing is very cheap, and, badly worn, but it is clean and neat. I believe he is temperate in his habits for, there is no odor of liquor or tobacco about him, or his clothing.

I brought the book and seated myself so that we could see each other. I asked him where I should commence. He replied, *I dont know—I want to hear the roughest part—I want to see how they put that in.* I then said, you care to hear only that relating to the camps in which you spent your time. *I want to hear of old man Donner's Camp. I want to know who they say provided food for his little children.* I read all that Clark had to say of his killing the bear, of Mrs Elizabeth Donner's illness, helplessness, and death. He said

It is true what you have read—Clark killed the bear just as he says—but he was not there when Mrs Eliza-



The Houghton residence in San Jose, where Eliza Donner Houghton and John Trudeau met in 1884 to reminisce and document their experiences of the ordeal they had survived. This photograph is one of many Eliza collected before the turn of the century for a scrapbook and to illustrate the book she would later write. *Courtesy of the Houghton family.*

beth Donner died. He learned all that from your mother or her papers. He does not talk like that. That is the way she talked and wrote.

I next turned to the childrens going away from camp—of Tamsen Donner's grief, and fears for thier safety—of Clarks promising to go and learn something of them—John said again

It is true, but Clark did not return to report to your mother. She went over to Keseberg's Camp and, found you there. I staid with your father while she was gone. She was away two days. The book is true what there is of it but, it does not tell who got the food, and kept the fires for the two camps that winter. I was the man, I did it.

Then he told how he had joined the Party at Ft. Bridger and continued with it until the arrival of the 3rd Relief Party. John said,

I belonged to old Mr. Donner's Camp. I liked, him from the start and he took to me, and always kept me near him while we traveled. You see my father was a trapper, my mother died when I was very small. Father used to take me with him, I lived in the Mts. so long that I was tough

and strong. I could talk a little with a number of the different Indian tribes and knew many of thier signs. So your father always sent me ahead to talk to the Indians when we met any of them. We thought it would help us along, and I think it did make it easier for us to get through thier country.

Your father's hand was very sore—The cut extended from the wrist above the thumb diagonally across the hand to the little finger. He was like a one armed man when we reached camp in the Mts. He could not do much although he was willing.

It was snowing when we stopped, and I told him best to build a hut like the Indians Wigwam with an opening at the top for the smoke to escape. We all helped with the hut. Short posts were driven in the ground on the insides across which sticks were laid, and on them pine boughs were thickly spread. This arrangement served as comfortable beds when they could be kept dry.

I shot the horses and oxen early in Nov. cut them open (removed the offal took out the entrails) and located the spot, where they froze and were afterwards covered with

snow. The snow fell so heavily and fast that I often had hard work to find a buried carcass—I often had to dig from 14 to 18 feet deep to reach it. I used a pole with a hook, or nail fastened to the end, then I pushed into the snow. Hair would catch on the hook, and I would then be sure I had found the right place.

I cut the wood above the snow, I used to climb the trees to saw off the limbs, and to gather the pine cones to start the fire with. The wood was green, wet and hard to start when it went out.

When it rained hard or at night we used to cover the coals and knots, first with ashes, and then put a large camp kettle over them to keep them dry and alive.

I remember well how you little children used to stand close to that old kettle your fingers and hands stretched around its sides to 'get first a little warm before going to bed.' You often were put to bed in the day time to keep from freezing.

How the wind did blow. I don't believe any one else knows as well as we what hurricanes are!

We were often without fires for days, and meat was beyond reach at times, then we ate the hides, and strings or went hungry; but at no time did the people in the Donner Camps eat human flesh. This I know for I was there all the time and provided all the meat that was used in the camp. [Eliza's emphasis]²⁰

The simply clad fisherman looked almost sublime as with outstretched arms, tightly closed hands, and upturned eyes he cried, in tones of love, and agony, *Oh, little Eliza sister mine, how we suffered and how I worked to keep you alive.* (John gives the impression to those who hear him, That the Donner's were people who had always been influential and that they carried that home atmosphere with them into their Mt. cabin.) He says,

When the 1st relief party came you don't know how I felt. I was up in a tree cutting wood and watching for some one to come. I saw some little black specks moving on the snow. I jumped down and run halloing to the cabin door—'Mrs. Donner! Mrs. Donner! I see something.' She asked 'John what do you see?' I said 'I don't know. It may be relief, it may be Indians, or it may be wolves.' She said 'go back and look again,' I ran back to her again saying, 'Mrs. Donner, it is people, but it may be Indians to kill us.' Mr Donner said, 'John come in and get your gun, then go out a little ways from camp and make signs to them if they are Indians let them see that you are armed but do not shoot unless you have to'—All got their guns, Your mother was a good shot with a pistol, your half-sister[s] armed themselves too, and a shot gun was laid on the bed by your father, but he you know was worse off than a one armed man. I went out. They had come so near I saw they were not Indians. One put a white rag on a stick and one held it over his head. When they saw me they fired a shot in the air. I ran to meet them. They embraced me and, picked me up in their arms. We were so happy in camp that night, but they had only a very-little flour and dried meat to leave us.

Your sister were among those who were taken away. I wanted to go too, but they could not take me. They said I was strong and well and must stay to care for the helpless. So I had to stay. Old man Donner used to say, John, when we reach California your trouble will be over. You will always live with me, and you shall have plenty of everything.

And I would have done it too for I know he told the truth. I passed the most trying part of my life there with them but I never got a harsh or unkind word from either after the relief Party left us.

Your father, mother, and me used to plan how we would get through perhaps alone. I'd say, 'well, I'll dry the beef and, make the snow shoes for all of us and, I am sure you Mr. Donner will soon be well enough to start—'

I thought we grown persons could carry what was necessary on our backs and you little children could keep up with us, for we would have to go slowly on your fathers account. He never improved and I often got discouraged. I used to talk of going out alone. And the poor old man would cover his face with his hand and the tears would start down his cheeks—He would say 'John you are the only man we have; the children cannot live if you go. We do not care for ourselves but those little ones must be cared for,' Then I'd think how good that old man had been, how he had cheered the discouraged and helped the needy, how his cattle had been fewer than those of the others, when we reached the Mts. because he had 'loaned' and sent his back so often to those who could never have come on with father without his help. Don't you remember only Buck and Bright were left to yoke with the dry milch cows that hauled his wagons into their last Camp. When I would think how patient he had always been. No matter how angry others of the Party became he always listened and settle[d] the trouble in a quiet way. There never lived a better man than your father. At last you little children were sent to the other camp. Oh how they missed you, Your mother would walk the floor, wring her hands and cry for you. That would make your father feel bad for her too, so I said I'd sacrifice myself as usual. I'd dry some beef and, follow the children and look after them. Your father said no I could not overtake the children, if they had been taken on by the Relief, and my life might be lost in the trial and nothing could be gained—

Clark who was left by the second Relief Party to help me get the wood and meat staid but a few days. He lived in Jacob Donner's tent—but he did not do much. He did kill the bear, for I remember he and me followed it for a long way, then I went back to cut wood and he went on alone. When he thought the 3rd relief was expected he took me out of hearing of the others and told me he was going out of the Mts. for he was afraid to stay longer. I said, 'Clark old boy if you go I'll follow it is my turn if anybody's. I have been here four months and you have only been here a few days.' He said he would promise your mother to come back and tell her about you children—but that he would not keep the promise.

He (Clark) started off and I went to old man Donner and told him I was going through. I could not stay longer. Your father did not ask me to stay longer. He turned his eyes upward then covered them and so I left him crying, alone, and helpless. I did not see your mother then. I think she had started to Kesebergs camp. I had been sent a number of times with messages from your mother to persons at the other camp²²; once, I bought her a letter. She wrote every day and kept account of every thing that happened. Sometimes she used to read to me at night what she had written. If her papers had been saved they would be very valuable to you and you would see too that every thing I tell you is true. You children were very fond of me. I used to have to take you with me very often. I did not let your mother help out of doors. She was a little lady and not strong enough to fight against the drifting snow, or walk in the slush when the warm sun would come out for a day or two. I kept the fires in Mrs Elizabeth Donners camp after the large children went away. Your mother, and me, fed her after she was helpless. What you read to me is true about her!

I'll tell you Eliza what was the worst and what looked so bad in us was. We came away and left your mother there alone with your father. Yes, strong able men marched away when they might have saved them both. I know she turned back willingly and would not leave him. I often sit and fish and after cry when I think of her. I am poor, but offer me half the State of California to pass another such a winter as that was and I would say no.'

(John loved old man Donner and his wife, and still loves thier children. They live in his memory just as they were and a pleasant smile brightens his face whenever he speaks of them.)

George R. Stewart could not forgive Trudeau for denying the well-documented cannibalism at Alder Creek. Stewart resorted to an account of an alleged interview by Lieutenant Henry A. Wise of the United States Navy in Yerba Buena (San Francisco) in March 1847. Wise was writing a book about his travels at a time when lurid stories of the Donner Party were appearing in the newspaper California Star and being circulated worldwide.²³ Inspired by Wise, Stewart wrote that Trudeau "with a perverted pride...called attention to himself by wallowing loathsomely in the details." Stewart then quoted Trudeau's words as reported by Wise: "eat baby raw, stewed some of Jake [Donner] and roasted his head, not good meat, taste like sheep with the rot."²⁴ After accepting Wise's report at face value, Stewart then commented with dark humor on Trudeau's later denial of the cannibalism: "when I consider such hypocrisy I feel the longing for the society of an honest cannibal!"²⁵

Stewart's harsh caricature ignores evidence that

the sixteen-year-old boy behaved quite admirably and that he was solicitous of the welfare of the adults and children at Alder Creek.²⁶ Even after the ordeal, he was thoughtful and continued to care for the Donner children. In an April 1, 1847, report of his role as a relief party organizer, Selim E. Woodworth said he had thought little Mary Donner's foot needed amputation, so he took her to the naval hospital in San Francisco with her half-brother, Solomon Hook, who also needed medical attention. Accompanying him and acting as "nurses" were, "the Spanish boy John Baptiste and Howard Oakly" [Oakley].²⁷

The following year, Eliza and her sister Georgia were living in Sonoma with Swiss immigrants Christian and Mary Brunner, whom the orphaned Donner girls called "Grandma" and "Grandpa." As reported by Eliza in *The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate*, one day she and her sister received a surprise visit from John Baptiste. He rode up and greeted the sisters with these words: "I heard at Napa that you lived here, and my pony has made a hard run to give me this sight of you." Sixty years later, Eliza wrote of the visit as follows:

We were surprised and delighted, for the speaker was John Baptiste who had wintered with us in the Sierras. We asked him to dismount, take a seat under the tree, and let us bring him a glass of milk. He declined graciously, then with a pleased expression, drew a small brown-paper parcel from his trousers pocket and handed it to us, leaned forward, clasped his arms about his pony, rested his head on its neck, and smilingly watched Georgia unwrap it, and two beautiful bunches of raisins come to view,—one for each. He would not touch a single berry, nor let us save any. He asked us to eat them then and there so that he could witness our enjoyment of the luxury he had provided for this, our first meeting in the settlement.

Never had we seen raisins so large, translucent, and delicious. They seemed far too choice for us to have, and John was so poorly dressed and pinched in features that we hesitated about eating them. But he would have his way, and in simple language told us that he wanted them to soften the recollection of the hungry time when he came into camp empty-handed and discouraged. Also to fulfil his assurance to our mother that he would try to keep us in sight, and give us the best that he could procure. His last injunctions were, 'Be good little girls; always remember your mother and father; and don't forget John Baptiste.'²⁸

The testimony of witnesses often tends to be self-serving, and John Baptiste was not immune to that tendency. One cannot expect a boy of sixteen to be

in unalloyed hero who served the Donners with total selflessness. In fact, Elitha Donner, age fourteen at the time of entrapment, had negative things to say of John Baptiste. Among the documents preserved by the granddaughter of Eliza P. Donner Houghton is a notebook of over twenty pages in Houghton's handwriting on poor, now deteriorating, paper. Included in this notebook is the testimony of Houghton's half-sister Elitha Wilder,²⁹ as recorded by Houghton—probably around 1884—but which was curiously excluded from her 1911 book:

In regard to John Baptiste, I [Elitha C. Donner Wilder] have not much confidence in his statement. Father had a good deal of trouble with him in order

to get him to help get wood which was a big chore. He cost me several dollars in early days, always lagging. He has been here twice since I have lived on this place and was just as able to work as I was.

In speaking of father's hand, it was cut across the back but not as badly as John says, although it was useless to him. He got it cut while repairing the wagon.

We were 12 to 15 miles from the place where we camped for the winter coming down a long sliding hill, father was driving, you and Georgia were in the wagon, your mother and Frances were walking ahead when near the bottom the axel of the fore wheel broke and the wagon tipped down tumbling everything over you two children. Father and Uncle Jake rushed to get you out. Georgia was soon



This image depicts a relief party arriving at the Donner Party cabins at the lake. Adapted from the drawing that appears earlier in this article, and that also appeared in Eliza Houghton's 1911 edition of *The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate*, it shows exactly the same landmarks, now buried in snow up to the cabins' chimneystops. According to Trudeau's recollection of the arrival of the first relief party, he had alerted Mrs. George Donner (Tamsen) that someone was approaching. Armed with his gun, he went outside again to discover that the strangers were a rescue team. Eliza, Frances, and Georgia Donner left their parents and were taken out on that rescue mission. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*



Commissioned by the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West and built by sculptor John McQuarrie, Pioneer Monument was dedicated at the site of the main Donner Party camp at the east end of Donner Lake on June 6, 1918, to the memory of all who endured the trials of the overland journey to California. The stone pedestal, at twenty-two-feet tall and built of rocks gathered near the Donner campsites, recalls the depth of the winter snowfall in 1846-47. Standing below the monument are, left to right, Governor Emmet D. Boyle of Nevada, Martha J. Reed Lewis, Eliza P. Donner Houghton, Frances E. Donner Wilder, and California Governor William D. Stephens. *Courtesy of the Houghton Family.*

drawn through the opening at the back, but you were out of sight and father feared that you were smothered for you did not answer his anxious call. Uncle kept right on pulling things out until he came to you. You would not have stood it much longer as they said. While father and uncle were having a new axeltree, here came two men from our old company ahead of us told of the snow. It was a sad bit of news, and our folks concluded to look for a place to camp. They fixed up and started on until we came to a place that suited for a camp. Father was all around he always went out to help get the wood, he would carry it in his left hand. The snow covered the Mts. but Alder Creek Valley was free. Your mother spoke of making carts but I do not remember about their being made. She wanted to start at once but father and uncle told her it was impossible. In a few days the snow was four feet deep. Uncle and his two men cut logs and cousin Solomon and Will hauled them.³⁰

Father and I notched them and laid them four logs high, then came the snow. We camped by a tall pine tree, we cut poles and stood them up around the tree and cut brush laid brush around the tree to serve until we could build a house. But the snow came and that was all we had with our tents. Father could not get John to shovel snow from the tent.

Yes father was Captain of the co. at one time but as the teams failed on the long journey we camped apart from the rest for the purpose of selecting better feed for our stock. Sometimes we would be ahead sometimes behind. When the two men came back to us we were 3 or 4 days behind but we had been stopped (by the accident) the distance was about 20 miles, they said...

Should much be made of a teenager rebelling against work assigned to him by adults? In his favor: until February 22, when Noah James was



The Sherman O. and Eliza P. Donner Houghton family, ca. 1893. Seated in the front row, left to right, are Elizabeth, Charles, and Stanley; second row, Sherman, Jr., Clara, Sherman, Sr., and Eliza; and standing in the top row are Frank and Molly. *Courtesy of the Houghton family.*

taken out by the first relief team, John Baptiste was not the only healthy "adult" at the Alder Creek camp. If John Baptiste had not been helpful, why was he forced to remain behind while Noah James was allowed to leave? Elitha, who left with the first relief, could know nothing of John Baptiste's behavior after February 22.

Trudeau of the Donner Party had a long life, marrying Lupe DeMassano, settling in Tomales Bay in Marin County, working as a fisherman and hop picker in season, and raising four sons. He died on October 9, 1910, age eighty, of "senile debility" and was buried at Marshall on Tomales Bay. His obituary reads, quaintly, "Truvideo years ago settled among the Indians in Tomales and there among the half breeds he found congenial company. He married there and several dark skinned children bear his name."¹¹

In our view, Trudeau had no reason to be ashamed of his behavior with the Donner Party. The charge that this young man was a "deserter," that he should have further risked his life and died with Tamsen and George Donner, is an extravagant moralism.^[CHS]

See notes beginning on page 217.

Jack Steed, a resident of Sacramento, is the author of The Donner Party Rescue Site: Johnson's Ranch on Bear River (1988, third edition 1993). In 1985, Jack and his son, Richard, rediscovered the long lost Johnson Ranch adobe, which was intimately connected with the Donner Party rescue teams. Jack regularly conducts tours of the site, and lectures widely throughout northern California.

Joseph A. King, a resident of Walnut Creek, California, and a retired community college English teacher, is the author of a number of books, including Winter of Entrapment: A New Look at the Donner Party (1992, revised 1994), which received the 1994 Award of Merit from the California Historical Society. Mr. King has served as consultant and appeared in two films for TV about the Donner Party on "The American Experience" and "The Real West" series.



The German-speaking congregation of the Salem Evangelical Church in Victor, California (near Lodi), 1910. The congregants migrated as a group from North Dakota, where they had first settled upon arrival in the United States. They organized the church in Victor in 1903 and chose German architectural features for the new building, which was dedicated in 1910, when this photograph was taken. Church services were conducted in German until the 1940s. *Courtesy Ralph Lea.*

Changing Faces of the Central Valley:

The Ethnic Presence

by Sally M. Miller

Ever since the Gold Rush, California's Central Valley has attracted people from across the face of the globe. When the news of the gold discovery brought a rush of people to the Mother Lode from almost everywhere, a spillover of those varied peoples to the valley followed. What lured the French and Swiss, Danes and Basques, Swedes and Hungarians, Canadians and Serbs, and Jews, Arabs, and Asians, as well as many others from a variety of lands, was the valley's non-bullion "gold," that is, the rich potential of its agriculture. Because of its possibilities, the Central Valley became the "world's promised land," to which hundreds of thousands and eventually millions flocked. As historian Wallace Smith wrote in his book, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley*, and journalist Anne Loftis echoed in her monograph, *California—Where the Twain Did Meet*, the area became a "laboratory of races."¹ This article cannot cover all of the various groups, but it will explore a number of group experiences and highlight the roles these varied peoples played in the development of the area up to about World War II.

The Central Valley is forty to fifty miles wide and 400 to 450 miles in length. The floodplains of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers and their tributaries enriched the soil. The combined Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley stretches from Shasta County and Redding in the north to Kern County and Bakersfield in the south. Geographic distinctions of the valley include the mountains that ring it and affect its climatic and weather patterns, the coastal range to the west and the Sierra to the east. In its mid-section touching on several counties—Contra Costa, Sacra-

mento, Solano, Yolo, and especially San Joaquin—another distinctive geographic feature is located, one of the major delta regions in the world. Its fertile promise became unbounded once reclamation work was carried out a century ago. The focus here will range from Sutter County in the north and its Sikh peach orchardists to Fresno County in the south and its Armenian raisin and melon ranchers. The other groups that will be considered include the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos among those of Asian origin, and the Dutch, Portuguese, Italians, and Germans among the Europeans.

The Central Valley, like California as a whole, was akin to a developing nation in the nineteenth century, and indeed, until after World War II. The phenomenal development of the basically agricultural economy of the region could not have occurred so spectacularly without the labor supplied by a constant stream of incoming workers, just as in the eastern part of the United States the arrival of immigrant workers there allowed industrialization to occur rapidly. While in the eastern U.S., as in the valley, capital, entrepreneurial skills, and key resources were required, the skills, muscle, and sweat of immigrant workers were essential ingredients in enabling the United States to take a leap forward into industrialization at a more accelerated rate than has any other economy. Simultaneously in the Central Valley, the development of agriculture at the pace and in the form that it took cannot be seen as separate from the presence of a growing and, as it happened, multi-ethnic work force. So there was a "fit" between the potential of the agricultural economy and the newcomers who could meet the existing labor needs.



A Chinese laundry in rural northern California, 1904. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Because this was a developing, rather than a mature, economy for so much of its history, it offered opportunities and even space for newcomers to achieve upward mobility. The situation was fluid, and no fixed social structure existed. Individuals might move from being hired workers and crew hands to lessors of land and even owner-operators of ranches and dairies, who in turn welcomed, and in fact depended on, the labor of more recent newcomers. Landowners or lessors could experiment and introduce new crops that might find a niche in the emerging agricultural economy, and they could offer different products or new services. The route upward was without guarantees, but nevertheless labor-intensive work could lead to rewards of independence and security, and newcomers ended up playing significant and even shaping roles in the developing economy.

Rather than the domination of homesteads occupied and operated by small families, so characteristic elsewhere in the United States, the distinctive history of California agriculture involves far-flung large ranches that require seasonally hired hands employed at labor-intensive tasks. The old Spanish-Mexican land grants evolved into agribusinesses, rather than family farms; what developed was appropriately termed "factories in the fields" in a classic study by that title published in 1939 by Carey McWilliams.² Investment and speculation were the operating variables rather than the traditional agrarian values of independent yeoman citizens. Other

factors reinforcing the trend to large-scale operations included the costs of land reclamation and irrigation and the expenses and problems related to the need of selling to distant consumer markets. The succession of incoming groups of workers was an indispensable component in a system of intensive agriculture requiring large numbers of hands at intermittent times at, it has been written, "the lowest possible cost."³ But evidence now suggests that at times these workers were able to exercise choices about which economic possibilities would be most fruitful for them to pursue.

The Chinese are thought of as the first large group of ethnically identifiable agricultural workers; they were, in the words of a title of a recent book by Ronald Takaki on Asian immigration, "strangers from a different shore."⁴ Never a large population (despite recurrent sensationalistic warnings of a so-called "yellow peril"), in 1870 there were 49,000 Chinese in this country, mostly in California, and in 1880 there were 75,000. From the 1880s on, federal exclusion laws prevented the growth of the Chinese population, and its numbers gradually declined (for example, there were only 61,000 in 1920). It was an overwhelmingly male population, with few families, and thus not able to reproduce itself. Chinese men filtered down from the mines in the face of declining opportunity there, including anti-Chinese measures, so that after 1870 both towns and rural areas in the Central Valley developed Chi-

nese populations. Some settled in cities such as Sacramento, Marysville, Oroville, Stockton, and Modesto (and of course San Francisco), and they provided laundry, tailoring, barbering, and other personal services, and operated restaurants, herbalist shops, and other small retail establishments. Through such occupational choices, few Chinese competed with white workers for jobs in the emerging industrial sector, a self-protective strategy that they adopted after their treatment in the Mother Lode and that some other groups would use, too. Some Chinese fished in the Delta, as well as in San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay and elsewhere along the coast, and sold their fish to local markets while at the same time drying much of it for export to China.

A slight majority of the Chinese resided in rural areas. The valley was home to approximately twenty-eight percent of the Chinese in California in 1870, the majority of whom worked in agriculture, while others were merchants and laborers in various trades or worked as cooks and servants. Hun-

dreds were truck farmers, while thousands harvested fruits and other major crops as hired hands. By 1880, thirty percent lived in the valley, and by 1900 forty percent were found in agricultural areas, including the valley, but they were also spreading elsewhere. Not infrequently, Chinese agricultural laborers in valley counties might be forty-five percent of the farm labor force. The only valley counties in which they ever constituted the majority of the farm workers were Sacramento, Yuba, and Solano counties. Thereafter, their numbers declined, and the Chinese gradually all but disappeared from the agricultural scene.

The Chinese developed a system of labor recruitment that was later emulated by other groups. Chinese labor contractors would hire gangs to work in agriculture and also on specific construction projects. The English-speaking Chinese contractors negotiated wages with the employers, so that individual workers never dealt directly with the employers. The contractors charged the workers a commission for finding them jobs and providing them with meals,

A street scene in the Chinese hamlet of Locke, Sacramento County. The only town built and exclusively inhabited by Chinese, it was established in 1915 by newcomers from South China who built the network of levees in the Delta. *Courtesy Holt-Atherton Department, University of Pacific Libraries.*



while the workers themselves handled their own temporary housing, carrying tents or simply blankets with them as they traveled around.

The Chinese played the key role in the reclamation of Delta swamps and marshes and, therefore, in its emergence as one of the richest agricultural areas in the world. They were involved in such work on wheelbarrow gangs between the 1850s and the mid-1880s, after which they were displaced by the clamshell dredge. They toiled knee-deep in water and mud where they were subject to pneumonia and malaria. Their wages averaged ten to fifteen cents per cubic yard of earth removed, or perhaps one dollar a day, and they had to struggle to devise a foolproof method of measuring the volume of earth they removed to ensure correct wages. Wages paid by the month, rather than the amount of work, might be around \$27. Chinese workers built the first levees on mainland tracts in Rio Vista Township, on Twitchell Island, Brannan Island, and on part of Roberts Island. They performed much of the work of trying to reclaim Union Island. With boats the basic mode of transportation in the Delta, many steamboat landings were constructed on the levees, and named after companies or individuals associated with them. As a result, there were Hop Sing, Hop Good, Tai On, Gee Sang, Hop Goon, Gee Fung, Sang Wah and other steamboat landings. Some of the Chinese laborers eventually leased land parcels as tenants, with the last three decades of the nineteenth century witnessing an upward trend in Chinese leaseholdings in the Delta and elsewhere. Groups of men or companies—occasionally individuals—were able to enter into leases, usually within a decade of their having worked to reclaim the land. They were often favored by landowners faced with labor-intensive projects, who contracted with Chinese workers to bring their land under cultivation (called “developmental leasing”). Thus, it was the Chinese who often leased virgin land, drained it, built levees, broke up the soil, plowed the fields, and planted the first crops. By the decade of 1910-1920, they leased land in the central Delta, farming on Mandeville, Venice, Bacon, and Woodward islands. They frequently specialized in potatoes and beans, which brought the most return, while outside the Delta these tenant farmers often planted hops, vineyards, and orchards. When the

canneries developed as a major component in agriculture, the Chinese were hired on the work crews and as fruit packers, thus participating in nearly all aspects of the valley’s agricultural labor.

Chinatowns emerged in the Delta, as they had earlier in valley cities, and in them individuals could obtain familiar products, enjoy traditional recreation, and spend the off-season and even their declining years. The hamlet of Locke in Sacramento County, founded in 1915, became well known as the last Chinese town to emerge. And, by that time, the Chinese population in the state as a whole was shrinking, and their presence as a force in valley agriculture was over. By then, Chinese exclusion laws were taking their toll, but a small (twenty percent) female population did allow a semblance of family and community life to develop.⁵

Japanese laborers began to arrive in California at the end of the nineteenth century, some having earlier worked on plantations in Hawaii. Like the Chinese, they were men alone who assumed they would be sojourners in this country for a time, and then return to their families in their country of origin. Some settled in San Francisco, but, following the earthquake in 1906, Los Angeles more frequently became their major destination. Japanese became fishermen in the Bay Area and also in San Pedro and Santa Monica harbors in Los Angeles County. More typically, however, the Japanese went into labor-intensive farming. They worked on crews under contractors, as had the Chinese before them. They also avoided industrial employment, choosing not to invite hostility by competing with Caucasian laborers, but rather seeking their own economic niche.

As they moved into the Central Valley, those who settled in the cities offered services that previously were not readily available, such as gardening, or they opened nurseries and related businesses. They also operated restaurants, stores, and shops selling items in demand by their countrymen, thus offering products for which an untapped market existed (an economic path followed by ethnic would-be entrepreneurs in all groups). Those who farmed typically pooled their muscle and limited capital. They leased collectively and worked intensively, often on marginal soil that others had ignored: the hog wallow lands in the San Joaquin Valley and the dry lands in the



George Shima, far left, pictured with prominent California businessmen and politicians, including Governor James Rolph, on "Potato Day" at the California State Fair, ca. 1932.
Courtesy Holt-Atherton Department, University of Pacific Libraries.

Sacramento Valley, as well as desert areas to the far south in the Imperial Valley. They began to purchase or lease land, in spite of some limitations caused by California's alien land laws, which were first passed in 1913 in a partially effective attempt to limit Japanese access to agriculture. In fact, their entry into the agricultural economy of the valley was timely because of an ever-increasing demand for fresh produce in the growing cities in the early twentieth century. In addition, the increasingly sophisticated

irrigation methods and modern transportation capabilities for bringing produce to market further enhanced opportunities.

Japanese farmers concentrated on short-term specialty crops such as berries and truck vegetables. By 1920 their agricultural output was ten percent of the total value of California crops, and in the decades leading up to World War II, they produced the bulk of the strawberry, tomato, and snap bean crops, among others, and over forty percent of the onion

and green pea crops. As a testament to their achievements in agriculture, a 1921 report to the governor by the head of the California Delta Association stated that the Japanese had "convert[ed] the barren land like that at...Livingston into productive and profitable fields, orchards and vineyards, by the persistence and intelligence of their industry."⁶

Of a United States Japanese population of over 110,100 in 1925 (the great majority of whom were in California), about one-fourth of the gainfully employed worked in agriculture, mostly in the valley. Their operations were small, usually under forty-nine acres. These Issei farmers belonged to associations based on the prefecture, or *ken*, from which they had come. The associations brought them together for social activities, which allowed them to develop credit arrangements to help each other with loans and investments. The most successful and most famous Japanese farmer was George Shima, known as the "potato king." He began working in the San Joaquin Valley in 1887 as a potato picker and then became a labor contractor. He then turned to leasing and purchasing undeveloped Delta lands, which he drained and diked. Shima established a hugely successful operation, winning him the title of the "Japanese Horatio Alger." He farmed over ten thousand acres of potatoes and owned a fleet of a dozen steamboats, barges, and tugboats that transported his crops to San Francisco. At his death in 1926, he left an estate of \$15 million.

California's Japanese population in 1910 totaled just over 41,000 and jumped to almost 72,000 in 1920. That decade marked the coming of the so-called "picture brides," a phenomenon lasting about a half-dozen years, after which the practice was prohibited by U.S. law. These essentially matchmaker-arranged marriages-by-proxy (often derided by westerners, but simply an elaboration of spouse-selection practices in most traditional societies) allowed the Japanese immigrants to develop families and communities of their own, and thus ended their sojourner era.

As a case study of the development of a Japanese community in the valley, the history of the town of Del Rey, fifteen miles southeast of Fresno, is instructive. In the first decade of this century some Japanese laborers began to work in the area, including Fowler, and nearby Del Rey became a small focal

point for Issei laborers who hailed from the prefecture of Kumamoto in southern Japan. Some became crewbosses, organizing jobs for the others; the few wives were often cooks in the labor camps. Del Rey had as many as 400 to 500 Japanese workers picking grapes during the season, and some settled there. In what David Mas Masumoto describes as the "boom years" of Del Rey, four or five boarding houses, restaurants, pool halls, a fish store, and a tofu shop opened to meet the needs of the heavily bachelor Issei population. The shops specialized in a variety of Japanese products, with some selling American goods, too. By 1919 the Japanese of Del Rey were sufficiently settled that they built their own community center, which served as a centerpiece for the Issei and their children, the Nisei. The hall was the site of community gatherings, language and other Japanese cultural instruction, recreational activities, and both Christian and Buddhist religious services. Through the dark days of a disastrous town fire, the Depression, and until the Japanese relocation that occurred during the first year of World War II, the hall was symbolic of a thriving ethnic agrarian community. Numerous other examples can be cited of individual Japanese communities in the valley.⁷

Generally arriving after the Japanese, Filipinos also became a fixture in agriculture in the Central Valley. They first traveled to California as a minuscule student population at the beginning of the twentieth century and then in the 1920s mostly as laborers. Forty-five thousand lived in the continental United States by World War II, 30,000 of them in California, with the majority working in the Central Valley and in other agricultural centers like the Salinas Valley.⁸ Filipinos entered the United States freely in this period because the Philippine Islands were a possession of the United States and they were therefore American nationals; but hailing from Asia, they were barred by law from becoming naturalized citizens. In the United States, they lacked political representation, were ineligible for many professions, could not purchase land, and were subject to segregated housing restrictions and anti-miscegenation laws. In an editorial comment reflective of antagonistic attitudes toward them, the *Stockton Record* in 1930 wrote about them that "while the lit-



A poolhall in downtown Stockton, ca. 1920, frequented by Filipino workers, who had few other options for recreation in their leisure time.
Courtesy Holt-Atherton Department, University of Pacific Libraries.

tle brown brothers flock here, they are unassimilable."⁹ Further, the Filipinos, like earlier Asians, were here as essentially a male-only population as a result of a combination of factors: the law and labor recruiters favored only men, and the women tended to remain at home for cultural reasons.

Filipinos worked at so-called "stoop labor" and at general ranch labor. They were shuttled about in crews usually composed of persons from the same area and language group in the Philippines; some-

times they drove to jobs on their own. They worked in fruit and hop picking, rice harvesting, hoeing and topping beets, lettuce harvesting, celery planting, and especially in asparagus cutting. The development of the Central Valley's asparagus crop is impossible to imagine apart from the contribution of the Filipino workers. They also worked in fruit and vegetable packingsheds and canneries. They lived in bunkhouses, often under deplorable conditions, or even slept in the fields; in the off-season they could



The Sikh Temple of Stockton, ca. 1920. The oldest Sikh institution in the United States, this temple served as a community center for the male population of workers. Sikh women gradually joined the men in California in increasing numbers after 1965, when national immigration quotas were eliminated. *Courtesy Holt-Atherton Department, University of Pacific Libraries.*

be found in low-cost hotels and in meal-ticket restaurants in Stockton. Around 1930 they tried to organize unions and strike for better conditions, thereby winning a reputation as troublemakers among some employers who looked for alternate sources of labor. In non-agricultural work, Filipinos were often servants, janitors, and busboys; they did not become retailers, apparently because they lacked background in small business.¹⁰

Another group to come to the Central Valley from Asia was the East Indians, especially the Sikhs, who migrated from Canada at the start of this century seeking any type of labor. They worked in the lumber industry and then in agriculture. Migrant Sikh men clustered in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys and in the Imperial Valley. As early as 1910, both Sacramento and Stockton had become small centers of Punjabi Sikh life in this

country. By then, an elaborate two-story Sikh temple had been built in Stockton as a community center, the first one in this country. The men worked and lived together, skimping to save as much money as possible in hope of re-establishing themselves with a nestegg in the Punjab. Their crewbosses, as in the case of many other groups, obtained migrant work for them and negotiated their wages. As direct successors to Chinese labor, the Sikhs got the lowest pay and most menial work. They cleared levee areas, farmed on some of the islands in the Delta and, pooling their resources, some leased land, initially around Holt. Such cases of independent farming alarmed some Californians. A paper in the *Bee* newspaper chain, for example, editorialized in 1923 on the need to ensure that California's alien land laws were applied to East Indians, and stated "[t]here must be no more leasing or sale of land to such immigrants from India."¹¹ Nevertheless, some Sikhs had begun to establish themselves as independent owner-operators. The Sikhs relocated farther north later in the twentieth century, and Yuba City and Marysville in Sutter County, with a climate somewhat like the Punjab, became the main Sikh locale in California.¹²

East Indians and other Asians who settled in the Central Valley prior to World War II had difficult experiences. Because federal legislation prohibited them from becoming naturalized citizens, California laws discriminated against them, and public opinion was often antagonistic toward them, Asians had a harder time than did European immigrants in establishing themselves. It was also difficult because they initially came without women and thereby, without the structure of family life in place, lacked the basis of establishing community. Nevertheless, most of the groups in turn, at their own individual paces, managed to establish communities of their own. As an example, the Japanese prior to World War II, wherever they settled—rural areas like Del Rey and medium-sized cities like Stockton (and of course in Los Angeles)—established full-service communities. In addition to ethnic stores and restaurants, charitable, social, recreational, and cultural institutions emerged appropriate to group needs and interests. Soon, there were Buddhist temples and Japanese Christian churches, Japanese Ys and mission schools, chapters of the Japanese Association,

(an organization primarily for first-generation immigrants that sought to build bridges between Caucasians and Japanese), branches of the Japanese American Citizens League (the major Japanese Civil Rights organization, founded primarily to serve the needs of the American-born children), cultural groups based on prefectural origin—teaching flower-arranging, the tea ceremony, fencing, martial arts, and other subjects—and Japanese language schools. Though often crammed together and limited to an area of a few square blocks, these Japantowns, with their networks of organizations, were flourishing ethnic communities despite the hardships they faced.

A comprehensive history of European immigrants and their descendants in the Central Valley is beyond the parameters of this article. Virtually every European and many Middle Eastern groups have been present in the valley. After the gold-rush generation, newcomers came directly to the region, sometimes encouraged by agents of Leland Stanford and Mark Hopkins and other railroad entrepreneurs and by large-scale employers. European immigrants typically faced fewer difficulties in establishing themselves than did Asians. Moreover, they could blend in a little more easily where their cultures were not so very different from what was viewed by many earlier-arriving residents as the norm.

In Fresno County, the largest immigrant group to settle was the Armenians. They clustered in Fresno, Fowler, Reedley, Selma, Yetttem (which means "Eden" in Armenian), and Kingsburg. Armenians also congregated in Madera, Merced, and Stanislaus counties, in fact as far north as the towns of Turlock and Modesto. They first arrived in the United States in the 1880s; while some Armenians settled in New England, Fresno County became the Armenian capital of the United States, attractive to them because of a climate similar to Armenia. A persecuted group always at the mercy of the Turks or the Russians or other political powers, they had experienced *pogroms* and even genocide in the World War I era. Hence, many fled and came to this country as refugees. Refugee groups, unlike other immigrants, have never been limited to the relatively poor and uneducated; so the Armenians settled here not only as

poor unskilled laborers but also as skilled workers and as educated individuals with capital.

The Armenian population of Fresno County was 6,000 by 1915, with about 8,000 overall in the Central Valley, about eighty percent of the total in the state. Those who lived in the city of Fresno were limited to the worst housing, confined to shanties on the southwest side of the city near the railroad yards. They, like Asian and Spanish-speaking groups there, were denigrated as inferior outsiders, and they faced restrictive covenants and other discriminatory devices. In fact, the state of California, with the claim that the Armenians were Asians and thus subject to the state's alien land laws, ruled that they could not purchase land, a pronouncement that was overturned by a U.S. Court of Appeals. Some Armenians were hired for railroad and construction jobs. Some established fruit and vegetable gardens or peddled produce. Others became fruit and vegetable wholesalers or were able to open small businesses—groceries, fruit stores, carpet stores, dry cleaners, garages, and other businesses—or worked at trades. Some introduced products to the United States—Oriental rugs, for example—and in such cases did not compete in already established commercial areas. Many Armenians became farm laborers or worked in fruit or vegetable packing sheds, while others leased or invested in land, often vineyards, even though Armenians with capital typically did not bring with them experience in agriculture. As ranchers, they specialized in raisins and figs, crops that had been grown in their homeland, and they also introduced various produce items to the American market, especially types of melons, such as Casabas, Persians, and yellow watermelons. By the start of this century, Armenian farmers were responsible for producing seventy percent of U.S.-grown raisins. Some growers expanded into fruit packing and shipping.

Many of these ranchers succeeded impressively, working long days as whole family units and hiring laborers, too. Profits earned were immediately reinvested in the operation, in accord with the group's industriousness and thrift. But however successful some became, persistent outsider status led Armenians to form their own marketing and other such associations. The first California Raisin Growers Association was, in fact, an Armenian



Armenian agricultural workers at the Alameda Vineyard, Reedley, Fresno County, prepare trays of raisins for drying. *Courtesy Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, Madden Library, California State University, Fresno.*



Among early Dutch settlers in the Central Valley, the Johannes Schaapman family, above, immigrated from Holland to Ripon in 1911 to join two sons who had gone there ahead of them. This family photograph was taken prior to their departure for the United States. *Courtesy Ripon Historical Society.*

growers' organization. Like other groups, they organized a variety of institutions to serve their needs: churches, language schools, charities, athletic associations, and coffeehouses that operated as informal social centers for the men. As a highly literate group, they also organized a library, the first one in Fresno.

Others greeted Armenians with hostility because of at least two factors. The first was their visibility. By World War I, Armenians comprised one-fourth of the foreign-born population in the Fresno area, and they became a lightning rod for ethnic prejudice, as may happen under such circumstances. In contrast, Armenians elsewhere in California—Los Angeles and its eastern neighbor, Riverside County, for example—were not as great a component of the population and did not tend to suffer the same treatment. Second, because some Armenians were so economically successful, and far from servile (as a by-product of surviving in the homeland over the centuries of oppression), they stirred resentment and envy.

The Dutch also established themselves in the valley in the late nineteenth century. Many had first lived in the Midwest, Michigan especially. In fact, some young Dutchmen who had lived in Michigan—Holland, Michigan, for example—had worked on dairy farms as milkers there and commuted to central California for the winters, where they worked as milkers for Dutch-owned dairies. As early as the 1870s, some Dutch, drawing on their experiences in Holland, had constructed a “polder,” an island of lowland reclaimed from the Delta in Sacramento County, and a few families then settled into farming there. A handful of attempts to establish Dutch colonies failed, however, including one near Merced. A mission of the Dutch Reformed Church was established in Modesto in 1904. By 1920, there were 4,592 Dutch-born people recorded as living in California, with nearly 1,000 in the Central Valley.

At the town of Ripon, located between Modesto



The Joe Souza family, Portuguese Americans, settled west of Porterville in Tulare County in the early twentieth century. They operated the former Gilligan Ranch, and their dairy farm included some fifty cows that were hand-milked daily. Family members shown, right to left, are Joe Souza, Sr., Lena, Joe, Jr., Paul, and Mrs. Marie Souza. *Private Collection of Jeff Edwards, Porterville.*

and Stockton, the first Dutch residents arrived by train from North Dakota in 1916, and it soon became the most famous Dutch town in California. A Dutch Reformed Church was established at once, and later a Dutch-language school, a convalescent home, and other ethnic facilities. The principal occupations that the Dutch of Ripon followed were dairying, including creameries, and operation of almond orchards. The population of the Ripon area eventually leveled off at about fifty percent Dutch.¹⁴

Another European group, the Portuguese, settled initially nearer the coast in Alameda, Contra Costa, and Santa Clara counties, and then spilled over into the Central Valley at the end of the nineteenth century. They worked as farm laborers, some becoming dairy owners and operators, typically in extended family partnerships. Portuguese agricultural laborers appeared in noticeable numbers in the valley as fruitpickers in the second decade of this century. By then, of the 22,000 Portuguese in California, more than 3,000 lived in the Central Valley. Arriving either as married couples or as single men, they worked in the Delta in the asparagus fields and in other crops. Typically, groups of up to about a dozen

assumed leases together. Some individuals managed to lease land of their own, and the Portuguese came to operate the bulk of the valley's truck vegetable enterprises. They also operated feedlots. Compared to most other groups, the Portuguese did not establish many community institutions. While they did form religious associations and lodges, their pattern of dispersed settlement in rural areas, and regional differences among them, as well as the long days common to an agricultural work schedule, limited other undertakings.¹⁵

Italians and Germans initially arrived during the Gold Rush, and both quickly established themselves in the valley. In the case of the Italians, many became fishermen along the coast and truck farmers in the rural San Francisco Bay area or construction workers in the city of San Francisco itself. By the early twentieth century, they were the second largest nationality group in California agriculture. In contrast to the Italians who settled on the east coast of the United States, these were mostly northern, rather than southern, Italians, although some did emigrate from the south, as well as from Sicily. Some Bay Area Italians encouraged one another to move inland

(referred to demographically as “chain migration”), and many relocated in the Central Valley as farm laborers, tenant farmers, and then as owners and operators of ranches and small businesses.

In the 1880s, Italian farm laborers displaced Chinese in various areas, such as in the Delta farmland south of Sacramento, in Alameda County orchards, and elsewhere. This was a deliberate choice by employers, and in some instances it influenced the crops—either in terms of growing crops more familiar to Italians or, as a specific example of an ethnically related agricultural change, instead of low-lying grapevines, tall vines became the norm. But Italians also experienced discrimination. They were classified by some employers as “non-white,”

and they faced occupational, housing, and credit discrimination.

Those Italians who became ranchers concentrated on grapes, other fruits, and vegetables. While many Italians, like other southern European groups and Asians, had first come as men without families, their ranches tended to be run as family efforts (what could be called “mom and pop” operations), with wives and children working in the fields (unlike northern European immigrant patterns, where wives and children were not involved in field work). Not all managed to move out of the category of hired labor to become owner-operators, but some were spectacularly successful, such as Joseph Di Giorgio, who farmed near Bakersfield and eventually took



Among the Italian population in Stockton at the end of the nineteenth century were merchants such as the Gianelli family (shown here), who owned a grocery store in the city. *Courtesy Bank of Stockton/Covello Collection.*

over and popularized the already established S&W canned-food label, the Gallo brothers of winemaking fame, as well as two other Italian immigrant partners, one of whose names was shortened to become the trademark of their "Del Monte" line of canned goods. Italians also, like some groups already considered, established a few rural or agricultural colonies. The most famous was established in the 1880s, the Italian Swiss Agricultural Colony of one hundred families, with a winery in Madera.

The Italians became one of the most visible groups in Central Valley agriculture, even to the extent that they were seen by some as synonymous with it. Twelve thousand Italians resided there by 1910. They gradually overcame most of the early prejudices against them and established a strong community, as seen not only in their economic successes but their organizational strength through chapters of the Sons of Italy, the Italian Catholic Federation, the Italian Gardeners Society, and other groups wherever they lived.¹⁶

Germans appear to have been the first northern European immigrant group to have made its mark both in the Mother Lode and in the Central Valley during the gold-rush era. Germans, in fact, pioneered in the founding of several valley cities, such as Marysville, Sacramento, and Stockton. For example, the town of Lodi, located just north of Stockton, has a unique German heritage, having been founded by Germans who migrated as a group from the Dakotas late in the nineteenth century. In a parallel to Dutch-dominated Ripon, the German Lodians established a number of German cultural institutions (an annual Oktoberfest, the Order of Hermann Sons and Sisters, and the German Club), which shaped the city's ambience. As late as the eve of World War II, some California-born children entered Lodi Unified schools speaking only German.

By 1910, there were at least 15,000 first- and second-generation Germans living in the Central Valley. German agricultural communities, if not fully organized colonies, developed. However, religiously distinctive German groups, such as the Mennonites, founded more formal communities, perhaps the most famous of which was in the Livingston-Winton area in Merced County, where they became successful and industrious orchardists. Germans, settling in California either as immigrants coming

directly from the Old World or as migrants from the Midwest, became the largest ethnic group in California agriculture. Furthermore, they were the foreign-born group with the largest percentage of landowners in the early twentieth century. Germans often went into grape-growing and winemaking, resulting in some moving to the Napa and Sonoma valleys, but those in the Central Valley also grew other fruits and vegetables. It is difficult to trace the Germans in as much detail as other groups in the valley. For the most part—with the obvious exception of the Lodi Germans—they blended into the general population rather quickly. Not retaining separate visibility, except in regard to name recognition, they simply became part of the valley's agricultural population.¹⁷

The various peoples referred to above, as well as others, transformed the Central Valley. Without them, it would no doubt have become only a marginally successful agricultural region, struggling with both arid and swamp lands. The population base of the valley in the early years of statehood was simply inadequate for large-scale agriculture. Indeed, an enormous labor shortage existed, and therefore serious limitations on development prevailed. That shortage was alleviated by the incoming immigrant groups, who provided the critical mass for the emergence of large-scale agriculture. While virtually all writers have emphasized the role of the Chinese (see the dissertation by Varden Fuller cited in note 2) and the subsequent Asian groups, the contention here has been that not only Asian, but also European, immigrants filled a vital gap and provided the essential ingredient of farm labor that permitted the system of large-scale intensive agriculture to develop.

Moreover, as the valley became the fruit and vegetable cornucopia of the United States, immigrant ranchers and entrepreneurs emerged and provided another crucial ingredient in its economic development. Some became innovators introducing crops from the Old World to California agriculture, whether Japanese eggplants, Casaba melons, Dutch and Portuguese dairy products, or grapes for the Italian and German viticulture industry. Crops often rotated as successive groups came to dominate a particular valley area. Some individuals of various

Born in Steinweden, Germany, in 1813, Charles M. Weber immigrated to the United States in 1836. Traveling to California overland with the Bidwell-Bartleson Party in the early 1840s, he settled first in San Jose. A successful merchant, he acquired a vast land grant in the Central Valley, some of which he set aside to found the city of Stockton. *Courtesy Holt-Atherton Department, University of Pacific Libraries.*



backgrounds also became merchants, offering new products and services to their own groups first and then to the larger public, typically aided by credit available through community-support networks of relatives and associates. The determining factor in a particular individual's path was the nexus between the variables present in the local area and in that individual's own background and experience.

In conclusion, although most immigrants faced discrimination, many traveled a rewarding road. The upward socioeconomic mobility that some realized meant that the persistent dream of countless immigrants of a land with streets paved with gold had come true in another version for them: in the California Central Valley blessed with rich soil, they had been able to shape their own lives as well as the valley itself.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 218.

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The Hetch Hetchy Controversy, Phase II: The 1913 Senate Debate

by Richard Lowitt

“Much ado about nothing” or at best “much ado about little,” remarked Senator James A. Reed (D., Missouri) as members by special consent devoted the first week of the second session of the 63rd Congress to resolving the cantankerous issue of whether San Francisco could construct an artificial lake in the Hetch Hetchy Valley of Yosemite National Park. Meeting in day and night session, the Senate debated the issue, thereby stalling discussion of the Federal Reserve bill, the centerpiece of President Wilson’s New Freedom legislative program. The debate consumed more than 380 pages in the Congressional Record. What was involved, Reed remarked, was “the disposition of about 2 square miles of land, located at a point remote from civilization, in the very heart of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and possessing an intrinsic value of probably not to exceed four or five hundred dollars.” Putting water on two square miles of a park containing over eleven hundred square miles of territory engendered “profound debate” in the Senate, while the country was “thrown into a condition of hysteria.”¹

Yet these two square miles prompted a national controversy that culminated with the December Senate debate. The previous history of the controversy has been examined many times by scholars, participants, and others writing from a preservationist or conservationist perspective. It split the Sierra Club, and some suggested that it helped bring about the death of John Muir the following year. It need only be recounted here in broad outline.²

Since 1901, San Francisco had been seeking permission from the secretary of the interior to construct

a dam in the beautiful Hetch Hetchy Valley and to build a nearly two-hundred-mile-long pipeline to bring the water into a new city water system. Four secretaries had responded, each in a different way. Ethan Allen Hitchcock twice turned down the request; however, after the San Francisco earthquake and fire, James R. Garfield favored the grant. Richard A. Ballinger ordered the city to show cause why it should not be eliminated from the Garfield permit; and Walter Lowrie Fisher, before leaving office at the end of the Taft administration, threw the matter into the lap of the 63rd Congress and the incoming Wilson administration. Previously, Ballinger had called for the appointment of a board of Army Engineers to report whether there were other water sources available that would be adequate for the needs of San Francisco. Published in May 1913, this report played a prominent role in the congressional debate. It suggested several other sources of water that were both practical and abundant. The matter was simply one of cost, but with the exception of the Sacramento River, no thorough investigation had been made of sources other than Hetch Hetchy. Nevertheless, the board estimated that a maximum difference of cost between Hetch Hetchy and the next feasible available source of water supply was \$20,000,000, or twenty-five percent of the cost.³

On September 3, 1913, after extended hearings and debate, the House approved the Hetch Hetchy measure (HR 7207) by a vote of 183 to 43, with nine members answering present. Not voting were 194 members. Meanwhile, the Senate continued to debate the measure until October 7, when Key



Hetch Hetchy Valley, 1916, looking upstream from six hundred feet below the proposed dam site. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

Pittman (D., Nevada) requested and won unanimous consent that the Senate consider the measure as unfinished business on Monday, December 1, 1913, the opening day of the second session of the 63rd Congress, until disposed of not later than the calendar day of December 6, 1913.⁴

Thus, when the new session got under way, Hetch Hetchy was the focus of the Senate's attention, tak-

ing precedence over a banking measure calling for the creation of a federal reserve system. At the outset, several points can be mentioned, though they were not stressed in the debate. First, by the end of 1913 no major urban complex, outside of the San Francisco Bay area, was unable to provide water for its people through a public agency. Second, the unpopular Spring Valley Water Company, whose

reservoirs and sources of supply were situated in the adjoining Coast Range mountains, was having difficulty in properly supplying a large number of customers. In 1901, the city engineer had made an investigation of various sources. Of fourteen sources then considered feasible, the Tuolumne River, which flowed through the Hetch Hetchy Valley, was considered "superior in quantity, quality and accessibility to all the others." And it was in 1901 that the city first applied for permits to impound the water at the Hetch Hetchy Valley and nearby Lake Eleanor, both within the boundaries of Yosemite National Park, and to convey the same about 165 miles due west to the bay area.⁵

The great fire following the earthquake in 1906

only exacerbated the situation, as some of the hoses and other equipment of the Spring Valley Water Company could not meet the demands imposed by the emergency. And instances of faulty and otherwise antiquated and impaired facilities were abundantly evident. Besides agreeing to buy out the franchise of the water company, the people of San Francisco in 1909 and 1910 approved the issuance of bonds totaling \$45,600,000 to acquire privately held lands. The city had exchanged some lands it owned within Yosemite for lands on the floor of the Hetch Hetchy Valley, so that, with lands already in the valley, the city could have clear title to the lands that it proposed to submerge.⁶ Thus, before the final debate got under way, San Francisco, acting in good



Lake Eleanor, in Yosemite National Park, photographed in June 1913. The lake was named in the 1860s to recognize Eleanor Whitney, daughter of Joseph D. Whitney, director of the State Geological Survey from 1860 to 1874. In the 1950s, the city of San Francisco turned the lake into a reservoir, expanding its capacity. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*



Hetch Hetchy Valley, July 1915. The treeline, visible along the side of the mountain, marks Rancheria Trail, an early Indian trail above the valley. Even when the dam is at its fullest, the water level is below the tree line. At the far left, Rancheria Creek cascades down. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

faith under the permit awarded by Secretary Garfield in 1908, had heavily committed itself to Hetch Hetchy. The Army Engineers who suggested alternate sources and the members of Congress who argued for alternate routes never seriously considered the financial burden already incurred by San Francisco.

A final general observation that can be made is that the environmental issues raised by John Muir and the throngs of preservationists endorsing his views, upon which historians have focused, actually

received relatively short shrift in the Senate debate. This is not to say that the debate between "preservationism" (protection of wilderness from any human disturbance) and "conservationism" (utilitarian development of natural resources) was not given attention; it is only that other issues received far more attention, consumed many more pages in the Congressional Record, and ultimately shaped the Senate's decision. Irrigation needs, the necessity for an urban water supply, and the issue of public electrical power were central to the debate. Also, oppo-

nents of HR 7207, the Raker Bill, utilized arguments or submitted materials that at times were incongruous. For example, some opposing senators called instead for utilization of the water for irrigation purposes, while others insisted that damming Hetch Hetchy would deface nature.

Senator John D. Works (R., California) in his extended remarks spoke for the needs of water users in the downstream irrigation districts. The Army Engineers' Report stated "there can be no question but that a large portion, if not all of the flow of the Tuolumne could be used for irrigation if stored" (p. 35). But before Works could develop this premise, he had to deal with the fact that the spokesmen and the congressman representing the Turlock and Modesto irrigation districts, the largest in the San Joaquin Valley, had reached an agreement with San Francisco to share the Tuolumne's water, and had endorsed a measure during its journey through the House. Among the provisions in Section 9 of the bill was one recognizing the prior water rights of these districts, and their right to be expanded to contain in the aggregate no more than 300,000 acres and to receive at most 2,350 second-feet of the daily flow of the Tuolumne River, whenever that amount could be beneficially used by these districts. Moreover, the provision concluded that "the grantee shall never interfere with the rights." And among the conclusions of the Army Engineers was the statement that "the board further believes that there will be sufficient water if adequately stored and economically used to supply both the reasonable demand of the bay communities and the reasonable needs of the Turlock-Modesto Irrigation District for the remainder of this century" (p. 50).

Senator Works, however, argued that "ninety-nine percent" of the water users in the two irrigation districts were not in accord with the provision in Section 9. They protested that they had been betrayed by their spokesmen and by their representative, Denver S. Church (D., California).⁷ Following this lead, Works claimed that thousands of acres in the Turlock-Modesto districts and throughout the San Joaquin Valley would be deprived of water, thereby sacrificing some of California's prime agricultural lands in the interest of San Francisco. He devoted the better part of both the day and evening session on December 2 and on into the next day to making the case for the prior rights of water users, actual and potential, throughout the San Joaquin Val-

ley. Interspersed among his remarks were numerous telegrams, petitions, and other insertions supporting his views from water users insisting that HR 7207 could not adequately provide for their needs.

If Hetch Hetchy water were reserved for irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley, Works argued, San Francisco could secure its water from one of several other sources discussed in the report of the Army Engineers. Endorsing Works's views were chiefly Republican colleagues from western states. Not included was the senior senator from California, George C. Perkins (R.), who because of ill health never fully participated in the debate, though he inserted numerous items into the Congressional Record endorsing San Francisco's request for Hetch Hetchy water. Petitions from residents of San Francisco and other bay area communities noted that Congress had already granted Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles reserves that assisted them in securing the water supplies they needed. The need of San Francisco for a water supply adequate for its present and future needs was, according to its supporters, as great or greater than those other cities.⁸

At the conclusion of his lengthy remarks, Works said that he "occupied the peculiar position of being the only representative from the State of California" who opposed the grant. Though he made his home in Los Angeles, Works insisted that his concern was for the best interests of all the people in California and bemoaned the fact that "some of the other representatives of the State have lacked the courage to stand up in the face of the appeals that are made to Congress in behalf of the city and defend the rights of the people."⁹

It was this very point—namely, that "every Member of the House from the State of California endorsed it and voted for it" and that "after full hearings the House committee, without exception, reported it favorably"—that enabled Colorado Senator Charles S. Thomas (D.) to reconsider his original hesitations about releasing the water to San Francisco, and to refute Works's claim in his opening remarks that the bill was a measure promoted primarily by President Wilson's administration. Thomas, thus, became one of several Democratic senators who endorsed the proposal, arguing in the place of his Republican colleague George C. Perkins that the proposed grant to San Francisco was a valid one and that the price of water in the city was

reputed to be "larger than in almost any other city in the country." Thomas's lengthy remarks were the first to endorse the measure.

In the course of speaking, while stating that urban domestic needs were superior to the agricultural interest in water, Thomas mentioned that Senator Works's "own city took the waters of Owens River for its own needs, and every ranch man upon that

river...was up in arms, declaring...with much truth—that it meant absolute destruction to the valley itself, making it practically uninhabitable." Any "great municipality" in need of an added water supply "can only acquire it," Thomas said, "by depriving other users of water of the right to it, which means controversy and litigation, perhaps bloodshed."



Cherry Creek, 1948, near City Camp, on the floor of Cherry Valley. It is now under water, upstream from Hetch Hetchy Dam. Because they joined the Tuolumne River about ten miles downstream from Hetch Hetchy Valley, Eleanor Creek and Cherry Creek both fell under the control of the city of San Francisco. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

Securing water for a domestic supply, Thomas and other supporters of the Hetch Hetchy proposal argued, inevitably meant that the value of its use for agricultural purposes would be diminished. "San Francisco," Thomas said, "has been for 13 mortal years trying to get this source of supply—persistently, consistently, continuously. Are we to tell her now that she has other sources of supply nearly as good, or equally as good, and expect her to resort to them without encountering the same troubles, difficulties, and the same delay that has occurred in her pursuit of this one?"¹⁰

Several senators thought that was exactly what San Francisco should be told. The McCloud, Mokelumne, and Eel rivers, Asle J. Gronna (R., North Dakota), Miles Poindexter (R., Washington), and others suggested, provided suitable alternatives.¹¹ Those who supported other sources, those seeking Hetch Hetchy water for irrigation purposes, owners of land that could be irrigated by water from another river, owners of possible hydroelectric power sites, plus nature lovers not wishing to destroy the integrity of a national park generated a flood of mail that poured into Senate offices from every region of the country calling for the defeat of the Raker Bill. Most of the nation's prestigious periodicals and newspapers, chiefly endorsing the position of John Muir, Robert Underwood Johnson, and other prominent nature lovers, were united in opposition. Scientists, naturalists, mountain climbers, travelers, and others, by letters and telegrams, in newspaper and magazine articles, and in person as well, voiced their opposition. However, such was not the case in California, where the reverse was true. In California, mayors, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and business leaders were in accord in approving the Hetch Hetchy bill. Senator Perkins inserted in the Congressional Record five pages of endorsements of prominent citizens of California and editors of leading California newspapers, all urging its passage. They were joined by other distinguished citizens in supporting the bill.¹²

While most senators participating in the debate were from the West, on occasion other senators involved themselves. One was Republican Frank Brandegee of Connecticut, who suggested that a dam at Hetch Hetchy could be "a place of beauty, accessible and delightful," adding to the attractiveness of the park by providing a beautiful lake "interspersed with forest and wild scenery." The artistic

and esoteric concerns of nature lovers would not be seriously impaired, while the urgent needs of a growing metropolitan area "for the necessities of life" would be satisfied. Democrat Marcus Smith of Arizona reinforced Brandegee's views by arguing that very few of the protesters ever saw Hetch Hetchy and knew "that it was five years after San Francisco secured its rights before Hetch Hetchy was added, by Executive order, to the Yosemite National Park." While a clear lake covering the "sunburnt bottom of Hetch Hetchy...would largely add to the beauty of the surroundings," Smith said, "that question becomes insignificant in the face of man's necessities."¹³

Members on either side of the issue usually found time to refer to the report of the Advisory Board of Army Engineers. But opponents of the measure did so with greater frequency to impress upon their colleagues the fact that other satisfactory water sources were available to meet San Francisco's needs. The major portion of the 146-page report was devoted to examining these additional sources. Many of these pages were included as parts of senators' remarks. More so than any other senator, Asle J. Gronna inserted mounds of such material during the time he opposed the bill on the floor on December 5. At the conclusion of Gronna's remarks, George Norris (R., Nebraska) asked his colleague: Should San Francisco, if not allowed to dam Hetch Hetchy, be able to recover from the federal government "or from some other source" the funds already expended "in purchasing the land within that valley and the water rights that she was compelled to purchase under the orders of the officials of the United States?" Gronna agreed that "it would be only justice to do that." But the matter was never considered by those opposed to the measure, and both senators concluded that the government could not meet the city's expenses.¹⁴

William Borah (R., Idaho) raised a technical, if not a legal, argument for opposing the grant. Expressing concern about the vast acreage dispersed by the government in the past half century, Borah focused on the terms that California had insisted upon in receding Yosemite Valley, to which the state had been granted custody in 1864, back to the federal government for merging into the surrounding Yosemite National Park in March 1905. Namely, the state had specified that the park "shall

be set aside and held for all time by the United States of America for public use, resort, and recreation." Now, a few years after "one of the most remarkable scenic displays in the world" had been set aside for "all the people of the United States," Congress was preparing to do otherwise. And in doing so, it would "enable the grantee to step in and become a dictator as to the commercial destiny" of a vast region. It was this feature that halted Borah in his "investigation as to the granting of any right of way at all." The grant would not only dismember the park, it would give a "monopolistic advantage," worth from fifty to one hundred million dollars, which Congress "ought not to consider." Borah developed his argument through a painstaking analysis of the bill, concluding that the grant placed San Francisco in a position "where, as a proprietor and owner she can sell and dispose of this water and light to the other bay cities or to the people of the San Joaquin Valley." It would not be wise to grant such a monopoly "even to a municipal corporation" that would "deal and traffic with the surrounding communities in regard to the water and light."¹³

Possibly recognizing that his technical and legal argument about a monopoly grant would not gain a favorable response, Borah devoted the remainder of the afternoon and some of the evening session on December 5 to evaluating other sources of water for San Francisco, endorsing the arguments of those opposed to the grant and critiquing those favorable to it. While, with one exception, the remainder of the debate largely followed the themes already discussed, on December 6, when the Senate would have to vote on the Raker Bill and when final remarks were in order, George W. Norris, who had taken ill, introduced a premise barely touched upon in the extended debate. Norris's approach merits some attention because it exhibited for the first time a point of view that highlighted his entire senatorial career.

At the outset of his remarks, Norris launched into a discussion of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in order to challenge the arguments of the nature lovers who would preserve it in pristine state. The valley in winter was filled with snow, possibly up to forty feet. In the spring, owing to the valley's narrow outlet, the rushing flood of water could not all get out, thereby leaving the floor of the valley—normally an irregular meadowland with some timber on it, "but nothing of any value"—covered with water. When these waters finally escaped through the narrow



Nebraska Senator George Norris, ca. 1902. This portrait of George Norris (1861-1944) is thought to have been taken in Washington as his first official political portrait. He served as a judge in McCook, Nebraska, prior to winning a seat in the House of Representatives in 1899. In 1912 he was elected to the Senate. Notorious for often bucking the party line, the liberal senator opposed the U.S. entrance into World War I and later supported Al Smith for president. Among Norris's legislative contributions were creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Lame Duck Amendment, and the Rural Electrical Bill. *Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society.*

opening, the partially drained floor of the valley became a marsh. As the summer advanced, it became "a place where it is absolutely impossible for men to stay on account of the millions and millions of mosquitoes that infest it." As the marsh dried up



This 1915 view of the Hetch Hetchy Valley floor was taken early in the clearing phase, before construction of the dam began. A mowing machine, visible in the photograph, was used to cut feed for animals. Initially, politicians, visitors, and construction crews and their supplies went in on horseback, and a supply of feed at the site saved considerable hauling. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

and the mosquitoes disappeared, the heat became almost unbearable, owing to the reflection of the sun from the huge granite cliffs. With only a small opening to the valley, there was "practically no circulation of air." Later in the season, when the heat was not so intense, the atmosphere became comfortable and the valley became a truly beautiful place, but it was accessible, Norris claimed, only for a "very short time." Moreover, "practically all" of the land

to be flooded was owned in fee simple by San Francisco. The city had been compelled to buy it "to protect her water rights in this stream by the orders of the officials of the United States Government." He also noted "that there has never been in that valley a vehicle." And as far as Norris knew, "the eyes of no woman or child ever beheld it." Indeed, aside from public officials, there had not been "an average of five persons a year who have gone in there to see

it," except for one year. Federal funds, Norris admitted, could have changed virtually every condition he mentioned. Roads could have been built; to eliminate the mosquitoes the floor of the valley could have been modified so that no water could stand there. But, he concluded, no work and no amount of money could do away "with the intolerable heat

that will come from the reflection upon those giant walls."

What Norris wished to develop was a point specifically alluded to in passing by Senator Harry Lane (D., Oregon), namely, that there was something besides water in the proposal. Lane had thought that "there was a power proposition in it." For Norris there was indeed a power proposition involved, and that was one of the reasons that led him to support the bill. It would "utilize one of the sources of nature to develop power," and such utilization, he said, "will not interfere in any way with the use of water or with anyone's right on the stream."

At the insistence of independent Congressman William Kent of California, when the bill had been discussed in the House, a provision, Section 6, had been added prohibiting San Francisco "from ever selling or letting to any corporation or individual, except a municipality or a municipal water district or irrigation district" either water or electricity emanating from the dam to be constructed at Hetch Hetchy. Any "attempt to so sell, assign, transfer, or convey water or electricity in violation of this prohibition would revert the grant to the Government of the United States." If this section were not part of the bill, Norris believed, the campaign against the measure would have been considerably reduced. He developed this point by delineating the massive letter-writing effort of the Sierra Blue Lakes and Water Power Company in opposition to the grant. And he went so far as to label one of his colleagues, Reed Smoot (R., Utah), who had received over five thousand letters, as the focus of "the mighty cohorts of opposition."¹⁶ All of this opposition came, according to Norris, because power from Hetch Hetchy would come into competition "with the various water-power companies of California," and he added, "there are lots of them there."

Senator Norris said that harnessing the power available at Hetch Hetchy and putting it to public use in competition with power companies and corporations that currently enjoyed "almost a monopoly not only in San Francisco but throughout the greater portion of California" could only benefit consumers and challenge the private companies. Norris focused his attention on the Pacific Gas & Electric Company (PG&E) and its subsidiary and related companies, including the Blue Lakes company he mentioned in launching his discussion. PG&E owned "practically all of the hydro electric power



William Kent (1864-1928), a Progressive Republican and conservationist, served three terms in Congress, where he fought for social and environmental programs. Son of a prominent Marin County family, he gave substantial lands to the federal government, including the 485-acre old-growth redwood grove he wanted named for John Muir and that became Muir Woods National Monument. On the issue of developing Hetch Hetchy water, however, Kent and Muir held opposing views. *Courtesy Anne Thompson Kent California Room, Marin County Library*

of the State of California"; enactment of the Raker Bill would mean competition with a corporation that, along with its subsidiaries, covered the north central portion of California serving more than two hundred communities. Norris commented extensively on the tentacles of PG&E influence throughout the region, developing a technique he utilized later in challenging what he and others would soon call "The Power Trust."

"Power corporations and other kinds of monopolistic corporations never come out in the open when they fight a proposition," Norris argued. He suggested that "they go around behind and, perhaps, get some nature lovers who are particularly honest to fight their battles." While Norris never claimed a conspiracy on the part of PG&E, he did say that such fights were "always made under the name of somebody else and under the guise of being the fight of honest people and of honorable men." Virtually every argument he later made in support of public power and in opposition to private utility corporations, Norris utilized in his lengthy remarks. Enactment of the bill would mean "cheaper power, cheaper light, cheaper heat, cheaper transportation and an abundance of cheap water." Thus, approval would also be "the very highest possible act of conservation." To Norris, conservation obviously did not involve locking up natural resources; neither did it mean "dealing out those resources to private capital for gain." It did mean in this instance developing cheap power and selling it at cost.¹⁷

Norris's stress on Section 6 pointed to the fact that the Hetch Hetchy proposition was the first multipurpose river valley development bill extensively debated in the United States Senate. Though Miles Poindexter did challenge his remarks about the number of women who visited the valley and his view of its bleakness for all but a few months of the year, no senator challenged or debated the main thrust of Norris's argument that hydroelectric power was a central issue.¹⁸

After lengthy amendments by Clarence Clark (R., Wyoming) and Porter McCumber (R., North Dakota), along with several minor ones, were rejected, the bill was ordered to a third reading, after which Poindexter asked for the yeas and nays. The measure carried 43 to 25, with 27 members not voting.¹⁹ Thus, after six days and nights of almost continuous debate, at 12 o'clock midnight, the Senate resolved the fate of Hetch Hetchy in favor of San

Francisco. On December 19, the secretary read a message from President Wilson, who signed the bill "because it seemed to serve the pressing public needs of the region concerned better than they could be served in any other way, and yet did not impair the usefulness or materially detract from the beauty of the public domain."²⁰

Reviewing the outcome of the Senate's vote, several points can be made. First, the Democrats did not caucus to require all Democratic senators to support the bill. To be sure, most senators supporting the measure were Democrats, but Harry Lane, John W. Kern (Indiana), and Morris Sheppard (Texas) were among Democrats in opposition. Progressive Republicans were chiefly in opposition, but Norris played a key role in supporting the measure. Connecticut's old-guard senators (Brandegee and George P. McLean), along with Henry Lippitt, Republican from Rhode Island, also voted yea. And members of both parties, more Republicans than Democrats, did not bother to vote.

Further, the Senate debates validate historian Alfred Runte's premise that national parks preserved only scenery. Anything in the area of Yosemite National Park that others considered of potential material value was either not included in the park originally or, as in the case of Hetch Hetchy, was quickly extricated from the park. And Norris Hundley's thesis of urban imperialism pertaining to water in California is assuredly validated by the Senate debates.

Finally, in what could be considered a potential area for future study, Hetch Hetchy and its relation to municipal electrical power has yet to be carefully examined, though Judson King and Norris in his autobiography delineated its dimensions.²¹ The Hetch Hetchy Dam was completed in June 1923, but San Francisco had not yet provided for road and trail construction to open the area around the reservoir to the public, as called for in the Raker Act. Formal demand was made on the city by the secretary of the interior in July 1927 to fulfill these obligations, to little avail. During the New Deal, a road to the dam was completed. M.M. O'Shaughnessy, the city engineer of San Francisco after whom the dam was later formally named, died several months before water from Hetch Hetchy was turned into the city's reservoirs on October 30, 1934. It had taken twenty years to build the dam and the conduits that extended 155



From Camp Mather in Yosemite, Hetch Hetchy Valley was eight miles away, over a narrow, rocky trail—a full day's ride on horseback. Once the Raker Bill was approved, the railroad, shown above crossing the Tuolumne Rive below Jacksonville (now under Don Pedro Reservoir), was built by the city to carry men and materials to the construction site. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

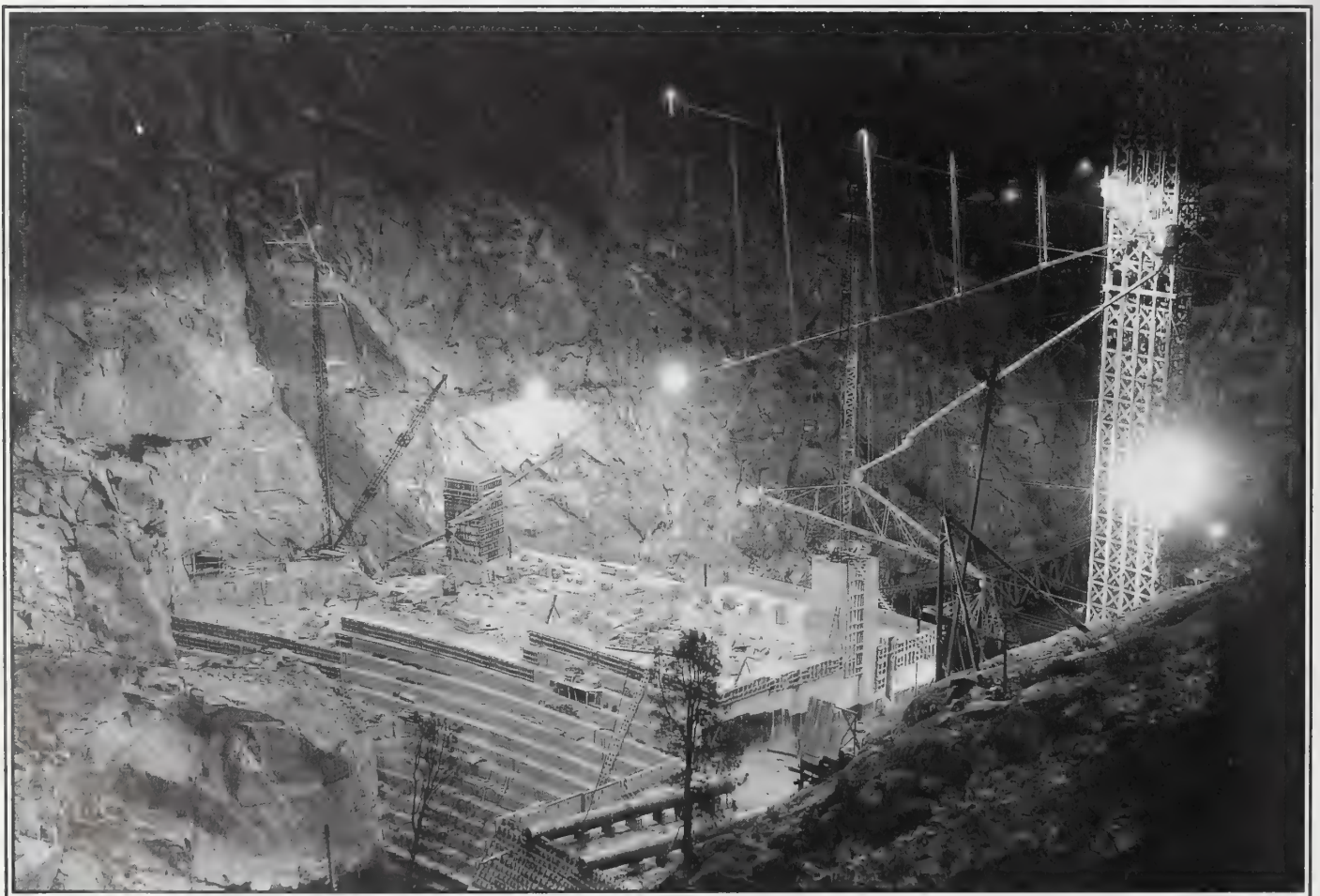
miles from the dam to the reservoirs, at a cost, according to Harold Ickes, of "pretty close to \$1 billion."²²

But the dream of William Kent, written into Section 6 of the law, calling for San Francisco to develop power from these waters to be sold directly to the people, was never fully realized, at least in the short term. Section 6 also said "the grantee is prohibited from ever selling or letting power to any (private) corporation or individual," at the risk of having the

grant revert to the federal government. But, initially, San Francisco, instead of selling the power produced under the grant directly to consumers, delivered it to PG&E under a contract for a fixed compensation. The utility, in turn, sold it to consumers in the city and throughout the San Francisco Bay area, at rates fixed by the California Public Utilities Commission. At Secretary of the Interior Ickes's instigation, an injunction was issued in 1935 com-

manding the city and county of San Francisco to cease disposing of its electrical power in this way. And in the case decided on April 22, 1940, Hugo Black, speaking for the majority of the U.S. Supreme Court (with only James Clark McReynolds in opposition), upheld the injunction. Since then, the city has sold its power only to Central Valley irrigation districts and some other public utilities, with all sales contracts approved by the Department of the Interior.²³

In addition, it can be noted that every point of view expressed in the Hetch Hetchy debate—from the preservationists' concern, to the call of irrigation farmers for more water, to the water needs of a major municipality, to the struggle against a powerful monopoly—fits into an integral aspect of the Progressive movement. The U.S. Senate debate also illustrates that the controversy was not simply over preservationism versus conservationism, as earlier writers have emphasized, but also hinged on the vig-



Night construction at Hetch Hetchy, June 1922. Work on the dam and reservoir went on around the clock, partly because of the scope of the project, but also to allow the workers a respite from the heat in summer. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

At the dedication ceremony celebrating the completion of Hetch Hetchy Dam in 1923, San Franciscans Michael M. O'Shaughnessy (left) and Mayor James Rolph, Jr., were photographed beside the plaque honoring the city engineer. A few years later, Phase II construction raised the level of the dam to increase its holding capacity. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

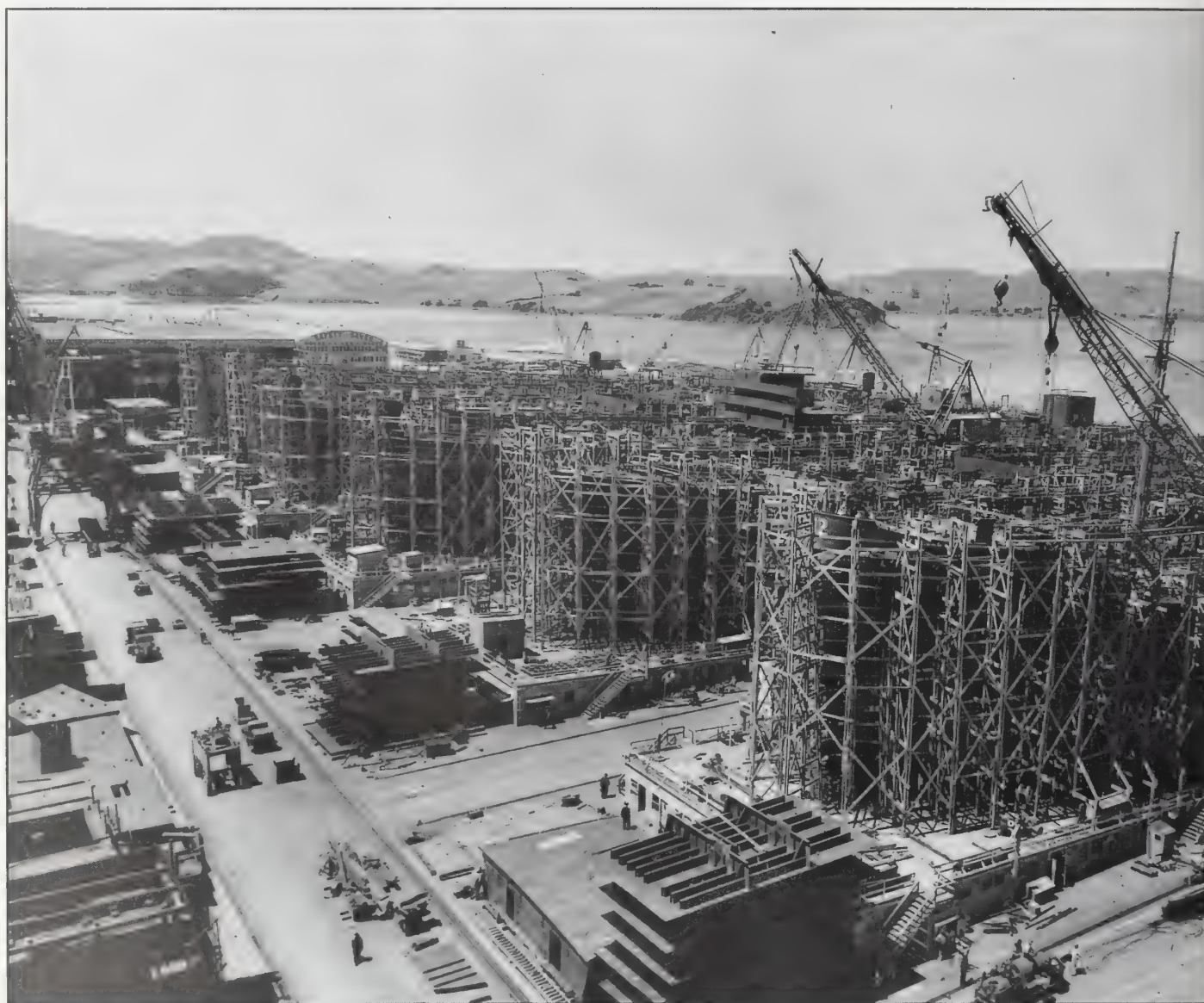


orous disagreements between advocates of private and public electrical power. When the Hetch Hetchy bill finally passed Congress, the victory was not so much one of utilitarian conservationism over wilderness preservation as it was one of public over private electrical power. The tragedy is that no party to the power controversy, with the exception of PG&E (momentarily), gained a great deal. The first significant law providing for multiple uses of nationally owned water resources yielded results that could not have fully satisfied any of the participants in the December 1913 debate, at the outset of the second session of the 63rd Congress.



See notes beginning on page 220.

Adjunct professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, Richard Lowitt received the doctoral degree from Columbia University. His research on the twentieth-century American West has led to several publications, including Bronson M. Cutting: Progressive Politician (1992) and the new Politics in the Postwar American West (1995), which he edited for the University of Oklahoma Press.



When the United States entered World War II, the impact on California's economy was phenomenal. The San Francisco Bay region, rapidly transformed by the wartime shipbuilding industry, employed tens of thousands of newcomers who settled permanently in the area. This aerial view of Marinship, Bechtel's production site in Sausalito, suggests the scale of the defense effort, in which hundreds of oceangoing craft were assembled in record-breaking time. *Courtesy Bechtel Corporation.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II.

By Marilyn S. Johnson. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, viii, 302 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Paradise Transformed: Los Angeles During the Second World War.

By Arthur C. Verge. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1993, viii, 177 pp., \$24.00, paper.)

Reviewed by Gerald D. Nash, Distinguished Professor of History at the University of New Mexico and author of The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War, A.P. Giannini and the Bank of America, and other books.

As Californians contemplate the closing years of the twentieth century, they are bound to become more conscious of the many gaps in the state's history during the last one hundred years. What seemed like recent or yesterday's events are rapidly becoming part of a more distant historical record. Moreover, it could be argued that in the past century California witnessed more multitudinous changes than in any other earlier era. The two volumes under review analyze one of the major watersheds in the state's development by focusing on the influence of World War II. They complement each other nicely, as Marilyn S. Johnson concentrates on wartime changes in the San Francisco Bay area while Arthur C. Verge concentrates on Los Angeles.

Johnson has written a substantial volume emphasizing social changes in the East Bay during the Second World War. Her account opens with a deft sketch of the area before it was inundated by a population boom no less significant than the Gold Rush of 1849. Although her emphasis is on Oakland and the cities of the East Bay, she illuminates the history of the entire San Francisco Bay area. Its shipyards were a major magnet for the hundreds of thousands of people who streamed there from all over the United States, but especially from the South. Most of the migrants had been among the unemployed during the Great Depression and were eager to take advantage of the plethora of job opportunities on the West Coast. They included not only Okies and Arkies, but poor whites from the Middle West and the South, and the first large-scale influx of African Americans from the South. Johnson analyzes their experiences in the shipyards and the rapid growth of wartime ghettos, particularly in Oakland and Richmond. Within a short time, ethnic, class, and racial divisions manifested themselves in housing patterns that shaped the urban development of the area for more than a generation. Indeed, the wartime migrations did much to change the social fabric of the Bay Area and to alter perceptions of urban space. If in later years the cultural life of the East Bay

came to reflect a distinct southern tinge, Johnson argues, this was due largely to the World War II migrations. These population movements also redefined the politics of the Bay Area. Conflicts between older residents and the newcomers, and conflicts over housing, civil rights, and employment came to be prominent issues. This fine book is meticulously researched, as Johnson combed archival and manuscript collections, newspapers, government documents, and oral interviews.

Verge has produced a lively, interesting narrative of life in Los Angeles during World War II. The book fills a glaring void in the current literature on the subject. In painting with a broad brush the author surveys the economic scene, the problems of minorities, the growth of new industries, and new urban problems stemming from rapid population growth. Nor is cultural life ignored. The volume is well documented, has apt photographs, and contains a helpful bibliography.

Both of these studies make a genuine contribution to a fuller understanding of the influence of World War II on California's two major population centers. Perhaps they will also stimulate someone to write about the experience of San Diego during the conflict. Whether the war itself produced major changes, or merely served as an accelerator of long-term changes already under way, is largely an academic issue over which scholars may differ. What is less arguable, as these studies clearly indicate, is that California cities in 1945 were very different from what they had been in 1940. Both of these authors illuminate this transition for a wide range of readers who can follow them with pleasure and profit.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not chosen for review, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the library of the California Historical Society.

Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910.

By William Deverell. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, xiii, 278 pp., \$30.00 cloth.)

The Passenger Train in the Motor Age: California's Rail and Bus Industries, 1910-1941.

By Gregory Lee Thompson. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993, xvii, 247 pp., \$42.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Ward M. McAfee, professor of history at California State University, San Bernardino, and author of California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911.

These two books span almost a century of transportation development in California. Deverell's book takes the story up to the election of Hiram Johnson. He portrays the California Progressives' adoption of the anti-railroad rhetoric that ripened during the Pullman Strike of the 1890s. Deverell's heroes are socialist thinkers, such as Henry George, and labor leaders, such as Eugene V. Debs. He portrays the California Progressives as siphoning off the anti-railroad energy of the "terrifying threat of class upheaval" and concludes that they "effectively stole the political thunder—the rhetoric if not the substance—of the left" (pp. 157, 170).

Thompson picks up the story where Deverell leaves off. He agrees with Deverell that the California Progressives were not interested in pursuing a socialist agenda. Yet he goes beyond Deverell's portrayal of Progressivism as a mechanism, intended or otherwise, to thwart a mounting class struggle. Thompson describes the Progressives as the harbingers of diverse business interests that wanted "plentiful and cheap transportation" by any means necessary—government regulation, government subsidy, or private entrepreneurial development (p. 6). Thompson's thesis is that the railroad companies' leaders were of an old order, used to old accounting procedures and business thinking that was fast becoming obsolete. While railroad managers of both the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe recognized the hostility of most other business interests in California toward railroad dominance, they failed to placate this hostility in creative ways that would have enabled railroads to retain a share of the state's passenger service. Well before the coming of airline competition, California's railroad magnates had squandered the opportunities open to them. They whined about governmental subsidies to rival forms of passenger transportation and failed to explore creative arrangements with government to improve the rail infrastructure that could have aided their cause. Thompson's heroes are W.E. "Buck" Travis and Fred Ackerman, whose creative entrepreneurial abilities built an inter-city bus industry in California, rivaled nowhere else. He claims that railroad management demonstrated no comparable business acumen.

Both authors share a degree of contempt for California's railroad leaders in their respective periods. Deverell casts them as "perversions of the rags-to-riches tale: too greedy, too power-

ful, and too wealthy" (p. 37). Thompson's disgust is different, but no less damning. In the period he covers, the inheritors of the Big Four's empire were ignorant of the basic economic principles governing their business enterprise and "had at best only vague ideas about the profitability consequences of their actions" (p. 2). Thompson disagrees with both those who would blame government regulation or imagined inter-corporate conspiracies for the demise of passenger rail service. In his well-reasoned study, the fault rests with the failure of railroad corporate leadership "to understand how passenger costs behaved" (p. 7).

Both books are well-written and exhibit careful, detailed scholarship. In Deverell's book, the author's skills as an historian are most amply revealed in his handling of the grass-roots elements at play in episodes such as the Los Angeles "Free Harbor Fight" and the machinations of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. In Thompson's work, the same virtue is most clearly seen in his careful analysis of the cost-accounting procedures of both bus and rail passenger service in California between 1910 and 1941. Those wishing an enjoyable education concerning California's transportation development should look into both books. CHS

Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier.

By Arrell Morgan Gibson. Completed with the assistance of John S. Whitehead. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993, xii, 495 pp., \$37.50 cloth, \$17.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Judson A. Grenier, professor of history at CSU, Dominguez Hills, and author of California Legacy.

This posthumous publication is a major contribution to the history of the American West: it reinterprets the nation's westward expansion by including the maritime frontier of the Pacific Basin and comparing it with the continental experience. Gibson, a renowned scholar of western history, completed fifteen of its seventeen chapters prior to his death in 1987, and the manuscript was edited and finished by John Whitehead of the University of Alaska.

The author sees the entire Pacific as the final American frontier; thus the western states lie on its eastern perimeter. California is but a stepping stone to Hawai'i, China, and the South Seas. Californians join the Australian Gold Rush, as well as the reverse. Missionary efforts in Oregon continue in Hawai'i and China. Boston merchantmen and whalers not only stop in California but journey on throughout the Pacific.

Gibson clearly is a devotee of the Turnerian frontier thesis; to



With the U.S.S. *Connecticut* in the lead, the sixteen ships of the "Great White Fleet" enter the Golden Gate, May 6, 1908. Photographed during this first stage of a worldwide voyage, the literally white fleet of battleships, the inspiration of President Theodore Roosevelt, was dispatched around the world to foster pride and patriotism at home and to impress potential aggressors in the rest of the world. *Courtesy U.S. Naval Historical Center.*

the traditional list of stages, he adds the military, trader, missionary, and native peoples frontiers. He relates how, from 1789 to 1900, the United States achieved a position of prominence from Alaska to the Philippines, with cultural hegemony following on the wings of trade.

The highly readable narrative traces the voyages of Boston furmen who refurbish in Hawai'i prior to cruising the Pacific Coast to collect otter pelts for the Canton market. We meet Yankee "scavengers" gathering redwood and salmon in the Northwest, grain in California, salt from Christmas Island, sandalwood from Fiji, mahogany from the Philippines and New Zealand, guano from the equatorial islands, spices from the Indies. Our vocabulary is enriched by terms of the trade: "taboo," "bêche-de-mer," "blackbirding," "paniolo." A chapter is devoted to marketers of manufactured goods, much of which they obtained from Mediterranean ports before sailing for India and Macao. Gibson argues that the Anglo-French wars from 1790 to 1815, by diverting those rivals, helped propel the United States to the maritime pre-eminence it maintained until the Civil War. Also a factor was ready application of improvements in marine technology, especially the clipper ship.

Throughout his narrative, the author links the ocean frontiers to those of the American continent: because of the absence of law-and-order forces, the maritime frontiersmen largely did as they pleased, much like the mountain men. "And just as Americans 'ransacked' the rich continental environment in the most reckless abandoned fashion, so did the Yankee maritime pioneers...plunder with a seeming vengeance the South Seas' enormous human and material bounty."

The U.S. Navy played much the same role as did the Army on land in guarding and aiding the expanding national interest, by exploring, mapping, suppressing piracy or hostile

natives, using force to buttress economic penetration or to threaten European rivals. Gibson provides linkages between the major and minor wars, near wars, and military missions throughout the basin in the nineteenth century.

California history is neatly painted into the canvas, from the hide-and-tallow trade immortalized by Dana to the hedonistic cultural frontier in 1900 San Francisco. The cast runs from Cabrillo to Charlie Chaplin, LaPérouse to Jack London.

This book is a recent addition to the continuing *Histories of the American Frontier* Series founded by Ray Billington in 1957. In a useful foreword, editors Howard Lamar, Martin Ridge, and David Weber provide a context for its publication. They point out that considerable research in the time since Gibson's death has changed the face of western history; the new insights are reflected only in the Whitehead chapters. In addition to his editorial contributions, Whitehead selected the illustrative material, including five maps and fifty-eight drawings and photographs.

Some of the ideas contained in *Yankees* were presented in an earlier Gibson textbook, *The West in the Life of the Nation* (1976), which, for the first time, considered Hawai'i and Alaska to be part of the American West. Paragraphs from that work appear as well in this one. Apart from that, my reservations are these: (1) because its organization is topical (stages of the frontier), much of the evidence is repetitious; (2) so much material is included that causal relationships are sketchily presented; (3) the author depends almost solely on published sources; (4) the author clearly sympathizes with the expansionists who "worked at overcoming the timidity of the fainthearted, bracing the hesitant and uncommitted." However, these are minor matters; this important reinterpretation clearly is deserving of inclusion in a prestigious series on the American frontier.

Flooding the Courtrooms: Law and Water in the Far West.

By M. Catherine Miller. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993, x, 256 pp., \$45.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by George Basye, attorney specializing in the field of water and flood control, and past president of the California Historical Society.

The name Miller & Lux conjures up an image of nineteenth-century cattle barons controlling vast acreages of the California Central Valley. Indeed, it was believed by some that these two pioneer cattlemen could ride from Bakersfield to the Oregon border on land either owned or leased by them. Certainly they had an important impact on the economy of the Central Valley in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

What is not so widely known, but carefully and thoroughly documented in the book *Flooding the Courtrooms*, is the impact of this partnership on the development of the water law of California. As Mark Twain may have said, "water is for fightin' over," and this book documents many of the early and important fights over California water. Since access to water is a crucial element in the California economy, this impact of the Miller & Lux partnership has been of greater importance than generally realized. The author, now a professor of history in Texas, provides a valuable tool in understanding this contribution to California law.

Lawyers familiar with California water law will recall that the State Supreme Court decision in *Lux v. Haggin* was a "watershed." Charles Lux, of course, was a partner in the Miller & Lux enterprise. Until that decision, it was not certain that California would adopt the English common law principle of the riparian right, which recognizes the inherent right of the landowners adjacent to the stream to make use of the water from that stream. Holding extensive lands adjacent to the San Joaquin River, Miller & Lux were anxious to establish not only the existence of the riparian rights in favor of the adjacent landowner, but also the priority of that right over those diverters who, like the early miners, simply "appropriated" water for use on non-adjacent property. Miller & Lux prevailed, and the riparian right was accepted as an inherent part of California law, and given the highest priority.

Professor Miller's book details not only the decision in *Lux v. Haggin* and the circumstances that gave rise to it, but many other instances of litigation over water rights and uses, initiated or defended by Miller & Lux. In several of these other cases, Miller & Lux attempted to defend their appropriative (that is, non-riparian) right to use water, over the objection of downstream riparian owners. The water rights claimed by the partnership were complicated and not always consistent. These other lawsuits are less well known than *Lux v. Haggin*, and the participation of Miller & Lux less apparent, but all have added

to the development of this crucial element of California law—the law of water rights. The book also details the early attempts to organize the distribution of water in the Central Valley, another activity in which the Miller & Lux firm was deeply involved in order to protect its extensive land holdings.

Professor Miller studied at U.C. Santa Barbara, and presumably had the benefit of training from Professor Robert Kelley, a giant in the study and reporting of California history, whose recent death leaves a great void. Certainly this book indicates that a very well-schooled and careful scholar has produced a valuable work based upon patient analysis of the extensive records of the Miller & Lux firm. Anyone wishing a better understanding of the issues that gave rise to the development of California water law would do well to obtain a copy of this book from the University of Nebraska Press.

CHS

The Lost Frontier: Water Diversion in the Growth and Destruction of Owens Valley Agriculture.

By Robert A. Sauder. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994, xv, 209 pp., \$40.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Abraham Hoffman, instructor in history at Los Angeles Valley College and author of Vision or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy, which was awarded the Historical Society of Southern California's Donald H. Pflueger Local History Award in 1993.

Over the past dozen years the Owens Valley-Los Angeles water controversy has been the subject of several scholarly studies, each building on the previous effort, to place this important episode in California history in historical perspective. Robert A. Sauder's *The Last Frontier* is the latest contribution to this literature. Sauder, a geographer, employs the geographer's skills to bring a fresh view to an old controversy. In fact, the dispute with Los Angeles occupies only a part of his study. His main concern is to present the Owens Valley story as historical geography, a case study for rural regions of the West that have become targets of opportunity from growing cities with ever-increasing water needs.

Sauder effectively demonstrates that the Owens Valley had a history of its own prior to and apart from its takeover by Los Angeles. From the 1850s to the end of the century, the valley underwent periods of prosperity and decline. Its agricultural success hinged on the development of water resources for irrigation and access to outside markets. The lack of outside markets remained a major problem for Owens Valley settlement until arrival of the Carson and Colorado Railroad, and even the

The Los Angeles Aqueduct, ca. 1950. Since 1913, this pipeline has delivered water from the Owens River, on the eastern slope of the Sierra, down the Owens Valley and across the Mojave Desert to the naturally-arid Los Angeles metropolitan area. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Collection, University of Southern California.*



railroad only partially provided a solution for the region's economic needs.

Several factors coincided, in retrospect rather ironically, to assure both the region's potential success and actual defeat in its bid for economic independence. Gold strikes in western Nevada gave promise of developing markets for valley agricultural production. The fledgling U.S. Reclamation Service ran preliminary surveys for expanding irrigated farmland. Then the Owens Valley was overwhelmed by the power politics of Los Angeles in the city's quest for a reliable water source that would guarantee its growth. That guarantee, of course, also spelled decline for the valley's economy, especially after the "water wars" of the 1920s. Sauder is much more pessimistic about the fate of rural regions such as the Owens Valley than John Walton in his *Western Times and Water Wars*. But he does hope that water reallocations, carefully scrutinized to ensure equity for both rural areas and growing cities, will result in no more Owens Valley debacles.

Sauder bases his research on major published studies, as well as careful use of Owens Valley newspapers. The text is enhanced with numerous maps, tables, and illustrations. Studies such as Sauder's help call our attention to the need for a fundamental

rethinking of the dubious virtues of chaotic urban growth and its far-reaching consequences. His book is more than a case study of an episode that occurred almost a century ago; current needs of cities demonstrate that these are concerns for today as well.

John Muir: Life and Work.

Edited by Sally M. Miller. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993, xi, 324 pp.)

Reviewed by Roderick Frazier Nash, professor of history and environmental studies, University of California, Santa Barbara.

This collection of thirteen essays is another indication of the enduring interest, both scholarly and popular, in John Muir. Over seventy books and articles about America's greatest wilderness popularizer have appeared since 1979, including major interpretive biographies by Stephen Fox (*John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*, 1981), Michael



John Muir (front) and C. Hart Merriam, mid-1914, at Muir's home in Alhambra Valley, Martinez, California. Editorial office collection.

Cohen (*The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness*, 1984), and Frederick Turner (*Rediscovering America: John Muir in His Time and Ours*, 1985). The present book had its origin in a 1990 conference at the University of the Pacific staged by the John Muir Center.

As is common with such scholarly smorgasbords, reviews are made difficult by the considerable variation in subject matter. However, there are thematic groupings. One concerns Muir's religious ideas. His rebellion from his father's tyrannical Christian fundamentalism is well documented, but Dennis Williams points out that in many respects Muir accepted the core of Christian orthodoxy. Despite his love for nature, it was never a god to Muir. He was not a pantheist. Rather, he accepted the idea of a single deity whose presence permeated and connected all parts of the natural world. It is possible to think of this as theological ecology: nature was interrelated not by food chains and energy flows but by God's love. This kind of thinking prepared Americans for the message of the scientific ecologists of the early twentieth century. Although very different in approach, John Muir and Aldo Leopold converged on the same conclusion.

One of the most interesting sections of *John Muir: Life and Work*

concerns Muir's relation to wilderness and, beyond that, to radical environmentalism and the so-called "deep," or non-utilitarian, motivation for ecological protection. James D. Heffernan tells us that although Muir did not use terms like "ecology" and "environmental ethics," he clearly understood their basic tenets, namely, that all parts of nature had purpose and intrinsic value. Muir believed in the rights of nature, at least to exist, but he was not opposed to using, indeed killing, parts of the natural world. The key was to restrict this impact to "harmonious proportions and quantities" (as quoted from Muir, p. 112). Muir was not, in other words, an animal rightist. Decades before ecology became familiar in Western thought, he realized the paramount importance of protecting the *systems* that produce individual lives. This is why wilderness—the healthy, pure, undisturbed matrix of life—was important. Ultimately, Muir valued wild places like national parks not as objects for human delight, but as gestures of respect for the non-human world and for its Creator. But, as Don Weiss's contribution points out, Muir was pragmatic enough to use anthropocentrism (aesthetic, spiritual, and psychological values) in framing his political defenses of wilderness.

CHS

The Hunt for Willie Boy: Indian Hating and Popular Culture.

By James A. Sandos and Larry E. Burgess. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994. 170 pp., 9 illus., 1 map, appendix, notes, bibliography, index, \$21.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Peter Iverson, professor of history, Arizona State University and author of When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West.

The blurb on the video box blares: "'Tell Them Willie Boy is Here,' a modern classic, is based on the true story of a Paiute Indian...." You may remember the film, the other movie Robert Redford and Katharine Ross made in 1969. It is, of course, hardly a classic. Ross is as convincing as an Indian as John Travolta was as a cowboy; Redford (once described in *The BFI Companion to the Western* as a "handsome if limited leading man who has made a number of successful genre films, usually teamed with a stronger actor") fares not much better as the sheriff. As James Sandos and Larry Burgess demonstrate in their engaging new book, the sentence on the video box is wrong on three other counts. It's Paiute, not "Pauite." Willie Boy was Chemehuevi as well as Paiute. And the story is not true.

The film took most of its cues from Henry Lawton's *Willie Boy: A Desert Manhunt*, a "non-fiction novel" of 1960, which when accompanied by the obligatory Indian flute music became transformed into a Hollywood lament for what had happened to "the oldest American minority." Even worse, near Twenty-nine Palms, the town of Landers capitalized on interest in the book and the film in an attempt to establish an annual Willie Boy Days and Festival. Thus, Sandos and Burgess observe, "myth as caricature has reached its apotheosis" (p. 52).

The authors are both professional historians who reside in Redlands. Over time, they had become interested in this story of love, murder, flight, chase, and death. And they came to realize that the novel and the film proved wrong on a number of important counts. So they sought both to explain what the established version reflected and what the actual story revealed.

Readers of Herman Melville and Richard Drinnon will recognize the employment of "Indian-hating" as a theme in this investigation. Drinnon had read an earlier, shorter version of this manuscript and his correspondence with the authors, together with his own published work, has influenced the shape of *The Hunt for Willie Boy*. Although the Drinnon lens may not be the most refined filter through which to view the dynamics of Indian-white relations, there can be little doubt about the general attitudes of most non-Indians of this era. As Sandos and Burgess reveal convincingly, those attitudes shaped both the contours of and the meanings to be drawn from the story.

This book began as an article. The authors chose to expand it into a brief book. I am not absolutely persuaded about that decision. Although one should not criticize any writer or writers for such a choice, perhaps one may suggest that a longer study might have been helpful. I suspect that many readers drawn to this investigation will need more information about the nature of non-Indian occupation of the region, more knowledge about Chemehuevi culture (including a more thorough exploration of gender), and, for that matter, more of a review of federal Indian policy. However, the authors chose to create more of an intellectual musing, a cultural mystery. That decision carried with it the inherent strengths and weaknesses that this book mirrors. In any event, regardless of its form, the heart of *The Hunt for Willie Boy* demands our attention. I don't intend to give away the ending. Perhaps you've seen the film. Now read this book.



The editor has received the following communication from Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., regarding his article in the Summer 1994 issue of *California History*:

As a result of the publication of my article on Edward Gould Buffum in the Summer [1994] issue of California History, a descendant of Buffum wrote to Michael McCone, the CHS Executive Director, who kindly shared the correspondence with me. In a letter dated October 27, 1994, Mrs. Guy M. Helmke, a Sacramento resident, enclosed a xerox from a genealogy published by the Buffum Family Association, The Buffum Family, a work unknown to me at the time of my research on Buffum. As a result, the genealogy provides the following data on Edward Gould Arnold Buffum. He was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, April 7, 1823. The entry goes on to read: "He was educated in Infant Schools taught by his sisters in Friend's Boarding School...." At age nineteen, he was employed by the New York Herald (p. 236).

This new data makes one correction to my article, namely the correct place of Buffum's birth. No wonder I could not find him, since I was searching Rhode Island! New data is the exact date of his birth and his youthful education. However, the genealogical entry also states he married Eliza Wilkinson, but no date is given. So this puzzle remains to be solved, since extant sources state he was a bachelor at his death.

One of the marvels of history is that new data and sources help refine and correct the record. Such is the case with my article on Buffum. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Professor Emeritus of History, University of Southern California.

* * *

The editor also wishes to report a communication from Peter E. Palmquist, the photographer and photo historian who lives in Arcata, California, regarding the Winter 1994/95 issue of *California History*. The Carleton E. Watkins photographs of the New Almaden mine (see "New Almaden and California Quicksilver in the Pacific Rim Economy," by David J. St. Clair) were taken in 1863, and not circa 1880 as the captions mistakenly said. The mistake was entirely the editor's, and not Professor St. Clair's. Those interested in the dating of Watkins's photographs would be wise always to seek guidance from Palmquist's definitive studies, *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: Published for the Amon Carter Museum by the University of New Mexico Press, 1983), and *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographs, 1861-1874* (San Francisco: Fraenkel Gallery in Association with Bedford Arts, 1989).

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

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Imaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. \$40.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-07597-8; \$15.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-07597-8. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Jeeter, Judy A., comp. *Veterans Who Applied for Land in Southern California, 1851-1911*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1993. Inquiries to: Gateway Press; 1001 N. Calvert St.; Baltimore, MD 21202.

Drummond, G.B., ed. *Recollections: Early Life in the San Ramon Valley as Related by Prof. James Dale Smith, Headmaster, Livermore College*. Oakland: GRT Book Printing, 1995. \$10.95 (paper) plus \$1.30 book rate mailing; Calif. residents add 8.25% sales tax. Order from: Livermore Heritage Guild; Post Office Box 961; Livermore, CA 94551-0961.

Le Espiritu, Yen. *Filipino American Lives*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995. \$44.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-56639-316-7; \$18.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-56639-317-5. Order from: Temple University Press; 1601 N. Broad St., University Services Bldg., Rm. 305; Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Fradkin, Philip. *The Seven States of California: A Natural and Human History*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995. \$30.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8050-1947-2. Order from: Henry Holt and Company; 115 West 18th Street; New York, NY 10011.

Fredricks, Darold E. *Millbrae: A Place in the Sun*. San Mateo: Bofors, 1991. \$20.00 (paper). Order from: San Bruno History Association; Post Office Box 733; San Bruno, CA 94066.

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Fredricks, Darold E. *San Bruno: People and Places*. San Mateo: Bofors, 1989. \$20.00 (paper). Order from: San Bruno History Association; Post Office Box 733; San Bruno, CA 94066.

Keating, Ann Durkin. *Invisible Networks: Exploring the History of Local Utilities and Public Works*. Melbourne, Fla.: Krieger Publishing Company, 1994. \$24.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89464-871-3. Order from: Krieger Publishing Company; Post Office Box 9542; Melbourne, FL 32902-9542.

Lewis, Donovan. *Pioneers of California: True Stories of Early Settlers in the Golden State*. San Francisco: Scotwall Associates, 1993. \$26.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-942087-06-2. Order from: Scotwall Associates, Publishers; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Lord, Israel Shipman Pelton. *"At the Extremity of Civilization": A Meticulously Descriptive Diary of an Illinois Physician's Journey in 1849 Along the Oregon Trail to the Goldmines and Cholera of California, Thence in Two Years to Return by Boat Via Panama*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1994. Edited by Necia Dixon Liles; foreword by J.S. Holliday. \$45.00 (cloth), shipping and handling, \$2.00. ISBN 0-7864-0000-5. Order from: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers; Post Office Box 611; Jefferson, NC 28640.

Malécot, André. *Eye on the Western Stars*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1995. A fictional work about California's Luiseño Indians. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-56474-113-3. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93012.

Pan, Erica Y. *The Impact of the 1906 Earthquake on San Francisco's Chinatown*. Baltimore: Peter Lang Publications, 1995. Inquiries to: Peter Lang Publications; 516 N. Charles St.; Suite 210; Baltimore, MD 21202.

Reynolds, Annie, and Albert Gordon. *Stage to Yosemite: Recollections of Wawona's Albert Gordon*. El Portal, Calif.: A.L. Reynolds, 1994. \$19.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9639148-0-4. Order from: Ann L. Reynolds; Post Office Box 340; El Portal, CA 95318.

Rosenus, Alan. *General M.G. Vallejo and the Advent of the Americans: A Biography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. \$42.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8203-1586-0. Order from: University of New Mexico, Native American Studies; 1812 Las Tomas NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131.

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The St. Francis Dam Disaster Revisited. Rodgers, J. David., "A Man, A Dam and a Disaster," Catherine Mulholland, "William Mulholland and the St. Francis Dam," Charles N. Johnson, "Following the Flood: A Photographic Study of the St. Francis Dam Disaster," and Abraham Hoffman, "Charles Outland, Local Historian." Los Angeles and Ventura: A cooperative publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and the Ventura County Museum of History & Art, 1995. \$15.00 (paper), \$3.00 tax and postage. Order from: Historical Society of Southern California; 200 East Avenue 43; Los Angeles, CA 90031, or Ventura County Museum of History & Art; 100 East Main Street; Ventura, CA 93001.

Schander, Mary Lea. *Songs in the Air: Music of Early California*. Pasadena: Hammers and Picks Publications, 1994. Includes text on the history of songs in California. \$19.00 (cloth); \$13.95 (paper), \$1.50 shipping and handling per copy. Order from: M.L. Schander; Post Office Box 50151; Pasadena, CA 91115.

Shepherd, Sandra Brubaker. *California Heartland: A Pictorial History and Tour Guide of Eight Northern California Counties: Yuba, Sutter, Glenn, Colusa, Butte, Nevada, Sierra, Plumas*. San Francisco: Scotwall Associates, 1993. \$27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-94207-07-0. Order from: Scotwall Associates, Publishers; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Signor, John R. *Southern Pacific's Coast Line*. Wilton, Calif.: Signature Press, 1995. \$60.00 (cloth). Order from: Signature Press; 11508 Green Road; Wilton, CA 95693.

Teiser, Ruth, and Carole Hicke. *California Wine Pioneers: Profiles of the State's Wine Industry Leaders*. New York: M. Shaken Communications, Inc., 1994. FREE, plus \$1.00 shipping. Order from: Regional Oral History Office, 486; The Bancroft Library No. 6000; University of California Berkeley, CA 94720-6000.

Thorpe, James. *Henry Edwards Huntington: A Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. \$35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-08254-0. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

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South Park, Gordon was also a pioneer industrialist in lumber, wharf building, iron foundry, and sugar refinery. Known for his exemplary ethical standards and great interest in improving his community, Gordon was one of the foremost businessmen of his day. The downfall of his family after his death added a tragic footnote to an otherwise impressive chapter in California's history. Hardcover, 272 pp, \$27.50 (CHS members \$23.40).

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Carter, "Mortality on the Overland Trail,"
pp. 146-161.

1. The quote in its entirety is as follows: "Sometimes when I hear the winds sigh, I think it is the meaning of the luckless pioneers who met death on the Oregon Trail in the long ago." J.G. Ellenbecker, "Graves Along the Oregon Trail," *Pony Express Courier* (November 1936), 9.
2. Thomas D. Clark, ed., *Gold Rush Diary: Being the Diary of E.D. Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1983), 61.
3. John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 408.
4. Ibid.
5. Patrick E. McLearn, "The St. Louis Cholera Epidemic of 1849," *Missouri Historical Review* 63 (January 1969): 174.
6. Unruh, *Plains*, 409. See also Raymond W. Settle, ed., "The Journal of Major Osborne Cross," in *The March of the Mounted Rifleman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 44.
7. Ramon Powers and Gene Younger, "Cholera on the Overland Trail, 1830-1869," *Kansas Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1973): 37.
8. Unruh, *Plains*, 409.
9. Settle, ed., "Journal of Major O. Cross," in *Mounted Rifleman*, 34.
10. Abigail Jane Scott, "Journal of a Trip to Oregon," in Kenneth L. Holmes, ed., *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*, vol. 5, (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983), 62. Subsequently cited as C.W.W.
11. Francis Sawyer, "Kentucky to California by Carriage and a Feather Bed," in *ibid.*, vol. 5, 93.

12. Terry Brown, "An Emigrant's Guide for Women," *American West* (September 1970), 15.
13. Georgia Willis Read, "Disease, Drugs, and Doctors on the Oregon-California Trail in the Gold-Rush Years," *Missouri Historical Review* 38 (July 1944): 264.
14. Powers and Younger, "Cholera," 44.
15. Ibid., 32.
16. Ibid., 44.
17. Ibid., 45.
18. Charles Ross Parke, M.D., *Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1850*. Edited by James E. Davis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 17.
19. Dr. Israel S.P. Lord, *Journal*, (incomplete) with mounted excerpts from the Elgin, Ill., *Western Christian*, quoted in Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline Via Fort Kearney to Fort Laramie* (vol. 25 of Nebraska State Historical Society Publications, [Lincoln], 1969), 86.
20. The cholera organism was not discovered until 1883 by Robert Koch. However, Dr. John Snow, an American Army surgeon, had discovered how to prevent its cause through proper sanitation and its spreading through contaminated water.
21. Peter D. Olch, "Treading on the Elephant's Tail: Medical Problems on the Overland Trail," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 59 (Summer 1985): 201.
22. Scott, "Journal," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 5, 71-72.
23. Martha S. Read, "A History of our Journey," in *ibid.*, 212-46, *passim*.
24. Mary McDougall Gordon, ed., *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 89.
25. Scott, "Journal of a Trip to Oregon," in

- Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 5, 59.
26. Mattes, *Platte*, 85.
27. Unruh, *Plains*, 409.
28. Ibid.
29. Mariett Foster Cummings, "A Trip Across the Continent," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 4, 161-62.
30. Scott, "Journal," in *ibid.*, vol. 5, 96. See also, Thomas D. Clark, ed., *Off At Sunrise: The Overland Journal of Charles Glass Gray* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1976), 87-88.
31. Clark, ed., *Journal C.G. Gray*, 87.
32. G.W. Read, "Diseases," 270.
33. Kathryn Troxel, "Food of the Overland Emigrants," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 51 (March 1937): 13-15. See also, "Letters of S.H. Taylor," 141; also Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler: A Handbook for Overland Expeditions* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House Publishers, 1968), 33.
34. G.W. Read, "Diseases," 271. See also, David Morris Potter, ed., *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 91.
35. Ibid., 269.
36. Clark, ed., *Diary of E.D. Perkins*, 82. See also 59, 70, 96, and 173, and Helen Carpenter, "A Trip Across the Plains in an Ox-Cart, 1857," in Sandra L. Myres, ed., *Ho For California: Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1980), 112.
37. Ibid., 28, 37, 59, and 90. See also, Carpenter, "Trip," in Myres, ed., *Overland Diaries*, 103, 111, 112, and 121. Almost every diarist refers to the severity of dust and insect annoyances along the trail.
38. Amelia Stewart Knight, "Iowa to the Columbia River," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 6, 55.
39. Parke, *Dreams*, 64.

40. Lillian Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), 153.
41. Patty Sessions, "A Pioneer Mormon Diary," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 1, 185-86.
42. H.S. Lyman, ed., "Reminiscences of James Jory," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 3 (June 1902): 277-78, subsequently cited as O.H.Q.
43. Amelia Stewart Knight, "Diary, 1853," in Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries*, passim.
44. John Minto, "Reminiscences of Honorable John Minto, Pioneer of 1844," O.H.Q. 2 (June 1902), 135.
45. William T. Newby, "Diary of the Emigration of 1843," O.H.Q. 40 (September 1939): 229.
46. "Diary of Nicholas Carriger," in Dale L. Morgan, ed., *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail*, vol. 1 (Georgetown, California: Talisman Press, 1963), 158. See also, Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries*, 183, 223, and Patricia Meyer, ed., *Honore'-Timothee Lemfrit, O.M.I: His Oregon Trail Journal and Letters from the Pacific Northwest, 1848-1853*, translated by Patricia Meyer and Catou Levesque (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press), 120.
47. "Diary of Lavinia Honeyman Porter," quoted in Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries*, 129.
48. Catherine Haun, "A Woman's Trip Across the Plains in 1849," in Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries*, 183.
49. Unruh, *Plains*, 408-409.
50. Ibid.
51. "Letters of S.H. Taylor to the Watertown [Wisconsin] Chronicle," O.H.Q. 22 (June 1921): 130.
52. Sallie Hester, "Diary of a Pioneer Girl," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 1, 238.
53. Polly Coon, "Journal of a Journey Over the Rocky Mountains," in *ibid.*, vol. 5, 182-83.
54. "Diary of Elizabeth Dixon Smith, 1847-48," in *ibid.*, vol. 1, 132-33.
55. Hester, "Pioneer Girl," in *ibid.*, vol. 1, 241.
56. Stephen Calvert, ed., *J. Fox's Memorandum* (Benton, Wisconsin: Cottonwood Publishing, 1990), 11.
57. Unruh, *Plains*, 410.
58. H.E. Tobie, "From the Missouri to the Columbia, 1841," O.H.Q. 38 (June 1937): 147.
59. Eliza Ann McAuley, "Iowa to the Land of Gold," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 4, 71.
60. Monzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 65.
61. Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 22.
62. Letter of D.H. Moss, quoted from the St. Joseph *Adventure*, Nov. 2, 1849, in Walker D. Wyman, ed., *California Emigrant Letters*, (New York: Bookman Associates), 64.
63. Unruh, *Plains*, 413.
64. Lucia Loraine Williams, "A Letter to Mother," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 3, 158-59.
65. Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries*, 49.
66. Elizabeth Keegan, "A Teenager's Letter from Sacramento, 1852," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 4, 25.
67. Parke, *Dreams*, 41. See also, Knight, "Iowa," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 6, 45; also "Letters of S.H. Taylor," 137.
68. Clark, ed., *Journal of C.G. Gray*, 61.
69. G.W. Read, "Women and Children on the Oregon-California Trail in the Gold-Rush Years," *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (July 1945): 11.
70. Clark, ed., *Journal of C.G. Gray*, 95.
71. Eleazar Stillman Ingalls, *Journal of a Trip to California by the Overland Route Across the Plains in 1850-51* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), 67.
72. Edwin Bryant, *What I saw in California* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1967), 86.
73. Ibid., 86.
74. Ibid., 88-89.
75. Ibid., 91.
76. Ibid., 64.
77. Haun, "Trip," in Schlissel, ed., *Women's Diaries*, 183.
78. Ingalls, *Journal*, 59.
79. Unruh, *Plains*, 182. See also, "A Brimfield Heroine by Tabitha Brown: Letter 1," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 1, 53.
80. Origen Thomson, *Crossing the Plains* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1983), 60.
81. Ibid., 62.
82. Delano, *Life*, 165.
83. Brown, "Brimfield: Letter 1," in Holmes, ed., C.W.W., vol. 1, 57.
84. Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, 176.
85. Ingalls, *Journal*, 61.
86. Gordon, ed., *Pioneer Line*, 90-91.
87. Potter, ed., *Trail to California*, 176.
88. Clark, ed., *Journal of C.G. Gray*, 113.
89. John Phillip Reid, *Law to the Elephant: Property and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1980), 85.
90. Ibid., 78.
91. Palmer, *Journal*, 62-64.
92. Unruh, *Plains*, 353.
93. "Diary of Hiram Miller and J.F. Reed, with Letters by J.F. Reed and Virginia E.B. Reed," in Morgan, ed., *Overland in 1846*, vol. 1, 245-305, passim; also "Diary of Patrick Breen," in *ibid.*, 306-22, passim; also "Diaries of Donner Relief," in *ibid.*, 323-67, passim.
94. "Letter of Capt. Waldo in the Sacramento Transcript, September 29, 1850," in Wyman, ed., *Letters*, 116.
95. "Documents: Letter of S.M. Gilmore, from the *Western Journal*, March 15, 1845," O.H.Q. 4 (September 1903): 281.
96. Palmer, *Journal*, 79.
97. "Californian, Monterey, February 13, 1847," in Morgan, ed., *Overland in 1846*, vol. 2, 701.

King & Steed, "John Baptiste Trudeau," pp. 162-173.

1. The figure of 87 is usually given for the full Donner company, as it was constituted in the Wasatch Mountains. The figure becomes 89 when we include the Fort Sutter Indians Luis and Salvador, who joined the party in Nevada. Of these 89, 41 died on the trail or in the camps of entrapment; 48 survived. See "Roster of Emigrants and Rescuers," J.A. King, *Winter of Entrapment: A New Look at the Donner Party*, revised edition (Lafayette, CA: K&K Publications, 1994), 258.
2. George R. Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press; first Bison Book printing, 1986), 22. First published 1936, revised 1960.
3. Ibid., 22.
4. Ibid., 154.
5. Ibid., 173.
6. Ibid., 200. Clark, a member of the second relief, had been left behind to help Trudeau care for George and Tamsen Donner and three of their children, awaiting the next relief party. Elizabeth Donner, wife of Jacob (who had perished in December), was left with two of her children. Lewis and Sammie, aged three and four. Elizabeth and the two children died before the arrival of the third relief, according to the recollections of Eliza P. Donner Houghton, *The Experience of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1911), 48-50.
7. Stewart, *Ordeal*, 234.
8. Bernard DeVoto, *The Donner Party* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943),

- Trudeau assumed the hispanicized surname "Truvido" in his late years. In notes taken in 1884 after a visit from John Baptiste, Houghton recorded it as "Tribidó." In her 1911 book, it became "Trubode," the vowels having been reversed. DeVoto and others copied Houghton.
9. Homer Croy, *Wheels West* (New York: Hastings House, 1955).
 10. Extensive genealogical information on Trudeau can be found in King, *Winter of Entrapment*, rev. ed., 168-69, 171, and 233-34 (notes to Chapter 11).
 11. On a scrap of paper found among the papers from the estate of James F. Reed's granddaughter and placed in the custody of Carroll D. Hall, archivist at Ft. Sutter in 1946, was the following note, only partly decipherable: "...but a poor orphan...with nothing...dians killed my father...I will give my rifle for a pony or a mule to ride." It was signed "John Trudeau." Hall transcribed the note for *Donner Miscellany* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1947). Hall, guided by George R. Stewart's opinion of Trudeau, thought that the note was written by someone else because "probably he could not write." Evidence that Trudeau could read and write English can be found in King, *Winter of Entrapment*, rev. ed., 164 and 168.
 12. For a forthcoming book, California historian Donovan Lewis of Placerville offers an intriguing possibility. Among the roster of emigrants who came to southern California from New Mexico in 1841 with the Roland-Workman Party was "Tibeau," no first name given. Could this be a corruption of Trudeau? In his *Pioneer Register and Index*, H.H. Bancroft cites "Tibeau, 1841, Fr. Canadian gambler from N. Mex. in the Workman party...died on the return trip in '42." He was killed by Indians, says Lewis. Letter to J.A. King, October 25, 1994.
 13. *San Francisco Morning Call*, October 11, 1891, p. 16.
 14. The reference is to James M. Hudspeth, who crossed with the Hastings Party in 1846 and settled in Sonoma County.
 15. John Rhoads was a member of the first relief party, which did not include "two Indians." William Stanton had gone ahead of the Donner Party to Sutter's Fort and returned with mules and provisions, meeting the company in October at Truckee Meadows. Stanton was accompanied by two of Sutter's Indian laborers, Luis and Salvador. The problem may be Trudeau's memory, but the story could have been garbled by the reporter.
 16. Houghton, *The Expedition of the Donner Party and Its Tragic Fate*. The index is inadequate, with only six references to "Trubode, John Baptiste." Full references are: 34 (with photo), 62, 65, 70, 72-75, 77, 100-101, 112, 124, 220, 340, 343, 349, 350.
 17. One clipping, from the Dec. 2, 1896, *The Herald* (Urbana, Illinois), is a letter to the editor by L.F. Walden of Urbana, who visited Mrs. Houghton in California the previous May and was given access to her notes. The other clipping is from a Los Angeles newspaper, which the authors have not yet identified. Both articles quote the notes at some length, but neither article has been cited, to the best of our knowledge, in any Donner Party bibliographies. The authors have located an item in the *Los Angeles Express* for Wednesday, May 13, 1896, which also reported the commemorative event and Mrs. Houghton's reading of her notes: "This interview [of John Baptiste] was written by Mrs. Houghton for her children and has never been published."
 18. The authors are preparing a Finder's Guide. The granddaughter, who wishes to remain anonymous for the present, has expressed interest in placing her collection in the custody of some reputable library for easy access by scholars. The notes on John Baptiste's visits are on 16 sheets of paper, 9 x 5½ inches, with writing on both sides of many sheets; good condition, unmistakably in Mrs. Houghton's handwriting.
 19. Trudeau's application was eventually accepted. "John B. Truvido" is listed among the members of the Society of California Pioneers in a 1912 directory (two years after he died), so I am informed by Dr. Albert Shumate of San Francisco. Date of arrival in California is given as "October 1846."
 20. Trudeau's denial of the well-documented cannibalism at Alder Creek may have been motivated by thoughtfulness.
 21. Elitha and Leanna, half-sisters of Eliza, were brought out by the first relief party.
 22. One of Trudeau's visits to the lake camp can be verified by the January 21, 1847, entry in the diary kept by Patrick Breen. The diary is transcribed in King, *Winter of Entrapment*, and in Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger*.
 23. Henry Augustine Wise, Lieutenant, U.S.N., *Los Gringos; or an inside View of Mexico and California* (New York, 1849, and Paris, 1850).
 24. With unusual imagination, Wise tells of further horrors: "One Dutchman actually ate a full grown body in thirty six hours! another boiled and devoured a girl nine years old, in a single night." More, "one woman made soup of her lover's head."
 25. A critique of Wise and Stewart's reporting can be found in King, *Winter of Entrapment*, first edition (Toronto: P.D. Meany, 1992), 150-58; and rev. ed., 186-95. That cannibalism took place at the Alder Creek camp cannot, however, be denied. We have the reports of several survivors and rescuers. Eliza P. Donner Houghton did not deny it, nor did her sister Georgia, almost six years old at the time, who wrote C.F. McGlashan in 1879: "Jacob Donners wife came down the steps one day saying to mother 'What do you think I cooked this morning?' Then answer the question: 'Shoemaker's arm.'" See McGlashan Correspondence, Bancroft Library.
 26. In *Ordeal*, Stewart gave the age of "Trubode" as "ca. 23." This was the ballpark guess in the late 1870s of survivor William Graves in "Crossing the Plains in 1846," Bancroft manuscript C-B 570, folder 98, carton 1. It is easier to make a villain of a boy than a man.
 27. Woodworth's report dated April 1, 1847, was printed in the April 3 *California Star*.
 28. Houghton, 220-21.
 29. Elitha and her husband, Benjamin J. Wilder, went to court to stop McGlashan from publishing his book. The suit was settled before a judge in Sacramento in McGlashan's favor. McGlashan reported the good news in a June 11, 1879, letter to Eliza P. Donner Houghton. Sherman O. Houghton Collection, Huntington Library, L16 E5 Box 1.
 30. Solomon and William Hook, ages fourteen and twelve, children of Elizabeth Donner by a former marriage.
 31. *Marin County Tocsin*, October 15, 1910.

Miller, "Changing Faces of the Central Valley," pp. 174-189.

1. Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley, 1772-1939* (Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1939), 412-46; Anne Lottis, *California: Where the Twain Did Meet* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 138. Earlier

versions of this article were presented to the California Council for the Humanities Conference, Modesto, California, February 25, 1993, the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, March 30, 1994, and the Bay Area Labor History Group, San Francisco, March 19, 1995. The author acknowledges the helpful comments and criticisms of colleagues on those occasions.

2. Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939). Useful readings on agriculture in California include Varden Fuller, "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1939); Theodore Saloutos, "The Immigrant in Pacific Coast Agriculture, 1880-1940," *Agricultural History* 49 (1975): 182-201; and Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982).
3. David F. Selvin, *A Place in the Sun: A History of California Labor* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1981), 33.
4. Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989).
5. Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 106-89, 272-340; George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 49 (March 1970): 21-37. Other books that may profitably be consulted on the Chinese include Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880: An Economic Study* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963); Edna Bonacich, "Asian Labor in the Development of California and Hawaii," in Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Stuart C. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); W. Chinn, H. M. Lai, and Philip P. Choy, *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969); Alexander P. Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Sylvia Sun Min-

nick, *SAMLOW: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy* (Fresno, CA: Panorama West Publishers, 1988); and Jeff Gillenkirk and James Matlow, *Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987); and Ronald H. Limbaugh, "The Chinese of Knight's Ferry: A Preliminary Study" *California History* LXXII (Summer 1993): 106-127. See also for the various Asian groups in California, Harry H.L. Kitano and Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988).

6. Takaki, 191-92.
7. On the Japanese, besides Takaki, see relevant sections of Kitano and Daniels. Also consult David Mas Masumoto, *Country Voices: The Oral History of a Japanese American Family Farm Community* (Del Rey, CA: Inaaka Countryside Publications, 1987); Valerie J. Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Chiyo Mitori Shimamoto, *To the Land of Bright Promise: The Story of a Pioneer Japanese Truck Farming Family in California's San Joaquin Valley* (Lodi: San Joaquin County Historical Society, n.d.); Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1884-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988); John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Horace F. Chandler, "The Assimilation of the Japanese in and around Stockton" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of the Pacific, 1932); and Edward K. Strong, *Japanese in California, based on a Ten Per Cent Survey of Japanese in California and Documentary Evidence from Many Sources* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1933). See also "Japanese Americans in California," special issue of *California History* LXXIII (Spring 1994), particularly the article by Eiichiro Azuma, "Japanese Immigrant Farmers and California Alien Land Laws: A Study of the Walnut Grove Japanese Community."
8. There was a semi-regular taxi service—at exorbitant rates—from Oakland and San Francisco to Stockton, which met incoming ships and planes from the Philippines.
9. The newspaper quotation appears in Takaki, 330.
10. On the Filipino experience, see H. Brett Mel-

lenny, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans and East Indians* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977); Edwin B. Almirol, *Ethnic Identity and Social Negotiation: A Study of a Filipino Community in California* (New York: AMS Press, 1985); Valentine R. Aquino, "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1952); Fred Cordova, *Filipinos, Forgotten Americans: A Pictorial Essay* (Seattle: Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, 1983); Lorraine Jacobs Crouchett, *Filipinos in California: From the Days of the Galleons to the Present* (El Cerrito, CA: Downey Place Publishing House, 1982); Lillian Galedo, Laurena Cabanero, and Tom Brian, "Roadblocks to Community Building: A Case Study of the Stockton Filipino Community" (Davis, CA: University of California Asian American Division, Working Paper No. 4, 1970); and Carol Hemminger, "Little Manila: The Filipino in Stockton Prior to World War Two," *Pacific Historian* 24 (Spring 1980): 21-34, and (Summer 1980): 207-20.

11. Takaki, 300.
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14. On the Dutch, see Tom DeFranco, "Report: Dutch Settlement in California," *San Francisco Port Soundings* 5 (March/April 1982): 18-21.

- Gerald F. De Jong, *The Dutch in America, 1609-1974* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975); Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlands in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1955); and Robert F. Swierenga, ed., *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985).
15. The few readings on the Portuguese in California include August Mark Vaz, *The Portuguese in California* (Oakland, CA: O.D.E.S. Supreme Council, 1965), and Walton John Brown, "A Historical Study of the Portuguese in California" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1944). See for general information, Leo Pap, *The Portuguese in the United States: A Bibliography* (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1976).
16. On Italians in California, see chapter four in Loftis; also Andrew F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968); Dino Cinel, *From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982); A.M. Canepa, "Recent Trends in the Historiography of the Italian Community in California" (Paper read to the California Historical Society Conference, Sacramento, 1992); Micaela di Leonardo, *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class and Gender among California's Italians* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984).
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- Lowitt, "Hetch Hetchy," pp.190-203.
1. Congressional Record: 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, December 6, 1913, 362. Hereinafter, citations will be registered as CR followed by a page reference.
2. For volumes examining the controversy see Holway Jones, *John Muir and The Sierra Club* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965); Alfred Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); Norris Hundley, Jr., *The Great Thirst* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); Michael P. Cohen, *The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); William Frederick Badé, *The Life and Letters of John Muir*, vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924); Robert Underwood Johnson, *Remembered Yesterdays* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1923); Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Elmo Richardson, *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962); Elmo Richardson, "The Struggle for the Valley: California's Hetch Hetchy Controversy, 1905-1913," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 38 (September 1959): 249-58; Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950); Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); Judson King, *The Conservation Fight* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959); John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961); George W. Norris, *Fighting Liberal* (New York: Macmillan, 1945).
3. 63rd Congress, 1st Session: House Document No. 54: Hetch Hetchy Valley: Report of Advisory Board of Army Engineers, 50-51. The other sources involved utilization of the McCloud, Mokelumne, Eel, and Yuba rivers respectively, or in the case of the McCloud and Mokelumne rivers, with other lakes and rivers. To effectively utilize the Sacramento River, a filtration plant would have to be constructed to ensure pure drinking water. The report made no mention of water rights, the amount of water that would be diverted for irrigation on any of the rivers, or the effect of diversion on water quality.
4. CR, October 7, 1913, pp. 5483-84.
5. Brief of the City and County of San Francisco Before the Committee on Public Lands Committee of the United States Senate: HR 7207 passim and 5 for the quote; copy available in the William Kent Papers, 309-III, 67-84, Yale University.
6. Brief of the City and County of San Francisco, p. 6.
7. CR, December 4, 1913, pp. 198-99, for a discussion of the role of Denver Church.
8. CR, December 3, 1913, pp. 95-96, for petitions submitted by Senator Perkins. Works devoted his remarks on December 3 to delineating other sources from which San Francisco could secure water for domestic purposes. Key Pittman noted that all California municipalities, with one possible exception, unanimously endorsed the bill. December 6, 1913, p. 368.
9. CR, December 3, 1913, p. 115.
10. CR, December 3, 1913, for Thomas's remarks, beginning on p. 115. He spoke following John D. Works. His comments on the Owens Valley are on p. 125.
11. CR, December 3, 1913, pp. 125-26, and December 4, p. 197. Initially the Board of Army Engineers cited 13 possible sources of additional supply. See p. 83 of their report.
12. CR, December 3, 1913, pp. 138-39, for the story about support in southern California. December 5, 1913, pp. 236-40.
13. CR., December 4, 1913, p. 183; December 5, 1913, pp. 273-74.
14. CR, December 5, 1913, pp. 272-73.
15. CR, December 5, 1913, pp. 286-87.
16. CR, December 6, 1913, p. 343, where Norris cites the senator from Utah as the member leading and guiding the opposition in the Senate.
17. CR, December 6, 1913, pp. 339-52. Norris held the floor longer than any other senator on this final day of debate.
18. CR, December 6, 1913, p. 378, for Poindexter's remarks.
19. CR, December 6, 1913, pp. 385-86.
20. CR, December 19, 1913, p. 1189.
21. Judson King, *The Conservation Fight: From Theodore Roosevelt to the Tennessee Valley Authority*. Chapter V is entitled "Hetch Hetchy and Municipal Power"; George W. Norris, *Fighting Liberal*. Chapter 18 is entitled "Hetch Hetchy."
22. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1953), 214.
23. *United States v. City and County of San Francisco* (310 U.S. 587). In March 1995, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors called for the city's public utilities commission to conduct a preliminary study by June 30, 1996, of "the feasibility of the city and county acquiring, owning and operating for its citizens" the local electricity distribution system, which is owned by Pacific Gas & Electric Company; see *Public Power Weekly*, April 17, 1995.

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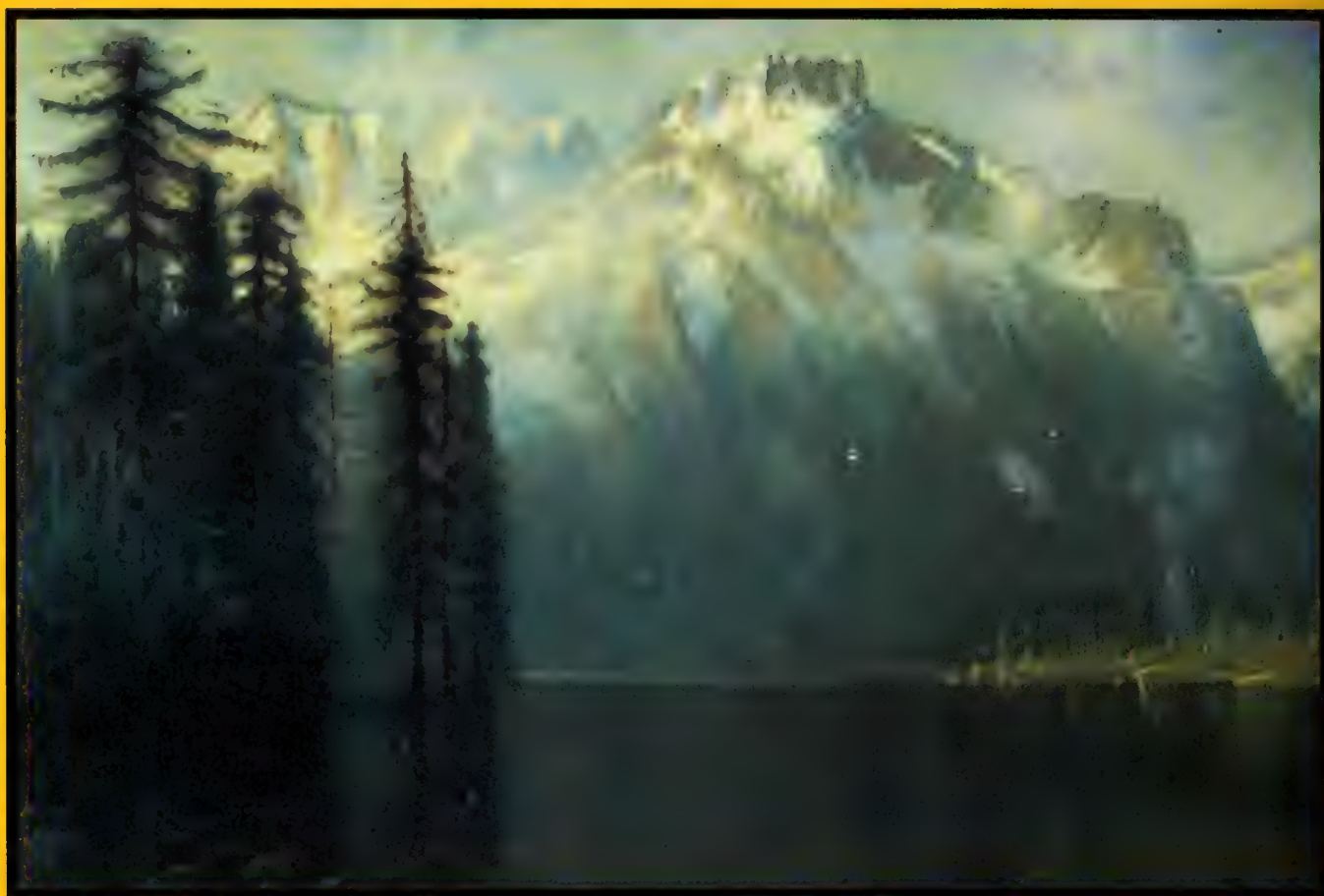
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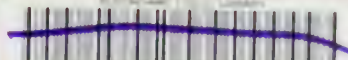
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FALL 1995

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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Mexican Americans in California

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Rupert Garcia, Artist



Rupert Garcia. Photograph by David Bacon, 1995.

In 1968, the Third World Liberation Front, a group of cooperating racial and ethnic "minority" organizations, initiated a student strike on the San Francisco State College campus. Along with other demands, the group called for an end to racism and discrimination in the Bay Area and elsewhere, an overhaul of various ethnic studies programs at local universities, the admission of more students of color, and increased student rights. Artist Rupert Garcia, then studying toward an advanced degree in painting at San Francisco State and working mostly with acrylics on canvas, joined other art students and faculty in producing and selling silkscreen posters to bail out jailed protesters and publicize their issues. Garcia fell in love with silkscreen printing; not only could he create bold, two-dimensional shapes in bright, solid colors, but he could "democratically" reach a larger audience by printing multiple copies. The silkscreened political poster became, arguably, his signature medium until the mid-1970s.

Born in 1941 in the small San Joaquin Valley agricultural town of French Camp, Garcia was raised in Stockton mainly by his mother, who held a job at a meat plant, and his maternal grandmother. These working-class beginnings, among what he once described as "the Third World and poor whites—a group of 'Orientals, Negroes, Oakies, and Mexicans,'" had an unmistakable, profound impact upon the artistic style and content he would later develop. Garcia credits, among others, his mother and grandmothers with inspiring his early artistic efforts. For example, as a child he copied photographs of stars from his mother's extensive collection of movie magazines, as well as from comic books and the television screen. His mother, who could draw well, assisted Garcia in his first drawings. His maternal grandmother exposed him to the fashioning of small figurines

from twisted tissue paper, while his paternal grandmother introduced him to the bright, colorful garments that she designed and produced for the local Mexican ballet folklórico. Additionally, his grandmothers had an important part in instilling in the young Garcia a sense of dignity in Mexican culture that would later influence his works.

After studying painting at a junior college and four years of service in the Air Force, Garcia enrolled at San Francisco State under the auspices of the G.I. Bill. There, he studied further the pop-art tradition he had begun by copying from his mother's magazines. However, he saw mainstream America (and consequently its art) as neglecting and even denying the Mexican culture he learned from his grandmothers, as well as the significance of the other people of color with whom he had grown up and felt a strong kinship. Thus, while he has employed a "pop" style—exploring famous mass-media images, often news and historical photographs and celebrity portraits—his message is fundamentally "anti-pop," a criticism of mainstream American media, society, and culture. Close-up portraits of political figures and scenes of oppression, resistance, and affirmation comprise much of Garcia's subject matter—such as portrayals of Mexican and Mexican American cultural leaders and images, including Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Emiliano Zapata, Dolores Huerta, slain journalist Ruben Salazar, or a striking Mexican worker lying dead in a pool of blood. Also, Garcia has depicted such notable political artists and leaders as Pablo Picasso, Vincent Van Gogh, Angela Davis, Stephen Biko, and Mao Tse Tung. As in *El Grito de Rebelde* (1978), a pastel painting of a blindfolded man bound for a firing squad, Garcia's images are vivid and often unsettling and graphically violent, but always with a sense of nobility and hope; in this way, he co-opts the pop style, even while he rejects the complacency and duplicity he often finds in much of the soup-can art.

Garcia has created many posters to benefit, in addition to the 1968 strike, Amnesty International, Native American rights groups, and other political organizations and concerns. In 1975, he began to focus on pastel painting, and in 1987, he returned to and has since concentrated on painting in oil on canvas, all along continuing the production of posters and prints. Among other interests, he continues to depict political, often Mexican, Mexican American, and Latin American, subject matter, such as the three women activists portrayed on the front cover of this issue. Rupert Garcia, today a professor of art at San Jose State University, has won a number of awards and fellowships, and his art continues to tour nationally and internationally.

PETER ORSI
Editorial Assistant, California History

Front Cover: Rupert Garcia, *Josefina Fierro de Bright, Luisa Moreno, Ros Pesotta*, 1991, pastel on paper, 29 1/8 x 23 1/4 in. Back Cover: Rupert Garcia, *Mascara IV*, 1991, oil on linen, 76 x 73 1/2 in. Both works courtesy of the artist; Rena Bransten Gallery, San Francisco; Daniel Saxon Gallery, Los Angeles; and Galerie Claude Samuel, Paris, France.

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Performer Sara Macias (Sara Vera, after her marriage to fellow player Miguel Vera) dons a traditional Mexican costume and smile, both of which became trademarks of the famous, Spanish-language Padua Hills Theatre, in Claremont, California. The theater's history and its relationship to the Mexican Americans who performed there are the subjects of matt garcia's article in this special issue. The study of women and gender issues is an important dimension of the new Chicano studies that has emerged since the 1960s. *Courtesy Pomona Public Library.*

Turning Points: Mexican Americans in California History— INTRODUCTION TO THE SPECIAL ISSUE

Richard A. Garcia, Consulting Editor

[We need]...a cultural revolution...not only in art, but also in the realm of the spirit. We must never forget that the human element is the most important thing we have—if we get away from it, we are certain to fail.

—César Chávez

This special issue of *California History* examines thematic "turning points" in Mexican American scholarship with articles by historians, sociologists, literary critics, and creative writers. This issue, indeed, is itself a "turning point" in that it presents articles that are part of the "cultural turn" made by Chicano academicians and intellectuals since the 1980s with the publication of Richard Rodriquez's *Hunger for Memory*, which intertwined the notions of language, education, culture, identity, intellectualism, and acculturation. Rodriquez's text also subjected to new critical questioning all of these generally accepted categories, as well as ethnicity and Americanism.¹ The result of this shift was a theoretical move toward an acceptance not only of dialectics as a catalyst for new learning, but also an acceptance of Henry Luis Gates's use of dialogue to search for a new "civic culture," with new "Loose Canons" of intellectual discourse.²

These essays are indicative of this new dialogue; they are not essentialist philosophically, not dogmatic theoretically, and not strictly disciplinary in focus, nor are they teleological in narration or causality. Each article appears to deal with a "narrow" theme, but, in fact, uncovers a palimpsest, a multi-layered reality with, in Carlos Fuentes's words, "buried mirrors."³ Each article is indicative of Juan Bruce-Novoa's ideas of "open reading" and "spaces" and is filtered only through the author's imagination, intellectual rigor, and creativity.⁴ In addition, each article can be read as exploration of the open-

ended world of symbols and what they represent, or can be read simply as a basically solid narrative/interpretative story, or as Wendy Lesser, the editor of the *Threepenny Review*, has written of her journal articles: "a piece of nonfiction prose that, while talking about something in the world at large, discusses and reveals the author's own personality as well."⁵ Or, each can be read within all of these modes, as well as a part of a dialogue, a roundtable discussion among the authors on the world of American and ethnic culture. This issue of *California History*, consequently, is not only a forum for this roundtable discussion among authors on various facets of Mexican American history, but also an investigation of the more subtle subject of Mexican American historiography. This issue explores what Dominick LaCapra has described as "the relationship between documentary reconstruction of, and dialogue with, the past."

As can be perceived from the articles in this issue, much has changed in the story of Mexican Americans since the 1960s, the period that gave rise to the Chicano intelligentsia. In the sixties, Mexican American academics began their study with political questions appropriate to the protest mood of that decade. They wanted to analyze their historical oppression, their political disenfranchisement, and their current societal problems. The academics' research focused on topics of inequity, racism, class conflict, and internal colonialism. Their major text was Carey McWilliams's *North From Mexico*,

although they also had the writings of Américo Paredes, George I. Sánchez, Carlos Castañeda, and Ernesto Galarza, among others.⁷ Nevertheless, the historical and intellectual discourse was shaped by the political historical writings of Rodolfo Acuña and Octavio Romano and the poetry of Alurista, as well as the essays in the journals *El Grito* and *Aztlán*.⁸ The early Chicano historians and other Chicano intelligentsia wrote from within the tradition of labor history, Marxist-colonialist theory, and a nationalistic cultural perspective.⁹

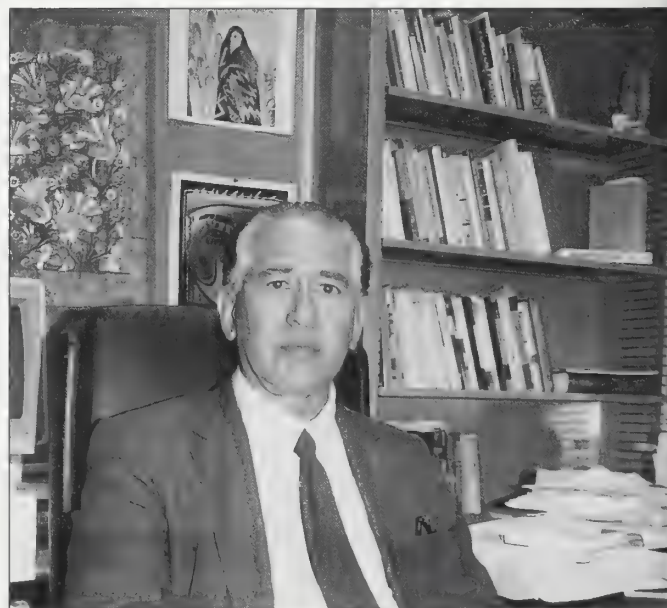
By the 1980s, the first schools of Chicano/Chicana historians, sociologists, political scientists, and literary critics were emerging in universities throughout the country, and their research and writing was becoming less political and ideological and more interdisciplinary and culturally oriented, with more of a holistic approach to questions of culture, self, consciousness, arts and literature, gender, and historical roots. In this period, the theoretical emphasis shifted from ideological to problematical, and from polemical to deconstructional.¹⁰ The scholars of the 1990s, as indicated by the articles in this issue, are developing new perspectives based on new questions. Above all, these scholars seek to dis(re)cover, (re)imagine, (re)trace, and interpretively (re)narrate the "accepted master story" of American history, thought, and culture, whose interpretation has been dominated by the Caucasian male per-

spective. Each author is seeking to examine, as Michel Foucault has stated, "The critical ontology of ourselves" by "thinking differently." By "thinking differently," Foucault meant that critical thinking and analyzing "has to be considered not, certainly, as theory, a doctrine, nor even a permanent body of knowledge that is accumulating; it has to be concerned as an attitude, an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and the ordeal of their possible transcendence."¹¹

All of the authors in this issue write from within this framework of "thinking differently," and all examine their subjects within the "differences": women who reworked their "bonds of gender and ethnicity" to find a voice in early nineteenth-century Mexican California (Richard Griswold del Castillo); Mexican artists who created a "space" of freedom within the limits of the theater and Mexican and American culture (Matt García); Mexican American women influenced by the interrelationship between ethnicity, class, and gender, who shaped the origin and significance of business ownership in order to provide new opportunities for their daughters (Alma M. García); Mexicans in baseball and Spanish-language broadcasting, which became vehicles by which culture transcended borders and intertwined cultures (Samuel O. Regalado); the deconstructing and reconstructing of the Mexican and

Historian Richard A. Garcia, Chicano studies specialist and consulting editor of this special issue. Photograph by Peter Orsi.

*Richard A. Garcia is professor and chair of the Ethnic Studies Department at California State University, Hayward. He is the author of *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (1991), and *Cesar Chavez: A Triumph of Spirit* (1995), co-authored with Richard Griswold del Castillo. He is currently finishing *Chicano Renaissance: Essays in Imagination and Exploration* and working on *Religion and Spirituality: Texts, Intellectuals, and Clergy in the Hispanic Community, 1920-1990*.*



merican "mind" by providing new visions and paradigms of culture, aesthetics, and communalism (Richard A. Garcia); homegirls as catalysts for reshaping the Chicana feminist discourse and revising the palimpsest of gender (Rosa Linda Fregoso); culture as politics and politics as a collective consciousness (Ramón Chacón); and Francisco Jiménez's short story, "Moving Still," which explores the contradictions between "American Dream" and American reality.

In many ways Jiménez's story, based on his own experiences, is at the center of the Mexican American historical and cultural experience. "Moving still"—an oxymoron—serves as the metaphor by which many Mexican Americans and other ethnics perceive their lives. Trying, trying, but never able to better themselves, to move beyond their "station" in life. Yet, the paradox is that (and this forms the heart

of Jiménez's story) just knowing, and believing in, the Declaration of Independence, with its ringing words, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," is not enough. These words need reinterpretation and continued support as the basic matrix for American society. Jiménez's story is not only an immigrant story; it is *the* American story.

Internationally renowned Chicano painter Rupert Garcia—with his front cover of fractured features and his back cover of masks—both captures and displays the problems of ontological rupture, identification ambiguities, and paradoxes of gender, race, class, and ethnicity that unify much of American and Mexican American history. The works of Rupert Garcia, these essays, and this issue of *California History* are but a "turning point" in attempting to address Nietzsche's dictum: "To become what one is."¹

See notes beginning on page 355

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NEITHER ACTIVISTS NOR VICTIMS:

Mexican Women's Historical Discourse: The Case of San Diego, 1820-1850

by Richard Griswold del Castillo

INTRODUCTION

The history of women within the Spanish and Mexican far northern frontier before 1848 has been a topic of increasing interest among Chicana and Chicano historians.¹ Although just in its infancy in terms of published work, the field of Chicana/Latina history has been steadily growing. The articles, books, and dissertations thus far have tended to revise older conceptions of Mexican women as passive, non-historical actors who were restricted to the domestic sphere. The search has been for women who have been important political and economic leaders in the past. This activist subtext in the historical writings about women in the former Spanish colony and Mexican territories has been interlaced with the theme of women as victims of patriarchy and male sexual aggression. The contemporary resonance of these historical writings is clear: just as current Chicana/Latina political consciousness has developed, so too has the natural tendency to search for and find a useable past, a historical tradition that can provide context for the social and political aspirations of contemporary women.

This essay takes a closer look at historical narratives generated by women during the Spanish-Mexican period in California in order to ascertain what other themes might be present. What have been the basic themes of these historical accounts? What relevance, if any, do they have to Chicana/Latina history and to our understanding of history in general? To answer these questions I analyze the historical accounts produced by Indo-European women who lived in the period from 1769 to 1848 in the oldest Alta California colonial settlement, San Diego.

WOMEN ON THE SPANISH AND MEXICAN FRONTIER

The importance of women on the far northern frontier of Mexico is undeniable. Most of the expeditions that went north into the hostile desert to establish pueblos and ranchos had their contingents of settler-families, including women and children. Women played a constructive role in ensuring that the Spanish settlements endured beyond the initial period of conquest. Indeed, as historian Antonia Castañeda has concluded, "the biological and social



This photograph of Doña Machado de Ridington, standing amid the cactus at the outskirts of Old Town, San Diego, ca. 1893, evokes the feelings of insecurity and isolation described in the testimony of Mexican women threatened by the Americanization of California. *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

reproduction of the Spanish-mestiza women were central to the imposition of Spanish hegemony on the frontier.⁷² The ultimate success or failure of the Spanish empire in the Americas depended on controlling women; the Crown's ability to attract, convert, and socialize Mexican immigrant women and indigenous women within the missions, pueblos, presidios, and haciendas of the far north had far-reaching implications for the growth of the frontier population and hence Spain's ability to retain its territory.

Far from the "civilized" comforts of Mexico City,

frontier women had to exercise great ingenuity, courage, and strength to make a domestic life possible. Most of the women in the Spanish frontier settlements were Hispanized natives (*indígenas*, or Indians) or mestizas who, out of necessity, adopted local Indian foods and customs to fit their family's isolated condition. They cultivated local plants to use as home remedies for everything from snakebites to rheumatism. Some women were renowned *curanderas*, religious healers who combined spiritual incantation with herbal remedies to cure diseases caused by various *brujos* (witches) and evil forces.

Most of the medicine practiced on the frontier was in women's hands, as was attending at childbirth, which was done by midwives.

Because of harsh conditions it was possible for mestizo women to be on a more or equal footing with men. Class distinctions, along with gender segregation and discrimination, became harder to maintain the farther away people moved from older-settled, colonial urban society. Men and women had to cooperate in order to survive. Women fought alongside men when settlements were attacked by Indians. They often labored in what might be considered "men's work." They tended herds and joined in rodeos, and they plowed and helped in fields. Others entered into commercial activity. Some women even acted as *mayordomos*, or overseers, of large ranchos.

While loosening some of the strictures of traditional, male-dominated Spanish society, the frontier still was hardly a paradise for women. In California, sexual abuse was commonplace against Amerindian women, and even spilled over into relations among *gente de razón* (non-Indian, so-called "civilized," people), although the record of rape, incest, or other abuses is lean, perhaps because women did not report those cases or because men directed their assaults toward Indian women. What is known is that patriarchal tradition gave men the power to control and judge the sexual conduct of women. Although men were rarely held accountable for their own sexual depredations, they could inflict physical punishment for a wife or daughter's sexual misconduct. Also, fathers could arrange the marriages of their daughters, even at the pre-pubescent stage of the child's life.³

MEXICAN WOMEN'S HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

Unfortunately the life histories of the thousands of "ordinary women" who lived on the Spanish/Mexican frontier are not available. For California, however, there is one prime source for getting at the way in which Mexican women thought about their personal histories. The Bancroft Library, at the University of California, Berkeley, has preserved more than a hundred reminiscences dictated by *californios* in the nineteenth century. These were collected by Hubert Howe Bancroft's assistants in preparation for his writing his monumental *History of California*.⁴ Of the California narrations, at least twelve were given by *californianas*, dictated to

Thomas Savage or Enrique Cerruti and hand-written in Spanish. These reminiscences were not entirely spontaneous, since the interviewers guided their subjects through questions that centered on the political and cultural history of Mexican California. Of the California dictations, Bancroft's assistant Thomas Savage gathered four from women who had lived in the San Diego region: Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, Doña Apolinaria Lorenzano, Doña Juan Machado de Ridington, and Doña Felipa Osuna de Marron.⁵ These were all oral histories reconstructed from memory, and as such they had the same problems as all primary sources with regard to accuracy of fact. Additionally, they also had a bias inherent in being solicited, probably edited, perhaps misquoted, and most certainly self-censored. A *californiana* talking to a stranger was not likely to reveal her most secret thoughts or feelings. Nevertheless, as historical documents, these narrations give an invaluable personal insight into how *mexicanas* thought about their history.⁶

DOÑA JOSEFA CARRILLO DE FITCH

The story of Josefa Carrillo, daughter of the Joaquin Carrillo family in San Diego, is one of the best known in early California history. In 1829 she eloped with Henry Delano Fitch, an American merchant sea captain, thus becoming one of the first *californianas* in San Diego to marry a foreigner. While the account of the romance has been told a number of times by historians, the narration she gave in 1875 at the age of sixty-five gives her version of events and differs from the "traditional" story in terms of emphasis and tone.⁷

When Capt. Henry D. Fitch made a call on the port of San Diego in 1826, Josefa was introduced to him. She remembered that she was attracted to him by his "fine manners and handsome demeanor." Within a year, he requested her hand in marriage, and her parents approved. Josefa promised to marry him, but she was legally unable to do so because he was a foreigner and a Protestant. Several years passed until Capt. Fitch agreed to be baptized Catholic in order to be married. On April 15, 1829, the day after his baptism, the marriage was to take place in San Diego. It was arranged for them to be married in her father's house by Padre Melendez, the local priest. The day for the marriage arrived, and scores of family members and important guests assembled in the Carrillo parlor to witness the marriage vows.



Attracted to "the fine manner, and handsome demeanor" of American merchant sea captain Henry Delano Fitch, Josefa Carrillo eloped with him to Valparaíso, Chile, after Governor Echeandía of California prevented their marriage. Although Josefa's father "promised to kill her on sight," when she returned, he pardoned her, and they celebrated the reconciliation with her mother and sisters. The description of this event is the most passionate in the narration of Doña Carrillo de Fitch. This photograph was taken fifty years after the elopement. *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

Halfway through the ceremony, a message arrived from Governor Echeandía ordering the rites to cease, on grounds that the marriage was a violation of the law. At this point the uncle, Domingo Carrillo, refused to be the marriage witness, and the priest stopped the ceremony. In Josefa's view, the people who refused to continue with the ceremony were "persons who by character and education were accustomed to blindly obey all the government's orders."⁸ This tragic turn of events became a scandal when Capt. Henry Fitch convinced Josefa to elope with him. Actually, according to Josefa, Fitch never asked her in person but rather prevailed on his friend Don Pío Pico to talk to Josefa on his behalf. This Pico did because, in her words, he was "a man who you do not have to ask twice when it comes to helping a woman."⁹ Evidently Pico was very convincing and even helped transport her to Fitch's waiting launch. As they parted, according to Josefa, Pico said, "goodby cousin, May God bless you, and you cousin Henry, be careful not to give Josefa a reason to regret her having joined her fate to yours." In turn, Josefa remembered, Fitch promised to devote his life to her happiness.¹⁰

Henry and Josefa sailed away towards the south and eventually were married in a Catholic ceremony

in Valparaíso, Chile. After Fitch had conducted his business there, they sailed up the coast to Mexico. Josefa had given birth to a son by the time Capt. Fitch's ship put into San Diego harbor for the first time since their elopement. When they anchored in the port, Josefa immediately went to visit her mother and sisters, who greeted her with great affection. The problem, she learned, was her father. He considered the family dishonored by the elopement, and when she returned, Josefa remembered, "he had promised to kill her on sight."¹¹

Nevertheless, courageously determined to be reconciled or be killed, she went to beg his forgiveness. She entered the house alone and saw her father writing at a desk with a gun by his side. She said: "Father I have returned to San Diego to ask your pardon for me having left your house." He remained silent, apparently angry. She then threw herself on her knees, and "in a humble tone begged for pardon reminding him that if she had disobeyed him it had been only to cast off a hated tyranny [Governor Echeandía] who overturned the laws and customs." This was a masterstroke, since she knew that her father disliked Governor Echeandía. She talked on, but her father remained silent. Then, seeing that he was not looking at his gun, she got up and went



Neophyte Indian girls, attending the school at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá, celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi on May 24, 1894. More than a half-century earlier, Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, known as La Beata (the pious one), devoted herself to the church and to teaching girls like these to read and write catechism. *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

toward him, meanwhile continuing her petition for pardon. When she was six paces from him, he got up, turned around and embraced her saying "I pardon you daughter, you are not to blame if our governors are despots." Thus reconciled, she went out of the house and gave a sign to her mother and sisters to come in to celebrate the reconciliation. During the rest of the day, friends of the family came by to visit and wish her welcome, and that night her father sponsored a *gran baile* to formally welcome her back.¹²

After a time, Josefa and her husband had to go north to Monterey, where Capt. Fitch faced charges of forcible abduction. While in Monterey, Josefa was separated from her husband for three months, and eventually Governor Echeandía sent them to Mission San Gabriel where they were held as virtual prisoners. This lasted three months, until Catholic authorities in California determined that their marriage in Chile was legitimate. Nevertheless, Fitch had still broken the law, and as a penalty "Don Enrique" (Fitch) was given a penance of donating a fifty-pound bell for the church at Los Angeles pueblo, and the couple were commanded to hear high mass with lighted candles for three *días festivos*.¹³

This remarkable account of love, family honor, and

governmental intervention illustrates how one woman remembered her ability to manipulate patriarchy. Josefa threw herself on her father's mercy but cleverly politicized her actions so he could accept her return with honor. The most important part in her narration, rendered in the most detail with the greatest passion, was not the marriage fiasco, the elopement, or the trial, but rather her confrontation with her father.

DOÑA APOLINARIA LORENZANA

Another *californiana* narrative is that of Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, also known as "La Beata," an honorific title bestowed upon her by the *californios*. This sobriquet literally means "the pious one," earned because of her self-sacrificing work among the mission Indians as a teacher and nurse.¹⁴ She came to California as an orphan girl and was raised by a variety of families in Monterey and San Diego, thus giving her another nickname, "La Cuna," or "the foundling." She was a strong, independent woman who taught herself to read and write and consciously decided not to marry but instead devoted herself to the church, particularly to assist-

ng padres and neophyte Indians at the missions because of her exemplary services, in the 1840s the Mexican government awarded her two ranchos, and she purchased a third, all of which she lost through the sharp dealings of American speculators after the Mexican War.

As a teenager in the Presidio of San Diego during the 1820s, Doña Apolinaria helped Doña Tomasa Lugo teach girls to read and write the *doctrina* (catechism). When Lorenzana became very ill with a paralysis in her left hand that left her disabled, Father Sanchez, the priest from San Diego de Alcalá, invited her to the mission to recuperate. Her condition worsened, so much so that at one point she seemed dead (*parecía muerte*). During the two and a half years it took her to recuperate, she began to help with the sick of the mission. She grew to be a well-known *curandera* for the native and local populations and worked in the mission infirmary.¹⁶ She also had other chores, such as teaching religion and sewing to the neophytes.

In 1878, Bancroft's interviewer, Thomas Savage, asked her for details about life at the mission, since that was where she spent most of her life. She recounted the rhythm of work and meals and the strict separation of the sexes governed by the *india mayor*, the *matrona* in charge of unmarried single women, most of whom were required to live in strictly regulated housing at the mission. Most of the Indian men, Doña Apolinaria reported, lived away from the mission on their rancherias. She testified to the punishments given the neophytes for unsatisfactory work or any delinquencies. These were administered by native *alcaldes*, who were in turn appointed by the priests. The punishments ranged from confinement in the mission *calabozo* (jail), with or without windows depending on the seriousness of the crime, to whipping "*que raras veces paso 25 y en muchos ocasiones menos*" (that rarely exceeded 25 lashes and on many occasions was less). For more serious crimes, the neophytes were turned over to the presidio soldiers. After secularization of the mission in the late 1830s, Doña Apolinaria continued to take care of the mission priest, Vicente Pascual Oliva.

Lorenzana remembered the raids and killings by the local Indians retaliating against theft of their lands or brutal treatment at the hands of the colonials. In the 1840s, María de Los Angeles, a *californiana* who was the wife of the *mayordomo* at Mission San Luis Rey, told her of her experience. The rebellion took place on Rancho de la Nación (today called National City), when the Christianized Indian house

servants joined with the gentiles (unmissionized Indians) to kill the *californio* families on the rancho. That Indians themselves were divided over the issues of colonization is illustrated by the fact that soon after the attack some local mission Indians came to María de Los Angeles's rancho to help defend her from possible harm. The threats of Indian attack persisted throughout the Mexican era. On other occasions Doña Lorenzana remembered how an Indian servant asked for protection for his family within the rancho's fortified walls, but the *californios* were suspicious of his motives and searched him for arms before they would admit him. Lorenzana commented: "The horse stealing (by Indians) was continuous and the leaders were generally the former mission Indians who had convinced the gentiles to help them."

One of the most dramatic episodes remembered by Doña Apolinaria involved her experiences during the Mexican War (1846-48) at Mission San Luis Rey (in present-day Oceanside, twenty-five miles north of San Diego). She had gone there to take care of the mission father, who was dying, when Col. John C. Frémont, the commander of the American invading forces, arrived and occupied the mission. She said that she liked an American named Godey, whom Frémont had put in charge of the mission for the duration of the war, but she was distressed at the conquest. In her words, "I was very sad because of the conquest of the country by the Americans, and that is why I did not want to return to San Diego."¹⁷ Instead, she went on to Mission San Juan Capistrano, where she stayed for a time with Father Oliva before returning to Mission San Luis Rey, where she stayed for two months during the *californio* reconquest of southern California in late 1846.

During this period, she noted, the Indians appeared to be pro-American and were taking advantage of the war to attack and kill the *californios*. "The Indians were very menacing," she said. "Two days before we came [to San Luis Rey], six or seven of them on horseback rode up with red lances, a bad omen—they did not pay their respects to the padre but went to the wall where there was a fountain of water. An Indian approached and began to run through the halls trying to provoke an attack."¹⁸ Even trusted neophyte servants became dangerous. She recounted how Santiago, the cook for the mission who had been staying with her and the other *californio* families who had taken refuge in the mission, suddenly joined with the gentiles to threaten them.

The narrative of Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana tells

us how she worked all her life with the mission Indians to convert and heal them. She was loyal to the padres and to the maintenance of the church even after it was secularized, and she never expressed any criticism of the treatment of the neophytes. Like other *californios*, she had ambivalent feelings about the natives by whom she was surrounded. Undoubtedly she had close friends and even *comadres* within the Indian communities, but she also feared their treachery. She was a solid member of the *californio* community in San Diego. For example, she was a *padrina* (godmother) to more than one hundred children, both native and Mexican. Every year during the pueblo's *pastorela* (the shepherd's play performed at Christmas), she made the costumes for the angels and was always given the honor of being in the play herself.

DOÑA JUANA MACHADO DE RIDINGTON

Doña Juana Machado was born in San Diego on March 8, 1814. Her father was María Manuel Machado, a soldier in the San Diego presidial company, and her mother was Serafina Valdez, a native of Santa Barbara. Doña Juana was sixty-four when Thomas Savage interviewed her at her home in north San Diego. He noted that, although she was not able to read or write, she spoke English fluently and was "quite intelligent."²⁰ Indeed, her historical memories prove to be among the most detailed of the California narratives. Her recollections begin with Bouchard's pirate raid in 1818 and Mexican Independence celebrations in 1822 and progress through the decades with remarkable recall of names and dates.

Along with Doña Lorenzana, Juana Machado recalled various Indian battles, plots, and insurrections, illustrating the extent to which tension between settlers and natives was a central theme in colonial life. Her first historical memory was a bloody one involving a story of a battle between her father and "Christian Indian fugitives." She remembered being told how her father fought hand-to-hand with one of the raiders before finally being "able to draw his knife and plunge it into the belly of the Indian, scattering his intestines and leaving him for dead."²¹

She described 1837 as a year when there were two community traumas involving the native population and the local *californianas*. The first was an Indian attack on Rancho Jamul, owned by María Antonio

and Don Andrés Pico.²² This was a traumatic event for the San Diego community and especially memorable to the women. Living at the rancho were Doña Eustaquia López, mother of Don Andrés and María Antonio, and her three unmarried daughters. The story of the outrage as recounted by Doña Juana was obviously drawn from the collective folk knowledge of others. One afternoon an Indian servant confided in Doña Eustaquia that some surrounding Indians were planning on attacking the rancho to "kill the men, and make captives of the women." In turn, without alarming her daughters, Doña Eustaquia talked to the rancho's *mayordomo*, Juan Leiva, and told him what she had learned. Leiva "assured her that there was no danger whatever" and "confident of his strength, refused to do what she advised." For her own safety, Doña Eustaquia decided to leave the rancho with her daughters, which they did immediately by hiding under a cattle skin in a *carreta* and arriving at Doña Apolinaria's rancho, where they rested before continuing on to San Diego.²³

Two days later, the Indians did attack the Jamul Rancho, killing Juan Leiva, one of his sons, and several others. The attackers carried off both of Leiva's daughters, Tomasa and Ramona, who were fifteen and twelve years old respectively. They were also going to kill Leiva's wife and her little boy, but because of their pleadings the Indians spared them. Instead, they stripped them naked and left, "taking with them horses, cattle, and all other things of value; and burned the houses." Several expeditions went out from the presidio to try to recover the girls. Ransoms were offered, but refused, and Doña Juana heard from the Indians that the girls had been married to chiefs.

The second traumatic community event that Doña Machado remembered was the 1837 plot by Indians to attack the pueblo of San Diego.²⁴ Juana told how it had been discovered when a loyal Indian servant named Candelaria had told her mistress, Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch (who was Juana Machado's godmother), that she had overheard Indians in the household kitchen discussing a plan to kill the clerk in the Fitch store and "burn buildings and carry off the women." Candelaria implicated three of the Fitch servants and some in other households. Doña Machado remembered that two of the conspirators were Christianized natives from Baja California, and two more were local natives. In reaction to the plot, the officer in charge, Alférez Macedonio Gonzalez, rounded up the conspirators and forced them to confess. The next day he took them to the nearby



Located in the San Diego backcountry, Rancho Santa María de los Peñasquitos, shown in this photograph, ca. 1880, was similar in design to Rancho Jamul, built like a fortress to provide defense against Indian attacks like the one on Doña Eustaquia Lopez and her three unmarried daughters at Rancho Jamul in 1837. *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

Protestant cemetery and had five of them shot.²⁵ All this was without spiritual aid.

Doña Juana Machado also related her view of the complex political struggles that took place within Mexican California, adding some invaluable details regarding the appearance of some of the main political actors. Thus Don Luis Antonio Argüello "was tall, corpulent, with a big fat head and white with black eyes and very black hair." And his brother, Santiago Argüello, was "very heavy of medium stature, very white with a beard and black hair—eyes the same color as his brothers." Governor Echeandía was "a very white man, tall and thin with a handsome figure, elegant manners...very enthusiastic for dancing, food and other amusements."²⁶ She considered the Mexican government's secularization of the missions a great mistake because "we believed that the Padres were virtual saints," and the privatization of their property was "a huge robbery of the church."

Of Governor Micheltorena's infamous Cholo troops, whom others accused of being thieves and criminals, "there were undoubtedly some good men among them and their officers conducted themselves well."

Finally Doña Machado de Ridington recalled what she had heard about the Mexican War, including a forgotten massacre of eleven *californio* men by local natives intent on revenge against their former conquerors. A few days after the Battle of San Pascual, at which Stephen Kearny had been badly beaten by a *californio* force, a contingent of *californio* lancers was resting at a nearby rancho. The Indians, identified as those from Agua Caliente, in the San Diego backcountry, were led by Juan Garra and an American named Jim Marshall, who had married into the band. The natives took twelve Mexicans prisoner and were advised to kill them by Marshall and Garra, who falsely claimed that General Kearny had authorized and would reward the killing of *calif*

ifornios. Eleven of the prisoners were then killed, but Doña Machado's brother, Rafael, managed to escape.²⁸

With the recollections of Doña Machado, we have the elaboration of a theme similar to that of Doña Lorenzana: the memory of Indian threats and depredations in Mexican San Diego. Her history was one that had been told to her, and thus her memories can be considered fragments of community recollection, most probably the views of other women with whom she discussed these events.

DOÑA FELIPA OSUNA DE MARRON

When Thomas Savage interviewed Doña Felipa Osuna de Marron in 1878, she had been a widow twenty-five years and was sixty-nine years old.²⁹ Her father had been a soldier in the presidio during the Spanish administration, and when she was twenty she married a rancher, Juan María de Marron, who became the government-appointed administrator of Mission San Luis Rey following secularization. Doña

Felipa reported memories of the Indian troubles already recounted by Doña Juana Machado, the last years of Padre María Zalvidia, whom she cared for at the mission, and accounts of her experiences during the Mexican War.

Of the attack on Rancho Jamul in 1837, Doña Felipa had nothing new to add to Juana Machado's account, but she was a primary participant in discovering the plot by Indian servants in San Diego. She was the one who discovered the conspiracy, overhearing her Indian servant talking to some others about a plan to kill the American administrator of Fitch's store and carry off Mrs. Fitch and Felipa. She immediately told the others, and preparations were made to capture the plotters in the Fitch kitchen. They were taken prisoner without a struggle.³⁰

She gave the names of the Indians who were captured, but evidently did not view the executions. She was convinced that they were in league with Indians from outside the pueblo and that the threat was real, but finally, she expressed sorrow at the hysteria she had caused: "It was painful to see the soldiers



A photograph of Doña Felipa Osuna de Marron does not seem to exist. She provides a vivid account of the Mexican War period of the late 1840s and the difficulty she and her family had being loyal to Mexican California. The assembled family in this photograph, taken in 1904 after they left the ancestral rancho, are her descendants, the family of Julio Osuna. Pictured top left to right are Lucy Osuna, John Osuna, Lee Osuna, Mary Osuna and Ruth Osuna; in the middle row, Marcus and Josefa Osuna with Henry Bates (son of Mary and George Bates); at the bottom, Jonny Bates, Julio Osuna, Jr., and Bertha Smith (daughter of Lee Osuna). *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

un after the Indians like so many hunting dogs—some of the Indians were dragged out of their houses, others who ran were lassoed. One of them hid in my house and begged me to hide him; but his persecutors saw him enter and he was captured.” And: “My affliction was great because I had been the informant against the conspirators and because the rest of the Señoras accused me of being the cause of it all.” And: “When I saw all the tribulations of the Indians it caused me much grief to have been the informant against them, it afflicted me a great deal.”

Later the precipitous executions were regretted even by some of the pueblo leaders, such as the judge, Don María Antonio Estudillo. There were also fears that, out of revenge, the families and bands of the executed Indians would attack the pueblo in full force.

In the matter of the final days of the mission, Doña Felipa testified to the rapaciousness of the mission administrator, María Joaquin Ortega, and remembered the condition of Father Zalvidia, who was evidently suffering from a mental illness. The padre was agitated night and day, stomping on the ground, and conversing with the devil, often shouting out, “Begone Satan. You can not trouble me—you have no power over me.”³² On one occasion he wandered out to the bull pasture and fell on his knees, crying out to God to protect him. Miraculously, nothing happened to him, and in fact the bulls learned to tolerate his frequent excursions.

Doña Felipa lived at Mission San Luis Rey during this time, her husband being absent elsewhere for long periods of time. She came to regard the padre as a holy man, but the other *californios* considered him mad. He flagellated himself frequently, and on one occasion drove nails through his feet and refused to be nursed. Finally, when it was apparent that he was going to die, Fr. Vicente Pascual Oliva, Doña Isidora Pico, Don Juan Avila, and Apolinaria Lorenzana came to transport him to Mission San Juan Capistrano, but he did not want to go. He died before they could take him. Evidently the former neophytes regarded him a folk saint and wanted a piece of his robe before he was buried, so much so that he was practically stripped naked before he was buried.

The second part of Doña Felipa’s memories concerned the Mexican War. She was still living at the mission in 1846, when Colonel Frémont and the American troops arrived looking for the *californio* leaders. The Americans questioned her regarding her husband’s whereabouts and who else was at the

mission. As it happened, Don María Matias Moreno, the secretary to the California government, was with her when the Americans appeared, and Doña Felipa decided to disguise him as a sick convict. Fooled, the Americans left. As soon as they had departed, Don Matias, who had recognized his good friend Don Santiago Argüello riding with the Americans, sent a messenger to catch up with him to tell him to return. This sudden switching of allegiances angered Felipa, since it put her in jeopardy, and she ordered him to leave the mission immediately.

This episode revealed some of the schisms among the *californios* regarding the American conquest. Some supported the occupation by United States forces, and others were opposed. Switching sides, at least in the case of Don Matias, was prompted by friendship more than ideology. Indeed, Doña Felipa and her husband would be forced into changing sides, as she related in her narrative.

Soon after this incident at the mission, she went with her husband to their rancho, and then later she alone went to San Diego for safety. She recounted how in San Diego Don Miguel Pedrorena, Don Santiago E. Argüello, and Don Pedro C. Carrillo, along with others, were allied with the Americans. The *californios* who were still opposed asked her husband to join them, which he did. Doña Felipa recalled that those against the Americans were Leonardo Cota and María Alipaz.³⁴

Doña Felipa remembered that while she was in the pueblo, *californios* continued to harass the American troops from hiding places in the hills near the pueblo and shouted “challenges, threats and insults.” Others entered San Diego at night, and occasionally they fired into the pueblo, on one occasion shooting Don Pedrorena’s hat off. In late December 1846, the Americans left San Diego to march on Los Angeles to assist in the reconquest of that city. By then, the daily harassing of San Diego by the *californios* had stopped.³⁵

After a time, her husband sent word to her to leave San Diego and join him on their rancho. Felipa recounted what happened:

We women, all of us left our houses and met in the Estudillo adobe. The *californios* against the Americans [*los del pais*] approached the pueblo above the fort that the Americans had built on the hill. I wanted to leave to join my husband and I had sent a message to Alipaz and Cota to come and get me. So they sent my husband under a white flag thinking that since he was such good friends with Pedrorena, Argüello and Carrillo, they would let him pass. So

he approached under a white flag and Pedrorena and a party of Americans rode to meet him—they took his horse and arms and put him in jail. Since he was detained several days without returning to the country side with me (Felipa), *los del pais* suspected that he had gone over to the Americans and became very angry with him.³⁶

Felipa “greatly feared the Americans who were not disciplined soldiers,” and soon she and her husband were allowed to leave after swearing that they would not continue hostilities. They were given a safe conduct pass in case they were detained by other American troops. With their children, they fled San Diego and returned to their rancho, where they found the *californios* “furious with her husband,” accusing him of working as a courier for the Americans. They even threatened to shoot him. Instead they took the family and all their horses as prisoners to another rancho, Agua Herivida. Here the soldiers left Felipa and their children and took Juan, her husband, along with their Indian servants. Juan became sick and they soon left him back on his rancho and let Felipa also return. But every day the “*fuerzas del pais*” descended on the rancho to take what they needed, so that finally “most of what we had was taken from us including the cattle that had been given to me by Fr. Zalvidia.”³⁷

When the war ended, the family barely had enough to eat, and some local *californios* continued to accuse Felipa and her husband of being pro-American. Their bad treatment finally forced the Marrons to ask for protection from the American commander of San Diego. After indications that they would be welcome and not mistreated, they departed for San Diego. Traveling with the Marron party were several *californio* lancers who had been at San Pascual, including Felipa’s brother Leandro, who had killed an American in that conflict. On the outskirts of the town, her husband raised a white flag, and they entered the pueblo after leaving their few remaining livestock outside. She reported that some Americans in San Diego were angry at the return of these former enemies but ultimately did nothing.

The narration of Doña Felipa de Marron Osuna is most interesting for its account of the Mexican War period and the problems that her family had in being loyal to Mexican California. They were suspected of being pro-American, and eventually were forced to be so. The details of the schism within the *californio* ranks in San Diego provide invaluable insight into this little-known period of the conflict.

It serves as a check on those historians who might simplify the issue of loyalty during the war.

DISCOURSE AS HISTORY AND LITERATURE

The accounts of events given by Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, Doña Juana Machado de Ridington, and Doña Felipa Osuna de Marron do not exhaust the historical possibilities. There are many other stories to tell about this period, and indeed some of them are those of heroines who asserted their rights as individuals against a male patriarchy. Indeed, some may interpret these women’s lives and reminiscences as evidence that they were exemplary strong women or that they took an activist role in the past. Josefa Carrillo de Fitch faced up to her father with incredible bravery, and Felipa Osuna de Marron defied an entire company of U. S. soldiers. Apolinaria Lorenzana and Juana Machado de Ridington tended to emphasize their memories about the native population and the fears that all *mexicanos* felt about Indian attacks.

The limited examples provided by these San Diego women’s narratives improve our understanding of the past by adding the dimension of gender and by relating new information. There are details reported by all these women that are not part of any history of California or of San Diego, and they touch on themes that are of contemporary interest. Here, I am thinking of the recollections touching on *californio* politics during the Mexican War. No historian has yet fully investigated the complex social and political changes during this period in southern California. The *californios’* divided loyalties, not unlike those experienced by the *tejanos* in 1836, have not been a subject for much research. Doña Felipa Osuna de Marron provides evidence that loyalty to Mexico during the war was interpreted by some *californios* in very personalistic terms. Whether or not one’s friends were on the American side made a difference. Her relation also illustrates how a loyal *mexicano* was converted into an American supporter because of the suspicions of his neighbors and friends.

That personal loyalty was also important in Mexican California is also demonstrated in the narratives’ treatment of native relations. A faithful Indian servant saved the lives of Doña Eustaquia and her daughters on Rancho Jamul. Presumably disloyal native servants threatened the San Diego pueblo in



Old Town San Diego in 1874. The view is from Presidio Hill, including the San Diego River, which at that time ran into the bay. *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

1837, and the result was a mini-witch hunt directed against suspected aliens. Mexican women were required to live intimately with people who could at any moment ally themselves with a horrible enemy, the unassimilated Indians, who would kill colonial men and take the women prisoner. As was true throughout California, the threat of Indian uprisings aided by the house servants was real, as demonstrated at Jamul. All of this is reminiscent of the fears, real and imagined, that white slave-owners in the deep South harbored towards their house slaves. There were, of course sexual implications to Indian attacks, as illustrated in the carrying off of the Leiva girls. This heightened the stakes, and perhaps added fuel to the male aggression against suspected natives.

In any case, the narratives' treatment of Indian affairs in Mexican San Diego should disabuse us of the romantic notions of Mexican-Indian harmony. The slaughter of the eleven lancers in 1846 graphically challenges our suppositions of a natural alliance between *californios* and natives.

To what extent are these narratives a politically gendered history? The general topics covered were probably directed by the male interviewer, so it is impossible to tell the extent to which these women

would have constructed a different thematic history on their own. The range of discourse in all the accounts, except perhaps that of Doña Carrillo de Fitch, suggests that the women had some control over the subject. Doña Machado conveyed a good memory about and interest in local politics, as did Doña Osuna to a lesser degree. Doña Lorenzana expressed sadness at the conquest of California by the Americans, and Doña Osuna voiced her fear of these newcomers. On the other hand, because the other two women, Doña Machado de Ridington and Doña Carrillo de Fitch, both married Anglo-Americans, their political loyalties were mixed at best.

The subtleties of tone and expression so well analyzed by Genaro Padilla in his study of Mexican Americans' autobiographies were undoubtedly present in all of their accounts.³⁸ These narratives, however, do not seem to be characterized by the romantic nostalgia of accommodation. The feeling one has for the past after reading Doña Osuna's account is that of relief that it is over. Similarly, Doña Carrillo de Fitch's story is that of a particularly trying affair, and the memories of Doña Machado are not exclusively those of an edenic past. Instead, danger seems to be a recurrent theme. Only Doña Lorenzana seems to have some romantic tendencies when she dwells on

the smooth running of the mission under her guidance. Perhaps it was a matter of personal pride, but not necessarily an attempt to reconstruct a happier time, and even she could remember the dangers they all faced from the native population. In general, we might say that memories of unpleasant events are often sharper than those of pleasant times: indeed revolutions, deaths, and wars are better remembered than periods of "boring" peace. These women's memories were not filled with nostalgia, but with recollection of a past that was insecure and threatening.

Neither do these narratives seem to be good illustrations of what Padilla has called "discursive duplicity," defined as a pragmatic attempt to please the conqueror while communicating a hidden message to future Mexican readers.³⁹ The fact that these stories were dictated with the knowledge that they would be used by Bancroft to construct his history of California may have urged these women to assume a false tone or to hide a message, but it is difficult to find clear evidence of this in the texts. Of the four narratives, perhaps Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch's may have been the most re-touched with respect to her direct quotes regarding what transpired between her and her father. The politicization of the encounter may have been a willful deception, but we can never know. Padilla points out how Doña Lorenzana's refusal to discuss the loss of her ranch lands communicated her bitterness and anguish about what the Americans had done to her.⁴⁰ It is entirely possible that she felt angry about this, but this tone did not pervade the rest of her narrative, and in fact, her memories of dispossession came at the end of the interview.

Finally, these narratives can be interpreted from the post-modern perspective that has been inspired by the French writers Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. From a post-structuralist position, these accounts challenge conventional narratives of California history (those primarily constructed by the white men who dominated nineteenth-century society) because they accentuate hitherto silenced voices, those of conquered women.⁴¹ Deconstruction of these narratives shows how they can be read as oppositional texts, not so much by a literal reading but interpreting the silences, gaps, and nuances of meaning. Thus it is significant that husbands play such a minor role within all the narratives of the married women and that the most memorable men in their histories are the mission priests—and they are described as sick or crazy. Additionally, children and

family life are virtually absent from the accounts of the married women. These silences might be interpreted as indicating the patriarchal assumptions of the interviewer, in this case Thomas Savage. Or, on the other hand, these women's failure to mention "traditional Mexican family" life may indicate the extent to which it may have been over-valued and romanticized by later historians.

From a deconstructionist perspective, these historical stories told by women tell us something beyond the "facts" of what happened. Their accounts are in reality a form of literature that can be analyzed in terms of its symbolic, or figurative, meanings, which are intended to condition the way we should think about the past. In historian Hayden White's words, "the historical narrative does not *reproduce* the events it describes; it tells us in what direction to think about events and charges our thought about the events with different emotional valences. The historical narrative does not *image* the things it indicates; it *calls to mind* images of the things it indicates, in the same way that a metaphor does."⁴² From this viewpoint, the women's narratives provide various metaphors that signify a context for a deeper understanding of the historical events. An analysis of the symbolic content of these narratives is inevitably drawn to the metaphors of the "Other," in particular the ambivalent image of the native American and the Anglo-Americans, both as allies and enemies. There is no clear code for deciphering the multivalent meaning of these two groups: some individuals were good and some were bad. Indeed it is noticeable that negative stereotypes about national or racial groups are absent from these narratives. Natives and American conquerors are treated as individuals who had moral significance to the degree that they hurt or helped particular *californios*. Thus Doña Osuna de Marron does not express moral outrage over *californios* who changed sides during the Mexican War—they did so because of personal friendships. Similarly, Doña Lorenzana tells of her approval of the American administrator of Mission San Luis Rey, even while feeling sad about the American conquest. If there is any literary modality through which these narratives are encoded, it is that of irony. The ironic tone is imbedded in the shifting meaning of the word "enemy." Depending on the time, circumstance, and individual narrator, the "enemy" could be a former native servant, a former mission neophyte, the *indios* from the surrounding country, a *californio* politico, a Mexican governor, *los del país* (*californio* rancheros and vague-



A Native American couple, probably of the Kumeyaay people, near a ranchería in the San Diego backcountry, about 1874. By this time the Indians had adopted some of the European styles of construction, which they blended with their traditional materials. *San Diego Historical Society, Photograph Collection.*

ros), individuals in the American army, or an Anglo-American settler. On the other hand, all these individuals could also be friends and collaborators.

The more thorough analysis of these historical narratives as forms of literature is a subject for another, more specialized kind of study. In this inquiry, the historical sketches recorded by nineteenth-century Mexican women defy easy categorization. Their accounts are not transparent windows giving us a clear view of events. Instead, their vision of history is colored and rendered opaque by the women's ambivalent and marginalized status. It should be evident that the significance of their historical voices goes beyond the easy characterizations of activist or victim. Their expressions were complex and nuanced, and ultimately provide a more authentic understanding of the Mexican heritage of the United States.



See notes beginning on page 300

Richard Griswold del Castillo along with Richard A. Garcia has written Cesar Chavez: The Triumph of Spirit, recently published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Griswold del Castillo is also author of The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict (1990), and several other books dealing with Chicano social history.



The Mexican Players Casilda Amador, Alfonso Gallardo, and Sara Macias strike a dramatic pose during the spring of 1935. Although records do not indicate who shot many of the theater's photos, Irene Garner, the second Mrs. Garner, claims that she served as the primary photographer at Padua Hills Theatre. The author is deeply indebted to Tavo Olmos for his work in reproducing the photos for this article. *Courtesy Pomona Public Library.*

"Just Put On That Padua Hills Smile"

THE MEXICAN PLAYERS AND THE PADUA HILLS THEATRE, 1931-1974

by matt garcia

INTRODUCTION

Reflecting on the long tenure of the popular Padua Hills Theatre in Claremont, California, performers, managers, and audience members recall a unique, educational experience that inspired pride throughout the Mexican *colonias* of the Pomona Valley and joy among the many patrons who attended the productions. The theater's beginnings, however, only faintly resemble what Padua Hills had become by the end of its run in 1974. In time, Padua Hills exemplified both positive and negative aspects of intercultural relations between Mexican and white Americans in the twentieth century and reflected many of the social conditions of this historical period.

Padua Hills evolved out of a community and nation experiencing a "grassroots" revival in the performing arts. The "little theater" movement in the United States developed during a period of great change and cultural upheaval throughout the world. For Europeans, the advent of the little theater came earlier, during the 1890s; for Americans, this collective expression of culture appeared in 1911-1912, just prior to the First World War. In both cases, the movement symbolized an increased awareness among people everywhere of the dramatic arts for their communal, and often democratic, effects. For Americans, the emergence of this popular phenomenon occurred at a time when technology began to reshape entertainment, as manifested in the rise of the phonograph, the nickelodeon, the radio, and eventually the movies. These great icons of mass culture significantly transformed American society, emphasizing the individual experience as opposed to a collective one. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the little theater "experiment" in the United States represented a movement in which members

of a community attempted to recapture the joy of producing entertainment, as well as observing it.

According to a contemporary writer of the period, the little theater represented a "center of experimentation."¹ Due to the meager budgets local thespians operated under, theater productions reflected a strong emphasis on the craft of acting, as well as more effective use of playhouse resources, such as the stage, props, and lighting. In addition, most little theaters, almost by definition, operated as non-profit, or low-profit, ventures. "Established from a love of drama, not from a love of gain," many of these performances centers eschewed commercialism in favor of accentuating the artistic value of the plays.² In addition, community theaters provided a place for local citizens to "experiment" in social relations and civic entertainment. Because local troupes, financiers, and audiences drew from the total citizenry of a community, the performances were often less formal than other stage productions of the time, reflecting an off-stage affinity that existed between players and their observers.

By the 1930s, however, the little theater movement yielded to the economic and social pressures of the Great Depression. The collapse of global, national, and local economies forced players to concentrate on subsistence and survival, and compelled communities interested in live theater to abandon their idealistic notions of entertainment and its production. The refinement and commercialization of the motion picture industry, particularly the development of the "talkies," compounded the pressures against community theater by luring patrons to seek amusement in the movies. For many American little theaters, these developments sounded a death knell.

Only a few managed to survive the crisis of the 1930s and successfully continued their productions into the post-Depression era. The Padua Hills The-

atre of Claremont was prominent among these enduring relics of community drama, producing plays from 1930 to 1974. Created on the cusp of the movement, the Padua Hills Theatre inhabits a peculiar place in American theater history. Not only did its tenure defy historical generalization about little theater, but the contents of its plays and the function of its performances also represented a unique experience in the annals of American community playhouse productions.

Padua Hills Theatre is unique in many respects, including its genesis during the Great Depression. Actually, the typical little theater "experiment" did fail at Padua Hills. The local, all-white thespian group, the Claremont Community Players, folded after three years of Depression-era performances. Padua Hills's ability to endure the economic difficulties of the time, however, rested on a variation of the standard approach taken by other little theater groups during that time.

Faced with the threat of closing the brand-new theater, the white owners of the facility arrived at a creative solution to the problem. Instead of choosing the unlikely option of attracting another white community troupe to the theater, the proprietors turned to the local Mexican American barrios and discovered a thriving and talented group of young men and women. This collaboration between wealthy elites of the Claremont community and the Mexican people of the local barrios resulted in a successful formula that produced the Mexican Players and saved the Padua Hills Theatre from closure.

The importance of the Mexican Players and the Padua Hills little theater becomes clearer against the background of Mexican American theater historiography. Although little writing exists on the subject, the few studies that have been done virtually overlook the Mexican Players of Padua Hills.³ Interest in the subject initially arose out of the successes of the politically and socially conscious troupe, *teatro campesino*, during the 1970s, and the subsequent accomplishments of the group's prolific director, Luis Valdez. This heightened awareness of Mexican American theater inspired some scholars to examine the history of the movement.

Filtered through the perspectives of activist scholars anxious to discover the radical and politically based origins of *teatro campesino*, the studies focus on troupes and theaters that fit into the preconceived theses of the authors engaged in this history. While these histories add significantly to an understanding of the origins of recent Chicano theater, they also tend to be presentist in their approach. Many scholars have chosen to focus on the circuses and traveling thespian troupes that toured the Southwest and

Mexico prior to the 1930s, disseminating subtle criticism and social commentary on topics such as the Mexican Revolution or the U.S. deportations and repatriations of Mexican immigrants during the Depression. Thorough examinations of Mexican folktheater, as well as evaluations of the period between 1930 and the advent of *teatro campesino* in the 1960s, are conspicuously absent in the historiography. Moreover, this scholarship has resulted in geographical arguments over whether Mexican American theater originated in Texas or southern California.⁴

The consensus among these scholars on the subject of Mexican American folktheater seems to be one of disdain. To many, the folk production represented a non-artistic, popular dramatic presentation that does not hold a significant place in the history of Mexican American theater. John Brokaw, for example, sees the popularization of folktheater as an invasion of Mexican American theater by the Church, which brought about its decline after the 1930s.⁵ Nicolás Kanellos, commenting on *pastorelas*, a form of Mexican folk drama, also condemns Mexican folktheater even while he challenges Brokaw's thesis on church domination: "*Pastorelas* were probably never performed by them [professional artists], for this is a *folk production* associated mostly with rural, pastoral communities, not with *professionally skilled artists*" (italics added).⁶ Of course, the Church never controlled the Padua Hills Theatre, nor did the Mexican Players exclusively produce *pastorelas*.

Why, then, should recent Chicano scholars denigrate or ignore the contributions of the Mexican Players of the Padua Hills Theatre? Why should we not consider the Mexican Players "professional artists?" The answers to these questions, I believe, lie partly in the politics of Mexican theater history. The articles and books of the 1970s and 1980s concerning this subject reflect the politics of *chicanismo* that these authors identified with while writing these studies.⁷ Compared to the powerful political-protest message of the *teatro campesino* productions, the Mexican Players' performances appeared accommodationist, politically benign, and perhaps even dishonest. Commenting specifically on the Padua Hills productions, Roberto J. Garza, for example, wrote:

...like so many other institutions of this nature [Mexican folktheatre] which are dedicated to the infusion and diffusion of "culture," such groups did little to represent the actual existence of the Chicano in the American society. Their romantic performances reflected nothing of the harsh realities of the oppressed Chicano population. Worse still, this theatre failed to capture and convey that *espíritu* of *La Raza* which was about to manifest itself.⁸



The Padua Hills Theatre of Claremont, California, nestled up against the San Bernardino Mountains. The snow-capped peaks of Ontario (near) and Cucamonga (far) stand in the distance, while Mount San Antonio, or "Mount Baldy," the tallest mountain in the immediate range, is faintly visible just on the other side of the foothills. The residential section starts about five hundred yards down the hill, while Claremont's town center and colleges lie three miles south of the settlement. The complex consisted of a theater for the players' performances, a dining room, a courtyard for post-production parties (known as *amigas*), and an arts and crafts shop for the exhibition of local artwork and Mexican handcrafts. *Courtesy Pomona Public Library*

The emergence of Chicano nationalism in the 1960s and its effects on Mexican American culture led many Chicano artists, critics, and scholars to disavow anything reminiscent of the Mexican American generation that preceded the movement. This phenomenon also manifested itself in other American ethnic cultures, most significantly the African American. The emergence of a distinctive Chicano voice in the productions of *teatro campesino* loosely paralleled the rise of "bebop" and the "black underground" in response to the co-opting of jazz by white performers between 1930 and 1947. As Ben Sidran demonstrates in his book *Black Talk*, many jazz musicians of the bebop generation regarded the role of popular entertainer, exemplified most prominently by Louis Armstrong, as "Uncle Tomism." According to Sidran, underground artists chose to "disregard the virtues of jazz as a quasi-folk art." Instead, bebop performers concentrated on the creation of music for black musicians specifically, and African American people in general.

Similarly, Chicanos reacted adversely to the co-

option of Mexican culture by non-Mexican performers, and to the apparent "Uncle Tomism" ("Tio Taco") of Mexican American artists performing stereotypical roles. Unlike the black experience, Chicano cultural exclusivity emerged simultaneously with the rise of ethnic politics. Consequently, Chicano scholars have had difficulty separating their scholarship from their politics in order to recognize the valid artistry of the Mexican Players of Padua Hills.

My purpose in raising this point is not to dispute Chicano scholars' political criticisms of Mexican American folktheater. On the contrary, I agree that the effects of the Mexican Players' performances may have at times perpetuated the stereotypes of Mexican people that romanticized and misrepresented the harsh lives of Chicanos in the Southwest. This, however, should not negate other, more positive aspects of the theater. Concentrating attention only on the negative, accommodationist aspects of the theater and its productions provides only half the story, and unfairly withholds or denies "artist status" to the Mexican Players.

This leads to a final observation regarding American theater history in general. The Mexican Players of the Padua Hills little theater represent a "novelty" in the annals of the American playhouse. Although they did produce many folk plays, the Mexican Players also performed romantic comedies and other forms of theatrical drama. In addition, some may suggest that the plays resembled the pageantry of the *Ramona* production in Hemet, just to the southeast of Claremont. In fact, two of the Mexican Players, Mauricio and Hilda Jara, became the directors of the *Ramona Pageant*, while others performed and taught there.

Pageantry, however, represented a different, though not unrelated, phenomenon from the little theater movement. Although both grew out of a desire by local communities to involve the citizenry in theater arts, pageantry represented something grander in scale, though less artistic in its approach. According to Naima Prevots, author of *American Pageantry: A Movement for Art and Democracy*, "[pageant] audiences numbered from 2,000 to 80,000," while "5,000 performers and usually no fewer than 200 members of a community" presented the productions. Furthermore, communities produced pageants on an "epic-scale," avoiding two- and three-act plays and dramas of conflict and resolution. Lastly, pageantry participants determined every aspect of the presentation democratically.¹¹

Little theaters, on the other hand, attempted to emulate larger theatrical productions on a reduced scale. Typically, the size of the audience rarely exceeded two to three hundred people, while troupes usually maintained a membership of thirty or forty performers.¹² The troupes also derived many of their productions from established plays, or used dramas written by local playwrights employed by the theater. The Padua Hills Theatre for example, occasionally held local play-writing contests, with the following guidelines: "With our emphasis on the folk arts and folk drama we are not interested in the pageant type of production."¹³ In the case of the Padua Hills Theatre, moreover, a hierarchy existed among the proprietors, the directors, the instructors, and the Mexican Players. Although the players may have exercised some say over the direction of the plays, the theater was far less democratic than the average American pageant described by Naima Prevots.

Finally, the productions of the Mexican Players substantially differed from the Mexican plays of earlier traveling troupes, or the more recent Chicano dramas of *teatro campesino*.¹⁴ First, the Mexican Players performed before predominantly non-Mexican

audiences; the traveling Mexican companies and *teatro campesino* appealed mostly to Mexican audiences. Second, the Mexican Players had a permanent home for their productions at the Padua Hills Theatre; the traveling Mexican companies performed in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Mexico, while *teatro campesino* also displayed its talents throughout the Southwest. And third, the productions of the Mexican Players received significant financing from non-Mexican patrons and financiers; the traveling Mexican companies and *teatro campesino* depended on their own fund-raising to produce their plays.

In many respects, therefore, the Padua Hills Theatre and the Mexican Players represented a unique experience, unlike anything in American playhouse history. Although they shared an affinity with other theatrical forms, the "experiment" in northeastern Claremont never completely resembled anything before it, and certainly nothing after it. The Mexican Players' experience resides in a special, yet unexplored space in Mexican American theater history. Perhaps, by recognizing the presence of the troupe and theater and by respecting the artists who engaged in this venture, we can arrive at a more complete understanding of the significance of the Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre to Chicano history and the history of American theater.

THE MAKING OF THE PADUA HILLS THEATRE

In 1928, two years prior to the opening of the Padua Hills Theatre in Claremont, California, twenty-seven enthusiastic actors, playwrights, and civic leaders gathered to found the Little Theater Association. As an extension of a burgeoning artistic community, these citizens formed a theatrical group that they hoped would establish the performing arts in this developing southern California college town.¹⁵ Assured of the support of wealthy donors and well-paying customers, the Claremont Community Players began their performances with high aspirations.

Although the all-Caucasian troupe initially performed in a confined and modest venue known as "the Hayloft," by 1930 they had graduated to the new and elaborate theater atop the developing Padua Hills estate subdivision. Located in the farthest northeastern reaches of Los Angeles County, the theater was planned as a cultural center within the large residential development project of Padua Hills. Originally the property of the wealthy Mexican landowner Don Ygnacio Palomares, Padua Hills changed hands several times before it came under the control of a group known as the Evey Canyon Syndicate. Composed of wealthy members of the

omona Valley community, the syndicate produced down payment for the purchase of 112 acres appraised at the conservative figure of \$123,000. Water rights also accompanied the acquisition, which allowed the syndicate to wrest control of the property away from local settlers who had precluded the development of Padua Hills. Following the purchase, the syndicate quickly established a sales organization of twenty-seven men and women to determine who could buy into the planned community and how much they would pay.

The largest contributor to the syndicate and the president of the organization was a local businessman, Herman H. Garner. A native of Tennessee and a graduate of Pomona College, this young engineer had invented the air filter for the modern internal-combustion engine. Having created a highly profitable product, Garner established the Vortex Company on Indian Hill Avenue in Claremont to place the filter into mass production. Large profits followed for the Garner family.

Under the direction of Herman Garner, the Evey Canyon Syndicate sought to preserve the natural beauty of the small foothill area by carefully planning a residential settlement that would not dominate the delicate landscape. Having purchased the right to control the future development of the area, the syndicate strove to settle its planned community with people of its choosing. Therefore, the syndicate included exclusive language and terms in the contract outlining the procedures for buying into Padua Hills:

...this entire property should be sold to *picked prospects* on either a cash basis, or large cash payments with large monthly payments in six to ten months, with all contracts due and payable in full from 12 to 18 months.¹⁷

These terms discriminated against anyone who did not possess a large and immediate sum of money to invest in the property. Hence, sites went to those who controlled the largest share of wealth in Los Angeles County: affluent Caucasian families. To ensure elite white ownership of these relatively low-priced plots, the syndicate explicitly stated throughout the document that residents would be "picked" by the association. These policies effectively prevented non-whites from owning property on Padua Hills.¹⁸ Pleased with the apparent success of controlling the type of person bidding for a site, the syndicate proudly reported that "In every case, these people were of the calibre that one would desire."¹⁹

Having restricted the class and racial composition of the community, the association also strove to stamp an artistic character on the settlement. With

the community envisioned in part as a colony for local artists of national and international fame, men and women of the Los Angeles art scene chose to make Padua Hills their home. Among the most prominent of these artists was Millard Sheets, the famed Los Angeles painter whose works still adorn the faces of many Southland buildings. Sheets's 1930s realist murals, commissioned by the Works Project Association (WPA), brought the painter much acclaim. Perhaps the artist's most noted work, the painting of two working-class women looming over Los Angeles's old Angel's Flight Railway on Bunker Hill, is among the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's most treasured local pieces. Today, the murals commissioned by the wealthy Los Angeles banker, Howard Ahmanson, for his Home Savings and Loan banks represent Sheets's best-known and best-preserved works.

To attract other artists of Sheets's stature to Padua Hills, Garner and his housing associates established a permanent arts and crafts shop and performing arts center as a necessary ingredient in the settlement. Garner also included a little theater in the initial housing project blueprints as a future selling point for the developing community, and he hoped that these structures would create the kind of cultured atmosphere already burgeoning in Los Angeles to the west.

Although Garner intended to build a small barn-like structure to house the theatrical productions, the finished product scarcely resembled his imaginations. While on a trip to Europe, Herman and Bess Garner left the project in the hands of the contractors, builders, and the Claremont Community Players. Without the counsel of their main financier, the group constructed a sturdy, steel-girded, Spanish-style theater. Completed in 1930, the complex cost approximately \$75,000, making it among the most expensive community theaters in California.

The facility not only included a three-hundred-seat-capacity theater, but also a dining room, a kitchen, and an exhibition room where foreign and local arts and crafts could be displayed and sold. The entire complex rested at the peak of the foothill, surrounded by a stream and many olive trees. To accommodate those interested in the natural beauty of the area, landscapers provided walkways, patios, and lookout points to heighten visitors' appreciation of the sensual splendor of the site.

Despite an attractive facility and beautiful surroundings, the Claremont Community Players struggled to survive through their first few Depression-era seasons. The players began production on December 3, 1930, with the play "The Royal Family," staged approximately one year after the collapse

of the national and world economies. Although the productions received favorable reviews from local audiences, the pressures of the Depression greatly undermined the ability of the Claremont Community Players to produce professional plays as well as the patrons to pay for these performances. .

Consequently, the Claremont Community Players bounced from one financially difficult year to another. By the 1932-1933 season, the all-white troupe began to complain that they could not pay dues assessed to each player by the little theater's Community Players Association. As a result, the membership of the association declined precipitously, resulting in the scaling back of the number of productions. The predicament threw the entire program into turmoil, driving the Garners, the community of Claremont, and the players to seek an alternative solution to this dilemma.

THE MEXICAN PLAYERS

Ironically, the solution to the theater's woes existed within the complex itself. In need of employees to perform other duties at the theater such as cooking, serving, and cleaning, Bess Garner sought the help of local people living in the Mexican barrios of the Pomona Valley. One of these communities, known today as Arbol Verde, stands in the

southeastern corner of Claremont, but also extends to parts of Upland and Montclair, straddling the Los Angeles and San Bernardino county line. From these margins emerged the solution to the Padua Hills Theatre's troubles.

A local historian, Norma Hopland Blakeslee, claims that the decision to hire Mexican Americans to serve as waiters and waitresses derived from the Garners' trip to Europe. According to Blakeslee, the Garners ate at a restaurant in Italy where local boys and girls sang folk music while serving meals. This experience inspired the Garners' idea to hire young Mexican Americans to perform the same service at the new theater's dining room.²¹

Another possible factor contributing to the Garners' decision relates to the socioeconomic position of Mexican Americans in the Pomona Valley. Traditionally, Mexican Americans maintained the lowest position in a local economy driven primarily by the citrus industry. Working in the groves and packinghouses throughout the greater southern California region, Mexican Americans provided growers with low-cost manual labor. Discrimination, language barriers, and constant spatial migration denied Mexican American field workers access to occupational upward mobility. Similarly, other businesses looked to these people as a source of low-cost labor for jobs that Caucasians typically rejected



Some Mexican employees who served as waitresses, waiters, gardeners, and cooks at Padua Hills sang in the dining room during pre-production dinners for the all-white Claremont Community Players' plays. After their ascendancy to the Padua Hills stage in 1931-1932, the Mexican Players continued to serve meals prior to their own performances. From left to right: Conchita Cervantes, Casilda Amador, Margarita Park, Mariquita Hernandez, Liduvina Guillen, Anita de la Rosa, and Lupe Mendoza. *Courtesy Pomona Public Library.*



The cast from the first production of the Mexican Players, *Noche Mexicana*, performed April 20, 1931, for the theater owners and staff. From left to right: Maximina Zuñiga, Philipe García, Josephine García, Lupe Gonzalez, Sarah Gomez, Florence Alvarez, Manuela Huerta, Jesus Huerta, Jose Garcia, Gregorio Ornelas, Miguel Vera, Emma Lopez, Maria Gomez, Grace Ramirez, Juan Matute, Beatrice Anaya, Flavio Vera, and Rachel Sepulveda. Courtesy Pomona Public Library.

because of the social stigma attached to the work. Cultivated over a period of roughly fifty years, unequal social conditions in the Pomona Valley presented the Garners with the option of tapping inexpensive Mexican labor for crucial positions at the theater.

To find these young laborers, the Garners needed to look no farther than their own backyard. Situated behind the Garner home on Indian Hill Avenue, a segregated school for local Mexican students served children from the nearby barrios. Drawing on the young people from these schools and by also approaching parents and children in the local barrios, the Garners succeeded in attracting Mexican Americans to work at Padua Hills.²²

The duties of the young Mexican employees included services such as waiting on tables, serving, cooking, cleaning, and gardening. Most significantly, these young men and women provided entertainment, which consisted primarily of Mexican folk songs, during dinners and intermissions. In sponsoring these productions, the Garners hoped to expose the predominantly white audience to Mexican culture and to create an atmosphere that com-

plimented the mission-style structure. These brief appearances quickly gained the popular acclaim of patrons attending the theater, providing them with a unique opportunity to witness and applaud the talents of local Mexican Americans.

The performances by the young Mexican laborers also impressed the theater management. Some believed that these young men and women from the local barrios possessed a distinctive talent that should not be confined to the kitchen and the diningroom. Therefore, on April 21 and 22, 1931, in an exclusive performance for the Claremont Community Players, the young Mexican performers presented a short, "colorful" production entitled *Noche Mexicana* (Mexican Night). The evening proved the performing abilities of the Mexican employees, and gained the acclaim and approval of the white theater staff. They repeated the performance twice in the following month for the local Parent-Teacher's Association, again garnering favorable reviews.

The emergence of young Mexican men and women as artists, not merely employees, occurred at a critical moment in the little theater's history. The

event also transformed the outlook of Mexican people working at the facility, encouraging them to pursue in a public venue the talents their families and community knew they possessed. According to Cheva García, a long-time resident of the Arbol Verde barrio, pageantry and cultural performances were regularly held in the neighborhoods where many of these fledgling artists lived. The community often produced festivals and ceremonies involving folkloric music and dance, either in response to Mexican holidays or in observance of religious days of obligation.²³ The Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart, which had been constructed by the residents, provided a source of inspiration for these activities and played a central role in introducing some white Catholics to the cultural richness of the barrio. In addition, local radio stations sought Mexican singers from the barrios to perform regularly for the Mexican listening audience living and working throughout the region.²⁴ For Cheva, her family, and her community, music and dance played a central role in their lives.²⁵

Bess Garner recognized the marketability of their talents, and the value of exposing whites, both the prejudiced and the progressive, to the beauty of Mexican culture. This chemistry presented the possibility of dispelling antipathies toward Mexican people while attracting large audiences. Moreover, the Mexican Players' emergence as capable stage performers suggested an eventual solution to the financial crisis of the theater: the production of plays exclusively by the Mexican Players. After a successful trial performance entitled *Serenata Mexicana* during the 1932 Los Angeles summer Olympic Games, the Garners began to incorporate some of the Mexican plays into the regular repertoire of the Padua Hills Theatre.²⁶

The elevation of young Mexican men and women from service workers to players, however, did not free them from their other duties. They continued to provide the services they had come to accept as their jobs. When the management decided to add their plays to the repertoire, they expected the Mexican Players to perform the double duty of server and performer. Unlike the members of the Claremont Community Players, little distinction was made between the on-and off-stage responsibilities of the Paduanos.²⁷

As reflected in the attitudes of the management and the reviews of those who attended these plays, most Caucasians accepted the acting and singing abilities of these Mexican performers as "natural." The following *Los Angeles Times* review epitomizes the non-Mexican community's understanding of the productions:

...out at the Little Theater in the Padua Hills, near Claremont, the other evening we saw a Mexican entertainment which was the most genuine thing we've ever seen in the United States. It was all in Spanish, all presented by Mexicans and all quite natural. They didn't act or speak for the audience. They didn't seem to know there was an audience. They were just a group of lively young Mexicans having a good time, and those who watched them couldn't help having a good time too...It is the most rapid-fire, spontaneous and natural thing of the kind we've ever seen.²⁸

The terms "genuine," "authentic," and "natural" persisted throughout the many reviews written by observers. Bess Garner, for example, wrote: "It's partly the instinct that all Mexican people seem to have for design and balance and partly that old timers teach it to new ones just like young monkeys are taught to hang by the tail and chickens to pick up corn."²⁸ Although these reviews aimed to promote and praise the performances of the Mexican Players, they often deprived performers of the privilege of being recognized as talented artists, and occasionally they denigrated all Mexican people.

In looking at some of the first plays performed by the Mexican Players, namely *Serenata Mexicana* (Mexican Serenade), *Mi Rancho Bonito* (My Beautiful Ranch), and *Christmas at Mi Rancho Bonito* (Christmas at my Beautiful Ranch), it becomes evident that romantic depictions of a pastoral, leisurely past predominated. The romanticization of Mexican California misrepresented first the history of California, and second, the realities of the Mexican experience in post-1850 California. Moreover, such presentations stereotyped Mexicans as carefree, shiftless people, who spent most of their time singing and dancing.

These plays, composed and arranged primarily by whites, but performed by the Mexican Players, represented a skewed understanding of Mexicans in California that was in keeping with the historiography written during the early and mid-twentieth century.³⁰ Therefore, although the songs and dances may have been known to the Mexican Players prior to their presentation on stage, the roles and depictions of Mexican characters in the play did not represent an extension of their own lives. For the players, the musicals represented pure drama, and their performances, though they appeared "natural," did not portray their lives away from the theater. When the audience came into contact with these same players during the meals and at post-production parties, they encountered people who seemed very similar to the characters they saw on stage. Again, however, the image put forth by the

Mexican Players while serving the Padua Hills Theatre in whatever capacity did not reflect their personalities in their everyday lives.

In the Martínez family, a particular saying developed in relationship to this issue. Michelle Martínez, cousin and niece to many of the performers, recalls a phrase she and her relatives used when forced to face adversity: "When times got hard, we used to say: 'just put on that Padua Hills smile.'" According to Christina Pérez, a former Mexican Player, the smile was significant: "You had to smile a lot; that was one of the musts. You *had* to smile!"³² These accounts reveal not only the performers' consciousness regarding their roles at Padua Hills, but also indicate that some players used acting constantly as a mechanism to deal with difficult encounters and situations that arose while working at the theater.

Such distinctions between the on-stage, on-the-job personalities and the everyday character of the players did not seem to occur to the audience, media, or management. This misconception facilitated the acceptance of the Mexican Players to the formal

repertoire of the theater mainly because white observers confused the "authenticity" of the players' productions with their off-stage lives or denied the existence of such a separation. Although this seemed to benefit the Paduanos, it also presented a stereotypical image of Mexican people that shaped management-player relations and limited critical appreciation of their artistic talents. The Garners, knowledgeable of the socioeconomic position of other Mexican Americans in the community, thought nothing of the long hours and odd jobs they required the Paduanos to work for little pay. As for their talents, it became customary for the white community to overlook the Paduanos' acting abilities; instead, they regarded the performances as extensions of the "natural" gaiety of Mexican culture. While the productions presented the Mexican people in a positive, though somewhat inaccurate or exaggerated, manner, it also denied the players a creative status among artists in the Claremont community.

This is not to say that the Garners and the Padua Hills management had little appreciation for the Mexican Players' plays. By the 1932-1933 season, it



A scene from *Serenata Mexicana*, the first production performed for the general public. This performance ran during the 1932 Olympics as a way of contributing to the multicultural image of southern California and of testing the marketability of the Mexican Players. The success of the play initiated the beginning of over four decades of Mexican Players' productions. From left to right: Sarah Gomez, Marguerita Park, Samuel Valadez, Maximina Zuñiga, Juan Matute, Eva Rodriguez, Miguel Vera, Jesus Huerta, Felix Moreno, Manuel Madrid, and Pauline Anaya. Courtesy *Perennial Public Library*.

became apparent that it was the production of the Mexican Players' plays that would be the salvation of the theater's operations. At the conclusion of the season the Claremont Community Players decided to finally give up their expensive venture. The Garners reacted to this news by contracting with a small contingent from the Pasadena Playhouse known as the Padua Players, who agreed to perform their most successful plays until the Mexican Players were ready to expand their Friday and Saturday night appearances to a full schedule.³³ For a while, the Mexican Players shared the stage with the Padua Players; however, over the next few seasons the management cultivated the idea of producing exclusively Mexican plays.

From 1932 to 1936, the Mexican Players gained much experience and confidence, while their popularity with the audience and the local community increased significantly. The Garners understood that the increased exposure of the Mexican Players would be necessary to ensure continued business at the theater. Therefore, the Mexican Players not only performed at Padua Hills; they also shared their talents with local crowds in department stores, clubs, and artists' gatherings. The players soon became goodwill ambassadors of the little Padua Hills enclave, which helped to advertise the theater, and paved the way for their full-time ascendancy to the Padua Hills stage.

The Garners also worked to establish a new foundation for the Mexican Players at the little theater. During this period, Bess Garner cultivated a new and instructive interest in Mexico and Mexican culture for the purpose of acquiring folklore, dance, and songs that could be adapted to the Padua Hills stage. This initiated the first of her many travels to Mexico. While visiting, she took notes, collected materials and costumes for future plays, and made important contacts with Mexican officials and artists. These experiences formed a lasting impression on Bess Garner, and inspired her to share with the Pomona Valley community these encounters through her writings and her involvement in the Padua Hills productions.³⁴

Bess Garner often returned from Mexico full of ideas and plans. Many of the plays that developed at the beginning of the Mexican Players' tenure at Padua Hills derived from the combination of her experiences and the writing talents of Charles Dickinson, the theater's primary playwright. Filtered through the eyes of Garner and Dickinson, both Pomona College graduates, Mexican traditions made their way onto the stage at the Padua Hills Theatre.³⁵

As stated earlier, this formula often skewed the

image of Mexican culture, or California history, or both at once, depending on the subject of the play. While some plays presented honest, accurate translations of Mexican traditions, others involved questionable portrayals of Mexican people, and many drastically altered legends and history. The plays *Noche Poblanos* (1942-43), *Como Siempre* (1944-45), and *Trovador Californiano* (1958-59), for example, all illustrate these tendencies.³⁶

Noche Poblanos presents the Mexican legend of *la llorona* (the weeping woman), as the story supposedly first appeared in the city of Puebla. The fable takes place prior to Mexican Independence, exploring the pernicious race relations between "the best of Spanish families" and the indigenous people of Mexico. The story involves three primary characters: two "Spaniards," María Dolores and Capitán Luis Ortega, and a young Indian woman, Xochimeztli (Moon Flower). Having realized his love for María Dolores and secured her hand in marriage, Capitán Ortega leaves for the countryside to end his relationship with his Indian mistress, Xochimeztli. Suspicious of Capitán Ortega's notorious midnight rendezvous, María Dolores secretly follows him to the cave where Xochimeztli waits for her lover.

Upon arriving at the cave, Capitán Ortega attempts to inform Xochimeztli of his engagement to María Dolores, but he discovers that his affair has resulted in a child. Acknowledging his responsibility by law to care for Xochimeztli and their newborn son, the capitán agrees not to marry María Dolores if Xochimeztli can prove that she has given birth to a child. María Dolores, acting in a fit of jealousy, takes the child before Xochimeztli can retrieve her son and starts back for Puebla. Hearing María Dolores escape with the child, Capitán Ortega pursues her into town, with Xochimeztli following far behind. When Capitán Ortega finally catches up with María Dolores and the child, María Dolores convinces him that they should tell the townspeople that the infant's mother is dead, and that they will raise the child as their own. Upon Xochimeztli's arrival, the couple tells "the savage mother" of their decision. The heartbroken mother, upset by their imperious actions, exclaims: "Better he be dead than not with me. Better all be dead." Then, crying "to her primitive god," Xochimeztli invokes the wrath of the nearby volcano, Popocatepetl, to create an earthquake that destroys the entire city.

This popular folktale has many interpretations, as well as a variety of presentation styles. The form taken in this play presents interesting and thought-provoking questions about race relations between Europeans and Indians. The death and destruction caused by the kidnapping operates as a metaphor

for the consequences of mistreating and disrespecting indigenous peoples, whose affinity with nature can be used against European invaders. Second, the play also functions as a parable that upholds the sanctity of the mother-child relationship, demonstrating the repercussions of its violation. The story, however, does not discuss the improprieties of the capitán, allowing his scandalous affair to go virtually unjudged. In addition, María Dolores and Xochimeztli do not fault Luis Ortega for his actions; at different times in the play, both women show forgiveness, claiming that they can live with the situation if only they can be assured of his love. Instead of directing their antipathies toward Capitán Luis Ortega, the source of the tension, the two women battle each other, resulting in a catastrophic ending for all. Last, the play's authors denigrate Xochimeztli and her culture by using terms such as "savage" and "primitive" as descriptions of her indigenous background.

Como Siempre (As Always) explores the matriarchal society of Tehuantepec, a region on the west side of the Mexican isthmus in the state of Oaxaca. The story begins with a group of young men, led by the main character, Pedro, who attempt to serenade Don Anselmo's daughter, Elena. The widower Don Anselmo, however, does not approve of this, and turns the young romantic away from his daughter's window, much to the displeasure of Pedro and Elena. Elena, exercising her authority as a matriarch within the family, takes out her frustrations with her father's intransigence by confiscating his mescal (liquor), giving him an axe, and forcing him to cut wood. Pedro, meanwhile, retreats to devise a plan for winning over the favor of Don Anselmo.

Against the advice of his friends, who hold that marriage for men in Tehuantepec society equals slavery, Pedro insists that he marry Elena, who he says will break tradition and allow him to be the "boss" in his family. Doubtingly, his friends help Pedro cut an immense amount of wood to present to Don Anselmo. Upon receiving the gift, accompanied by a large bottle of mescal, Don Anselmo warms up to the notion of having another man around to chop wood, which would allow him to take more siestas. Don Anselmo agrees to the marriage of Pedro and Elena, and an elaborate Tehuantepec wedding ceremony ensues. After the wedding, however, Elena, continuing to assert her role as matriarch, presents her new husband with a wedding gift: a brand-new axe. The play ends with both Don Anselmo and Pedro chopping wood, and all the men saying *como siempre* (as always).

This play examines a very interesting and renowned Mexican indigenous culture made popular



Manuela Huerta models the *huipil grande*, a headdress worn by women of Tehuantepec, in Mexico's southern state, Oaxaca. The popularity of this distinctive culture and the beauty of these costumes inspired a variety of plays concerning the women of Tehuantepec, including *Marina*, *Juana*, *La Tehuana*, and *Como Siempre*, to name a few. During World War II, when many Paduanos (male Mexican Players) were drafted into the armed forces, Paduanas (female Mexican Players) utilized women-dominated plays as a way of compensating for the significant lack of male players. Many acknowledge Hilda Ramírez (Hilda Jara, after her marriage to fellow player Mauricio Jara), as an important Paduana who directed plays throughout much of the wartime period. *Courtesy Pomona Public Library*

particularly by Frida Kahlo, through her fascination with their elaborate clothing. The playwright, however, interprets this matriarchal society much differently from the way men and women actually related to one another in Tehuantepec. Although the play accurately depicts women as the caretakers of trading and some politics, their power seems somewhat subverted by their inability to select their own

marriage partners, or to garner the respect of men within this society. Second, the play presents men as drunken, shiftless people, who do not sincerely honor the authority of women.

These characterizations do not reflect a true understanding of the culture. In Tehuantepec society, men and women divide responsibilities, with each one respecting the other's role. Men perform the distinctive domestic sewing as well as artisan work, while women control local politics and trade. Unlike their depiction in the play, women do not function as slavemasters, driving men away from the institution of marriage. The portrayal of Mexican men as lazy alcoholics and women as wedlock tyrants catered more to the prejudiced sensibilities of American audiences than it represented the actual existence of Tehuantepec society.³⁶

In *Trovador Californiano*, inaccuracies and false perceptions abound concerning the history of Mexican California. The drama focuses on the period immediately following the "yanqui" conquest of California, with the issues of land ownership and *californio/mexicano* trust in American laws figuring prominently in the storyline. Manuel Dominguez, a young Mexican soldier, refuses to stay in California under American rule, despite being engaged to a beautiful *californiana*, Carmela. According to Manuel, "California will be annexed to the American Union. I will not tolerate that act and I will not accept the new government. Tomorrow, I'm going to Mexico to serve under the Mexican government."

The women of the play, in contrast, trust the American government and believe that their land will be secure under United States law. Isabel Sepulveda, whose father has met with American officials, assures other *californianas* that "California is in good hands." Led by Isabel, the women attempt to convince Carmela's fiance to stay, but Manuel refuses and prepares to leave the following day. Before he can get away, however, American soldiers arrest him, and jail him on suspicion of treason. Carmela prays for her future husband, while Isabel consults her father about Manuel's situation. In the end, Manuel gives in, and the Americans free him to go celebrate the annexation of California by the United States. The play closes with Manuel, Carmela, and the entire *californio/mexicano* community listening to the words of Isabel: "We rejoice in our new citizenship and for peace in our land. Let us all as good American citizens raise our right hands and swear loyalty." Everyone follows her directions, as the curtain comes down.

Trovador Californiano presents an inaccurate and fallacious account of *californio/mexicano* responses to the "yanqui" invasion of California. Although the

play begins with the *californios* expressing some uncertainty regarding the intentions of the United States government, the majority of the production concentrates on the persuasion and conversion of Manuel. Throughout the presentation, the play upholds the illusion that little or no opposition to "yanqui" imperialism existed, and that *californios*, in general, favored statehood. Moreover, the play portrays women as allies of the United States government in the affair. For example, the play alludes to Isabel's not only assisting in Manuel's freedom, but also facilitating his initial capture and jailing. Finally, the play repeatedly asserts the Iberian origins of the *californio* people, referring to them as "Spanish-Americans" rather than Mexican Americans.³⁷

The above plays demonstrate the general thematic nature of most Mexican Players' productions. Full of myths and partial truths, the plays probably were constructed with the goal of entertaining Caucasian audiences rather than educating them. Often, the storyline adhered to the popular notions of California and Mexican history, which reinforced white beliefs. For example, *Trovador Californiano's* assertion that "Spanish-Americans" favored annexation complemented non-Mexicans' perceptions of the conquest of California. The play's suggestion that only a few unreasonable Mexican men opposed the takeover, and that they were soon converted, comforted onlooking audiences, who felt secure about the supremacy of their position in California.

Although the Padua Hills Theatre's archives rarely indicate who wrote the dramas, Pauline Deuel, in her book *Mexican Serenade*, maintains that Charles Dickinson "wrote most of the plays" before his untimely death in 1950.³⁸ Bess Garner also provided a guiding hand, bringing back folktales, songs, and dances from her travels in Mexico. Even when Paduanos contributed ideas and plays to the repertoire, Bess's continued presence, the establishment of Dickinson's style, the censorship of Herman Garner, the persistence of popular illusions in California and Mexican history, and the demand to satisfy the tastes of the mostly non-Mexican audience influenced the storylines of the plays. Manifested in the play *Como Siempre*, directed by Hilda Jara during Dickinson's absence during World War II, the productions' stereotypes persisted even under the leadership of a Mexican Player.³⁹

In addition to finding materials for the plays, Bess Garner also attracted Mexican and non-Mexican artists to share their performing talents with the fledgling players. During the formative years, the Mexican Players received visits from Mexican artists, such as Luz Maria Garces, Francisco Sanchez Flores, and Graciela Amador, who served as song and



The Mexican Players often entertained guests following the dining room serenades and plays, with a post-production party or *jamaica* (named after a Mexican punch of the same name). The parties took place in the complex's olive-tree-shaded courtyard, where patrons met the performers. Mexican Players Rebecca Romo, Miguel Vera, and Casilda Amador greet white patrons, while Salvador Sánchez (playing guitar) leads a group of mariachis in a song. Herman Garner, the theater's main proprietor, looks on from behind the olive trees. *Courtesy Pomona Public Library.*

dance teachers. Señor Sánchez helped develop the play *Idolos Muertos?* (Are the Idols Dead?), while Graciela Amador, distant cousin of one player, Casilda Amador, arranged the special production *Aguila y Nopal* (Eagle and Cactus). The dance and song instruction, however, remained the most lasting impression of these two artists on the Mexican Players.

The promotion of the Mexican Players also included a "pilgrimage" to the California missions in 1934 to recognize the sesquicentennial of the death of their founder, Father Junípero Serra. Traveling by car, the Mexican Players attended ceremonies celebrating the memory of the famous missionary. The Paduanos performed at each stop, dancing and singing at the many fiestas taking place at the missions. Many of the players kept notes on the trip, which resulted in a pamphlet called *The Pilgrimage Diary of the Mexican Players of Padua Hills*, published privately by Garner's company, Vortex.⁴ The following year, the players also traveled by train to San Francisco to take part in the dedication of Mission San Juan Bautista. Again, the Mexican

Players provided entertainment at the ceremony and performed throughout the Bay Area to the delight of non-Mexican audiences.

This exposure effectively achieved three results desired by the Padua Hills Theatre management. First, these presentations before predominantly white audiences throughout the local region and state inspired much interest in the Padua Hills Theatre among potential patrons. Second, the performances, the interactions with other artists, and the presentation of Mexican folklore gave the players the necessary experience and confidence to accept full-time responsibilities at the theater. Last, the type of productions being performed—primarily mission celebrations and "Mexican" plays transformed through Caucasian experiences and writing—set a tone, or style, for the Mexican Players and their plays. Once again, the celebration of California's "halcyon days" or the display of Mexican felicity and indolence appear to be the primary subjects of most musicals. In typical fashion, one of the theater's flyers promised that the drama would be "an authentic presentation of the colorful and romantic

background of California History made beautiful and intriguing by to-day's children of the old ranchos."⁴¹ Illusions of California's past thus served as the foundation for the Mexican Players' productions from the inception of their participation in the little theater's operations.

Ironically, the "leisurely, carefree, and joyful life" did not characterize the Mexican Players' involvement at the little theater.⁴² Unlike the Claremont Community Players, the Mexican Players performed the double duty of performing and serving. When the players finally took over sole possession of the stage in the 1935-36 season, their obligations increased. During production of the play *Idolos Muertos?*, the practice of holding a post-play party came into existence to allow the audience to stay and mingle among the players after the performance. The players were required to serve at these fiestas, preparing tacos, coffee, and *jamaicas*, a fruit punch drink whose name became synonymous with the event. In the winter, the cast provided an indoor *merienda* (light refreshment) at the conclusion of each musical. At these events, the Mexican Players socialized, sang, and served. Therefore, by the time the Mexican Players had ascended to headliner status at the Padua Hills Theatre, their duties had expanded threefold.

Although the Mexican Players' labor provided an important service that traditionally would have taken three separate crews to handle, they received minimal wages and few fringe benefits. For example, when asked whether she was fairly paid, Rosa Torrez, a former employee at the theater, answered: "Ohhh, of course not. [pause] Of course not. During that time, when I was a young girl, forty cents an hour."⁴³ When asked whether she remembered what the Mexican Players received as payment, Irene Garner, Herman Garner's second wife and co-manager of the complex, answered: "No, ahh; of course they got their food, and many of them were housed."⁴⁴ According to José O'Beso, however, the Mexican Players had money deducted from their wages for their food and rooms, while the housing for men amounted to little more than windowless, doorless shacks, with no running water or cooking facilities. O'Beso also mentioned that he could not live on his wages until Herman Garner agreed to pay him a little more for operating the gift shop.⁴⁵

Therefore, although the Garners provided the Mexican performers an opportunity to express their talents, they also took for granted their labor. In a difficult financial situation, the Garners and the Padua Hills Theatre cut costs by employing the lower-paid Mexican Players for a greater diversity of services, while providing substandard accom-

modations for some Mexican employees. That the Mexican Players largely bore the burden of keeping the theater alive was instrumental in helping the Padua Hills Theatre endure the hardships caused by the Depression.

By the 1935-1936 season, the effects of the Depression started to ease. Consequently, more people attended the productions of the Mexican Players, and many developed a great fondness for their work. Although spoken and sung in the Spanish language, the plays touched the predominantly English-speaking audience in a special way. Those who came away from the performances often experienced a newfound, though flawed, understanding and appreciation of Mexican culture. These musicals had the effect of temporarily arresting, redirecting, or dispelling ethnic prejudices held against Mexican people. The management, critics, and audience soon recognized the plays as much for their ability to create intercultural understanding, as for their entertainment value.

This attribute did not escape Herman Garner and his associates. They appreciated the sway the Mexican Players held over the shaping of local attitudes toward Mexican people. Equally important, it pleased the Garners that the little theater provided an outlet for the apparent talents of Mexican Americans in the Pomona Valley. Both Bess and Herman Garner came to regard the theater in three major ways: first, as a culture and art center for the appreciation and use of the artistic community living at Padua Hills and Claremont; second, as a place to bridge intercultural understanding between Mexico and the United States; and third, as an educational center for local young men and women, primarily those of Mexican descent.

Once they achieved the establishment of the arts center and the community around it, the Garners moved very seriously toward securing the educational and intercultural goals of the Padua Hills Theatre. At the end of 1935, Garner and his associates formed and incorporated the Padua Institute, converting the program to a non-profit educational institution. Herman Garner served as the chairman of the institute's board of trustees, while Bess Garner, Millard Sheets, and local leaders from the Claremont Colleges and the surrounding communities filled other positions. The formation of the Padua Institute represented the ultimate commitment of the Garners and their associates to the success of the little theater under the auspices of the Mexican Players.

Although the Padua Institute provided a variety of community services, the primary function of the Garners' organization remained the education and

development of the Mexican Players in the years following its formation. The Garners in particular accepted seriously their roles as providers for the young Mexican men and women at Padua Hills. Not only did the Garners seem to accept responsibility for the educational and theatrical advancement of these young people, but they also saw the players' moral and physical well-being as part of their concern. To fulfill this role, the Garners provided living arrangements for the Mexican Players in need of housing. Women lived with a housemother in a large dormitory located in Claremont, while men lived in cabins near Padua Hills.

Although the Garners may have had good intentions in hiring, supervising, and educating Mexican youths, the tone of their approach often sounded paternalistic. A 1936 Padua Institute booklet expressed how the Garners and the board of trustees perceived their Mexican beneficiaries:

For children of Mexican parentage it has been an

especially significant, a most wonderful experience, often a veritable turning point in their lives. *Their simple minds*, sometimes tortured with the complex of a minority group, have suddenly found for themselves an undreamed of background of romance and beauty! Why should they any longer be apologetic for their parents and grandparents? Their teachers have told us that this change of outlook has sometimes been little short of marvelous [italics added].⁸

The words "surprise" and "wonder" also appeared often in the Garner's descriptions of the Mexican Players' accomplishments. These sentiments patronized the Mexican Players, their families, and their communities, while they elevated the role of the trustees. In a condescending tone, the Garners' comments appeared self-congratulatory rather than encouraging to the Mexican community.

In addition, the benefits supposedly enjoyed by the Mexican Players may not have been as great as the Garners thought. Although the exposure to the-



An informal photograph of Bess Garner and the Mexican Players taken in the fall of 1936. From left to right, top row: Manuel Aguilar, Alfredo Bustillos, Miguel Cisneros, Rubén Guerrero, Eduardo Turley, Carlos Tarín, Margarita Park, Eduardo Montaña, Alfonso Gallardo, Juan Matute, Samuel Adame, Salvador Sánchez, Guillermo Nieto, Manuel Díaz, Manuel Carrasco. Center row: Anita de la Rosa, Rebecca Romo, Mrs. Bess A. Garner, Beatriz Castillo, Sara Macias, Mary Ann Park. Bottom row: Casilda Amador, Jovita Ramos, María Martínez, María Prado, and Hilda Ramírez.

tesu Pomona Public Library

ater and music may have provided helpful training to the Mexican youths, the performers never received any official or unit credit that could have been applied toward a degree in the dramatic arts. Second, despite the Garners' connections with Hollywood stars and film industry moguls, they actively discouraged the movement of Paduanos from Padua Hills to radio or movies for fear of their becoming "too Hollywoodish."⁴⁷ Third, the contents of the plays written by Charles A. Dickinson until his death in 1950 often presented an inaccurate depiction of the players' own history. This established a style of writing that the Mexican Players continued even after Dickinson's departure. Last, the theater demanded a significant amount of time from the players, which separated them from their communities and families, often during holidays. For example, José Alba, Jr., recalls that the *Las Posadas* play ran ten days past Christmas. Reflecting on having to work through the holiday season, Alba commented, "I don't recall a good Christmas during my participation at the theater."⁴⁸ Ironically, the plays seem to have dislocated the Mexican youths from the very culture and communities they supposedly represented on stage.

CONCLUSIONS

This examination of the Padua Hills Theatre departs from the ways other historians and the Claremont community have tended to view its significance. Previous histories of the theater explored the many benefits reaped from the theater's operations, namely the intercultural understanding developed from the plays, the educational and occupational opportunities provided to the Mexican community, and the establishment of a place in which local artists and the Mexican Players could demonstrate their unique abilities. While some of these readings represent valid interpretations, they do not examine the entire picture. Viewed in the full context of the society in which the theater developed, and analyzed from the Mexican, as well as the non-Mexican, perspective, the theater's importance in the Claremont community has a variety of meanings.

Clearly, the Garners and their associates provided a distinct and vital service to the Claremont community. Without the presence of the Padua Hills Theatre, the Mexican Players may have never risen to the prominence that they achieved from their beginning in 1931 to their disbanding in 1974. In that span of time, the players and the Garners established a special program that garnered commendations from both public and private bodies, including local, state, and national government.⁴⁹

Yet, the tributes and acclaim of the theater and the Padua Institute tend to reify the paternalistic relationship between the Caucasian community and the Mexican Players, while failing to recognize the valid artistry of the Mexican performers. For example, a 1973 official document designating May 20th through May 26th as Padua Week in Los Angeles County extends "its congratulations to the Padua Institute and to Mr. Garner," but neglects to honor the contributions of the Mexican Players. Similarly, the gaze of local historians and the Claremont community has focused on the Garners and the trustees.

This is not to suggest that the Mexican community did not take pride in the contributions made to the theater by the Mexican Players. On the contrary, many of the local Mexican residents proudly remember the players' performances and the significant presence of the Padua Hills Theatre in the Pomona Valley. Yet, despite the positive affects of the theater and the cheerful reunions that now occasionally occur, a palpable ambivalence exists among the former players when discussing the legacy of Padua Hills. Many retired players and barrio residents remember the generosity and kindness of the Garners, the joys and successes of the productions, and the many romantic relationships and close friendships that blossomed among the Paduanos working at the theater.⁵⁰ Others, however, also recall how hard they worked, how little they earned, how much the theater took away from their private lives, and how Herman Garner mismanaged the theater and careers of the players, while some players have even refused to speak about the past or attend the reunions.⁵¹ One prominent former Mexican Player remembered Padua Hills as a "beautiful memory," but declined to be interviewed for fear of saying something that would "disturb" it.⁵² Furthermore, the local persistence of racial-restrictive covenants in housing and segregation in schooling during the first three decades of Padua Hills's existence reveals the striking contradictions between the "intercultural understanding" at the theater and the social realities of the Pomona Valley that Mexican residents did not ignore and have not forgotten.

Placing the theater's operations and the Mexican Players' plays in a larger social context allows the historian to expand the scope of the study and to escape the parochial nature of the histories written of the Padua Hills Theatre. Moreover, it explains (but does not condone) some of the stereotypes, caricatures, and misrepresentations prevalent in the Mexican Players' plays that many Chicano scholars now find distasteful. Reflecting the social conditions of their times, the Garners, even while supporting a socially liberal and well-intentioned "experiment," merely substituted



Francisco Sánchez Flores and Sara Macias demonstrate a Mexican dance during one of the many outdoor celebrations, or *jamaícas*, held at Padua Hills Theatre. Courtesy Pomona Public Library.

(perhaps inadvertently) one negative image of Mexicans for another stereotypical, if more benign, representation. The Garners' ignorance, condescension, and paternalism must be considered in the context of a segregated and discriminatory world, in which most Caucasians and Mexicans had limited contact with one another. Given the constraints under which the Mexican Players labored, these artists successfully created a space within the Pomona Valley from which they ameliorated Caucasian antipathies toward Mexican people, while expressing their own talents. Although Padua Hills has a contested and conflicted legacy, the positive contributions of the Garners merit qualified praise, while the Mexican Players deserve a prominent place in the annals of American theater history."

See notes beginning on page 357

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Mrs. Socorro Ramirez, long-time San Jose resident, started her business, Sylvia's Beauty Salon, in 1974. Mrs. Ramirez's salon is illustrative of women-owned businesses, an increasingly important phenomenon in Mexican-American communities. Ramirez was one of the informants whose experiences provided evidence for the author's study. *Courtesy of the author, photo copyright Susan Merrell.*

"I Work For My Daughter's Future"

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND MEXICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

by Alma M. García

INTRODUCTION

When I first met Mrs. Socorro R. Ramirez, in 1982, I could not have imagined that she would be the major catalyst for the development of a research project on entrepreneurship among Mexican American women. I met Mrs. Ramirez through her daughter, Sylvia, who was a student of mine at Santa Clara University. From the beginning, Sylvia impressed me as an intelligent, dedicated, ambitious, and politically astute young Chicana. When I met her mother, I immediately knew the source from which Sylvia gained her self-reliance, assertiveness, and political commitment. Her mother instilled in her the values of hard work, perseverance, and an unwavering drive to obtain an education. During our many conversations, Mrs. Ramirez shared with me her life-long dreams for her daughter. As she revealed to me her hopes for a better future for Sylvia, Mrs. Ramirez began to weave her own life story, a story of a Mexican American woman who had started her own business against, what often seemed, all odds.

Based on qualitative life history interviews of fifteen Mexican American entrepreneurs, this study, which examines the origins, development, and significance of business ownership for Mexican American women, grew out of my personal interaction with that one female entrepreneur. My study investigates particularly the development of entrepreneurship among Mexican American women in Santa Clara County, California. Two of the major questions addressed are: 1) Why do Mexican American women start their own businesses? and 2) What is the significance of their entrepreneurship? Both questions will be investigated using a theoretical perspective that focuses on ethnicity, gender, and social class.

Past sociological research on entrepreneurship has focused on immigrant, ethnic, and female entrepreneurs. Such studies, however, have not included a focus on the interrelated effects of race/ethnicity, gender, and class. Research on ethnic enterprises has attempted to explain the development of entrepreneurial activities within immigrant and ethnic communities in the United States. Recently, such research has included the study of Mexican American businesses and their impact on Mexican American communities. Other studies of entrepreneurship have focused on women business owners, emphasizing the interrelationship between the workplace and family among female entrepreneurs. In sum, the work on ethnic enterprises has focused almost exclusively on males, while research on female-owned businesses has focused on white females.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE IMPACT OF RACE/ETHNICITY, GENDER, AND CLASS

The research on ethnic businesses has concentrated primarily on the origins and development of enterprises within specific ethnic communities in the United States.² Comparative studies have attempted to explain the success of such entrepreneurial activities. Ivan Light, for example, studied the success of enterprises among the Chinese and Japanese in the United States in comparison to the less successful attempts of African American entrepreneurs. Light traces the historical relationship between an ethnic group's experience with societal discrimination, the group's socio-cultural network of interrelationships, and the group's propensity for entrepreneurial activity. Chinese and Japanese immigrants established

business enterprises as a result of a combination of patterns of traditional cultural practices and social networks—including rotating credit associations—and their experiences with discrimination in the labor market. African Americans experienced similar societal constraints that blocked their upward social mobility. Nevertheless, Light concludes, their reliance on voluntary associations in the development of community-based networks worked against the establishment of a thriving entrepreneurial sector. In addition, the rise of African American banks, with their accumulation of capital and concomitant insolvency, proved a liability to a nascent group of ethnic entrepreneurs.³

John Sibley Butler's study of the development of entrepreneurship among African Americans challenges the view that African Americans are the exception to the sociological generalization that upward mobility for an ethnic group resulted from business ownership. Providing an analysis of the historical and social structural context within which African American businesses developed, Butler outlines the process through which African American businesses developed but, eventually, ran into an "economic detour." Butler argues that institutionalized economic segregation removed African American businesses from a community's competitive market. Although the African American community supported these enterprises with a spirit of communal self-help, African American businesses experienced severe constraints when they tried to expand into a hostile larger economic environment that led, except for a few historical exceptions, to their business enterprises being restricted to the African American community.⁴

Recently, research on ethnic enterprises has included the study of Mexican American businesses, their impact on Mexican American communities, and their economic relationships with Mexican immigrant workers.⁵ The development of ethnic enterprises has been explained primarily within the context of institutionalized racial discrimination, which created structural barriers blocking the upward occupational mobility of racial/ethnic groups. David L. Torres found that in some cities, such as Houston, more than ninety percent of Mexican American businesses were at the periphery of the central business district.⁶ As such, these enterprises often represent a means by which racial/ethnic groups overcome the inequalities of the marketplace and society in general. Gender differences, however, exist within the Mexican Ameri-

can business community, with women business owners having lower incomes than their male counterparts even when class, ethnicity, and type of industry are controlled. Torres documents that the social cost of being a female business owner is a loss of approximately \$8,000 per year. Still, Torres concludes that "Mexican American businesspersons, while making great headway within the last quarter century, are nevertheless a relatively powerless political segment at the national level. Within specific communities and enclaves, however, they have earned a substantial share of political power based on class resources."⁷ Whether or not Mexican American women business owners share in this type of community power is still to be investigated.

Researchers have also examined the relationship between institutionalized gender discrimination experienced by women in the occupational structure and the development of entrepreneurship. The study of gender inequalities represents a major area of scholarly concern, particularly within women's studies. Early research on women in the paid labor force focused on traditionally gender-segregated occupations such as clerical workers. Recently, researchers have investigated a wider range of women's occupations in order to compare the experiences of women in different sectors of the economy.

Current research on women entrepreneurs reflects the significant impact of the growth of women business owners on American society and the development of public policy. During the 1980s, the U.S. Department of Labor identified women-owned businesses as the fastest growing type of small business in the United States. Similar projections have been made for this decade. Although the total number of women-owned businesses remains small in comparison to the total number of businesses, researchers, as well as public policy analysts, have been focusing their attention on women entrepreneurs. Gender-specific issues and problems related to women business owners have now been addressed by a variety of agencies, including the U. S. Small Business Administration, congressional task forces, and many conferences sponsored by such groups as the Office of Women's Business Ownership, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and the Interagency Task Force on Women Business Owners. Despite such efforts, there is a dearth of scholarly investigations of women entrepreneurs. Unsurprisingly, there are even fewer studies of ethnic women entrepreneurs.⁸

Past research studies on women business owners

have compared female and male entrepreneurs. Such investigations have built on the vast social science literature on the relationship between entrepreneurship, economic growth, and economic development. Relying on the classical works by Joseph Schumpeter and David C. McClelland, studies on female entrepreneurs have attempted to determine if "entrepreneurial personality traits" exist among women.⁹ Much of the research literature on women entrepreneurs examines the social and psychological determinants of entrepreneurship, such as high levels of risk-taking and achievement motivation. Research studies, therefore, have produced extensive materials pertaining to the personality profile of the "woman entrepreneur."

A major underlying research question has been whether or not women entrepreneurs share those personality traits found among male entrepreneurs.¹⁰ Only limited differences were found between males and females. Specific personality and demographic similarities were identified among women and men entrepreneurs. Both female and male entrepreneurs were usually the oldest in their families. Sons and daughters of entrepreneurs were more likely to

become entrepreneurs themselves. They started their own businesses in order to gain financial independence and, furthermore, demonstrated high levels of risk-taking and self-esteem. In addition, the past work histories of entrepreneurs revealed some type of managerial experience.

Studies of female entrepreneurs continue to investigate a variety of issues, including women business owners' demographic backgrounds, psychological profiles, socio-economic backgrounds, entrepreneurial motivation, and business organizational styles.¹² Robert Goffee and Richard Scase have made a significant contribution to the research on entrepreneurship by providing a theoretical and descriptive study of female entrepreneurship. Their study examines the interrelationship between work and family among British female business owners. Goffee and Scase do not include race or ethnicity as a critical variable in their study of women's entrepreneurship, although social class is recognized as a salient variable in analyzing the development of entrepreneurship among women.¹³

Although past research indicates that female entrepreneurs have more similarities with male entrepre-

As Mrs. Socorro Ramirez works on customers such as Barbara Barnett, her beauty shop becomes a site of conversation about family and community issues. *Courtesy of the author, photo copyright Susan Merrell.*



neurs than differences, a review of more recent studies reveals several major differences between the two groups.¹⁴ Unlike their male counterparts, women business owners had previous work experience as clerical workers, saleswomen, and teachers. Although women and men business owners shared similar levels of educational attainment, women were more likely than men to have a liberal arts background rather than a business one. Earlier studies had indicated that a major motivating factor for business start-up among women and men involved economic necessity. Interestingly, however, the most recent studies found that "the dominant impetus [for women] is a desire to create employment that allows flexibility to balance work and family."¹⁵ Furthermore, women business owners differ from male counterparts in terms of their past occupational, social, and economic experiences and, as many studies show, demonstrate a distinct variety of business practices and organizational practices and styles. In general, Candida G. Brush concludes that female and male entrepreneurs differ in their "reasons for business start-up/acquisition, timing and circumstance of start-up, educational background, work experience, and business skills. More differences are apparent in business goals, management styles, business characteristics, and growth rates. These variations suggest that women perceive and approach business ownership differently than men."¹⁶

Research on women entrepreneurs, therefore, underscores the necessity to rethink past theoretical perspectives on entrepreneurship, its origins, development, and significance. Such theoretical revision, however, will be limited unless it includes an examination of the diversity of women's societal experiences. Presently, research on women entrepreneurs has lacked an integration of race/ethnicity as a salient variable in the construction of theoretical, and indeed, even descriptive, perspectives on entrepreneurship. The literature on female entrepreneurship will continue to be limited unless a more sustained effort is undertaken to examine the lives of entrepreneurs who are women of color.

In summary, the work on ethnic enterprises has concentrated on males, and the limited research on female entrepreneurs has focused on white females. There is little scholarly research that focuses on Mexican American female business owners. An overview of demographic patterns among ethnic entrepreneurs and female entrepreneurs will pro-

vide the societal context shaping the lives of Mexican American women entrepreneurs.

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF BUSINESS OWNERS IN THE UNITED STATES

Ethnic Entrepreneurship

The 1987 Economic Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce reports that the number of minority-owned businesses increased 64 percent between the years 1982 and 1987. There was a 126-percent increase in gross receipts received by these businesses during this period. Table 1 provides a comparison of business ownership and sales and receipts by race/ethnicity in 1982 and 1987. In 1987, there were approximately 1.2 million minority-owned firms representing almost 9 percent of the total number of individual proprietorships in the United States. Rates of business ownership increased dramatically between 1982 and 1987. Latino-owned businesses increased 80.5 percent; Asian and Pacific Islander, 89.3 percent; and American Indian and Alaska Native, 57.5 percent. African American businesses increased by 37.6 percent. In terms of sales and receipts, businesses owned by Asian and Pacific Islanders experienced the greatest increase, 161.8 percent. Latino-owned businesses ranked second with an increase of 110.3 percent. African American businesses received the next largest increase in sales and receipts, 105.5 percent. Native American businesses reported an 84-percent increase in gross receipts.

A percentage breakdown of business ownership and receipts by race/ethnicity for 1987 is provided in Table 2. African Americans and Latinos each owned 35 percent of all minority businesses. Asian Americans owned 29 percent, and Native Americans owned 2 percent. A comparison of these groups by total receipts indicates that Asian Americans took the lead with 43 percent of the total receipts for all minority-owned businesses. Latino businesses accounted for 32 percent of all receipts; African American businesses, 32 percent. Native American businesses took in the smallest amount of total receipts for all minority-owned businesses (1 percent).

Other characteristics of minority-owned firms to be considered include type of industry, geographical location, legal form, and size of firm. In general,

TABLE 1. Comparison of Business Ownership by Minority Group, 1987 and 1982

Minority Group	Number of Firms			Sales and Receipts (\$1,000,000)		
	1987	1982	Percent Change	1987	1982	Percent Change
All Minorities	1,213,750	741,640	63.7	77,840	19,763	125.9
Black	424,165	308,260	37.6	19,763	9,619	105.5
Hispanic	422,373	233,975	80.5	24,732	11,759	110.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	21,380	13,573	57.5	911	495	84.4
Asian and Pacific Islander	355,331	187,691	89.3	33,124	12,654	161.8

Note: Figures in this table do not add up to 100-percent totals because of duplication of some firms. Firms that were owned equally by 2 or more minorities are included in the data for each minority group but counted only once at total levels. Figures for 1982 have been adjusted for comparability to 1987 data.

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Summary*, Series MB 87-4 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), p. 2.

TABLE 2.
Percentage of Minority Business Ownership and Receipts by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1987

(Percentages may not add up to 100 since duplication of firms exists among racial/ethnic groups)

Group	Firms	Receipts
Latino	35%	32%
African American	35%	25%
Asian and Pacific Islander	29%	43%
Native American and Alaskan Native	1%	1%

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Summary*, Series MB 87-4 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1991), p. 6.

minority-owned firms are primarily concentrated in the service industries. Service industries account for 46 percent of all minority-owned firms and 28 percent of all receipts. The percentage of service industries for the total of U.S. firms is 43 percent, representing 21 percent of total receipts for all U.S. firms. In addition, minority-owned firms are concentrated in a few states. California has the largest percentage (27 percent) of all minority-owned firms, representing 32 percent of all receipts. Texas ranks second with 13 percent of all minority-owned firms and representing 9 percent of all receipts for minority firms. Significantly, more than half (56 percent) of all minority-owned firms are located in four states: California, Texas, New York, and Florida. Businesses located in these states account for 59 percent of all receipts received by minority-owned firms nationwide. Most minority firms are individual proprietorships. Only about 20 percent had paid employees, but these businesses accounted for 73 percent of the total receipts and employed more than 800,000 individuals. The majority of firms owned by

African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans were small-scale operations, with about 80 percent having no paid employees.¹⁷

Latinos and Business Ownership

The 1987 Economic Census Survey of Hispanic-owned Business Enterprises reported that Latino-owned firms account for 3.1 percent of all U.S. firms and receive 1.2 percent of all gross receipts. Forty-four percent of all Latino businesses are concentrated in the service industries and receive 24 percent of all receipts for Latino firms. The next largest business sector is found in the retail trade industries, with 17 percent. These firms take in 31 percent of all receipts. California ranked first as the state with the largest percentage (31.3 percent) of all Latino firms. It also ranked first in receipts (33 percent). Texas had the second largest number of businesses (23 percent), but ranked third in receipts (17 percent). Florida was third in number of total Latino businesses (15.3 percent), but outranked Texas in receipts (20 percent). Interestingly, New Mexico had the largest ratio of firms (17.4 percent) in relation to the total for all businesses within the state. In contrast, of all firms in California, Latinos owned only 7.3 percent. Latinos owned 9.2 percent of all firms in Texas and 8.7 percent of all firms in Florida.

The majority of Latino businesses are run as individual proprietorships (94 percent). The U.S. Department of Commerce reports an increase among Latinos in terms of individual proprietorships as a result of changes in IRS regulations. A new regulation gives a tax advantage to individual proprietorships over partnerships and other types of corporations. Only about 20 percent of all Latino firms had paid employees, but these accounted for 72 percent of gross receipts.

Percentages for Latino-owned firms by industry for the United States, California, and San Jose are shown in Table 3. The two largest types of industries for Latino businesses in California are in the service sector (45 percent, with 25 percent of all receipts) and in the retail trade sector (17 percent, with 30 percent of all receipts). In San Jose, 53 percent of all Latino businesses are concentrated in the service sector, and 14 percent are located in the retail trade sector. Disaggregating the census category of "Latino" reveals that Mexicans own 71.5 percent of all Latino businesses in California, with 70 percent of all receipts. Central and South Americans own 15 percent of all

firms and take in 12 percent of all receipts of Latino-owned businesses in the state.

Women-Owned Businesses

Women business owners are producing the most significant economic development in recent years. Women are starting businesses at a rate three times that for men. Women-owned businesses, however, continue to be located primarily in the service sector. Importantly, 55 percent of women-owned businesses operate from private homes. Such a trend results in an undercount of the total of women-owned business, since businesses operated from a person's home are most likely to be excluded in census reports.

Since 1970, the percentage of women-owned businesses has increased from 5 to 30 percent. In addition, receipts from women-owned businesses increased by \$31 billion between 1977 and 1987, while businesses owned by men reported a loss of over \$8 billion. In 1992, women-owned businesses created more jobs than did the Fortune 500 companies. It is estimated that by the year 2000, the emergence of women-owned businesses, which by then will represent 50 percent of all businesses, will be confirmed as the major social change of the decade.¹⁸

Like minority-owned firms, the majority of women-owned firms are located in the service sector (55 percent). The next largest concentration (19 percent) is found in retail trade (see Table 4). In California, 59 percent of all women-owned businesses are in the service sector. Data for San Jose shows an even larger percentage (61 percent). Receipts in the service sector are 30 percent and 36 percent respectively for all women-owned businesses. These figures are larger than the national percentage (22 percent) for service-sector receipts of women-owned businesses.

Just as California has the largest percentage of all minority and Latino enterprises, it also has the largest percentage of women-owned firms (13.6 percent), and these accounted for 11.2 percent of all receipts. Texas had the second largest number of firms but ranked sixth in receipts (7.2 percent). New York ranked third in number of women-owned firms, but was second in receipts (7 percent). The majority of businesses owned by women operated as individual proprietorships (90.5 percent). Only 15 percent of the total number of women-owned firms had paid employees, and these received 81 percent

**TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES OF LATINO-OWNED FIRMS
BY INDUSTRY DIVISION 1987**

Industry Division	United States		California		San Jose	
	% ¹	% ²	% ¹	% ²	% ¹	% ²
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing, and mining	4	3	5	5	4	3
Construction	13	14	11	14	10	16
Manufacturing	3	6	3	8	4	6
Transportation and public utilities	6	6	5	6	3	5
Wholesale trade	2	10	2	6	2	2
Retail trade	17	31	17	30	14	30
Finance, insurance, and real estate	5	3	6	3	6	3
Services	44	24	45	25	53	33
Industries not classified	6	3	6	3	4	2
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Minority Owned Business Enterprises: Hispanic*, Series MB 87-2 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1991), p. 20, p. 50.

¹Total percentage of occupational category based on the total number of firms.

²Total percentage of sales and receipts of each occupational category.

**TABLE 4. PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN-OWNED FIRMS
BY INDUSTRY DIVISION, 1987¹**

Industry Division	United States		California		San Jose	
	% ²	% ³	% ²	% ³	% ²	% ³
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing, and mining	2	1	1	1	1	1
Construction	2	7	2	5	1	3
Manufacturing	2	11	3	9	3	6
Transportation and public utilities	2	4	2	4	1	3
Wholesale trade	2	16	2	12	2	9
Retail trade	19	31	16	28	16	30
Finance, insurance, and real estate	11	6	11	8	11	9
Services	55	22	59	30	61	36
Industries not classified	5	2	4	3	4	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Women Owned Businesses*, Series WB 87-1 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1990), p. 9, p. 49.

¹Total percentage of occupational category based on the total number of firms.

²Total percentage of sales and receipts of each occupational category.

TABLE 5.
Latino-Owned Firms¹ and Women-Owned Firms²
as a Percentage of all U. S. Firms, 1987

Hispanic-Owned Firms and Receipts

	Firms	Receipts
All Industries	3.08%	1.24%
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing, mining	3.60%	2.03%
Construction	3.36%	1.48%
Manufacturing	2.56%	0.64%
Transportation and Public utilities	4.55%	1.81%
Wholesale trade	2.31%	0.82%
Retail trade	3.12%	1.40%
Finance, insurance and real estate	1.30%	0.70%
Services	3.11%	1.45%
Industries not classified	3.61%	1.89%

Women-Owned Firms and Receipts

	Firms	Receipts
All Industries	30.04%	13.94%
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing, mining	15.58%	10.84%
Construction	5.71%	8.74%
Manufacturing	21.7%	13.63%
Transportation and Public utilities	13.46%	14.32%
Wholesale trade	18.79%	14.35%
Retail trade	35.63%	15.68%
Finance, insurance, and real estate	35.64%	14.42%
Services	38.21%	14.65%
Industries not classified	26.58%	12.43%

¹Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Hispanic*, Series MB 87-2 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1991), p. 7.

²Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Women-Owned Business*, Series WB 87-1 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1990), p. 6.

TABLE 6. Percentage of Minority Women's Business Ownership and Receipts
by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1987

(Percentages may not add up to 100 since duplication of firms exists among racial/ethnic groups)

Group	Firms	Receipts
Latina	29%	24%
African American	40%	36%
Asian and Pacific Islander	29%	29%
Native American and Alaskan Native	2%	1%

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Summary*, Series MB 87-4 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1991), p. 2.

of all receipts. Women owned 34 percent of all firms with no employees. The states with the largest concentration of women-owned businesses are: California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts.

A comparison between Latino-owned and women-owned firms by industry as a percentage of all U.S. firms shows significant differences (see Table 5). As stated earlier, women-owned firms in all industries account for about 30 percent of all businesses, while Latino-owned firms make up only 3 percent of all U. S. firms. Women-owned firms represent over one-third of all U. S. firms in three sectors: services, retail, and finances. Latino-owned firms in all categories do not exceed 5 percent of all U. S. firms. Although both women-owned and Latino-owned businesses are increasing, a great gap continues to exist between the two types of business enterprises, particularly in terms of their respective percentages of the total of all U. S. firms. This difference may have a significant impact on the future development of public policies.

Census data regarding business ownership among

women of color in the United States is difficult to obtain. Demographic profiles of minority-owned firms are not usually disaggregated by gender. The Survey of Minority Business Enterprise does include a percentage breakdown by racial/ethnic group and gender. Table 6 shows the distribution of business ownership among women of color. Latino women own 29 percent of all firms owned by women of color. Nevertheless, data is not available for the percentage of women-owned businesses by Mexican American women as a total of all Latino-owned businesses. African American women own 40 percent, while Asian/Pacific Islander women own 29 percent. Native American women own a very small percentage (2 percent) of all businesses owned by women of color.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND MEXICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

Within the last decade, Mexican American women have been entering the paid labor force in larger numbers than in the past. The labor force participation rate for all Latinas, including Mexican American women, was 52 percent in 1989, a 4-percent increase from 1982.¹⁹ The relationship between gender, occupational segregation, and limited levels of occupational mobility represents a major research focus as the labor-force participation rates of all women continue to increase.²⁰ Research on the occupational segregation of Mexican American women in low-paid service and clerical jobs underscores the need to incorporate race and ethnicity as critical variables for understanding women's labor force experiences.²¹ Research on Mexican American women workers has concentrated on those occupations within which Mexican American women have clustered. These studies have particularly examined the lives and working conditions of cannery, garment, domestic, and agricultural workers.²² Only a few studies have investigated the lives of Chicanas in higher occupational categories.²³

High poverty rates, high-school drop-out rates close to 50 percent, and increasingly high rates of teenage pregnancies, as well as many other socio-economic indicators, further document the so-called "triple oppression" experienced by Chicanas in American society.²⁴ Similarly, studies of the occupational segregation of other women of color have further documented the interconnectedness of

race, ethnicity and gender.²⁵ A study of women business owners within the Mexican American community would provide a new dimension to the current research on women of color and the impact of race, gender, and class on women's labor-force experiences.

Sample Selection and Interview Methods

My study was based on data obtained through the use of qualitative life histories of fifteen Mexican/Mexican American women living in Santa Clara County, California. Interviews were conducted between August 1991 and August 1993. Interviews lasted from two to three hours and were conducted in either the women's places of business, with no one else present, or in a restaurant or coffee shop near their places of business.

On the basis of my experience teaching undergraduate courses in Chicano studies at Santa Clara University for eleven years, I was able to locate some of the women business-owners through my students' reports on their family histories or community studies. My first two interviews were of mothers of my former students. These early interviews provided me with the names of additional respondents. I was also able to locate women business owners as a result of my own interaction with the Santa Clara/San Jose community, where I have lived since 1982. Interviews were conducted in Spanish, English, or a combination of the two. All interviews were tape-recorded, although it was very common for respondents to ask me to turn off the tape recorder during the times when they felt they were talking about very personal matters. These matters usually involved financial matters or incidents of racial discrimination.

The majority of the respondents were married women with children. Their socio-economic backgrounds were predominantly lower middle class and upper working class. Typically, the husbands of the women entrepreneurs were employed in skilled blue-collar occupations, with several employed as low-level managers. All but two of the Mexican American women business owners had entered the paid labor force in the service or retail-sales sector. The majority of the respondents were second generation Mexican Americans with an average age of 45.3 years. Respondents identified themselves as Mexican or Mexican American, with two preferring the term Chicana. The mean years of education was 10.1, and five of the women had

completed beauty college. All of the women owned businesses in the service sector—beauty shops, restaurants, nail care shops, and bakeries. Only three of the fifteen business owners had paid employees.

Methodological Considerations

One of the major research limitations in studying women entrepreneurs is the lack of random-sample longitudinal surveys that would allow researchers to draw some hypothesis-tested generalizations. Sources such as the U. S. Small Business Administration, the American Management Association, and the U. S. Census Bureau have been gathering statistical data and compiling a database of small samples of women business owners. Nevertheless, researchers studying women entrepreneurs have relied extensively on intensive, qualitative case studies of women business owners. Such studies have been drawn largely from business directories and

lists provided by chambers of commerce or professional business women's organizations. In addition, several of these case studies of women business owners have used non-random samples drawn by using the researchers' familiarity with the community within which the women live. Such studies, while not allowing for any valid generalizations to the entire statistical universe of women entrepreneurs, provide a rich, qualitative record of the life experiences of women entrepreneurs. These life histories, furthermore, provide researchers with an autobiographical window that is generally missing in quantitative survey research. Thus, the research of Eleanor Schwartz, James Schreier, Charlotte Taylor, Claudia Jessup and Genie Chipps, S. Cromie and J. Hayes, and particularly Scase and Goffee, represents major contributions to the social-science literature on women business owners.²⁶

Few studies in this research literature, however, have focused on the development of entrepreneur-



Located at 1993 Park Avenue, San Jose, near Santa Clara University and the San Jose Rose Garden, Sylvia's Beauty Salon, at the left of the photo, attracts customers from the surrounding neighborhood and maintains many customers who have moved to other parts of the city. *Courtesy of the author, photo copyright Susan Merrell.*

ship among women of color. As early as 1977, a report by the House Committee on Small Businesses concluded that more research was needed on such business owners. The House report identified the specific problems facing minority entrepreneurs who face the "double burden" of institutional discrimination against women and against minorities.²⁷ James DeCarlo and Paul Lyons compared minority and non-minority women entrepreneurs and found that minority women entrepreneurs were older, started their businesses later in life, were more likely to be married, had less education, and were more likely to have started their businesses on their own.²⁸ A study that examined Puerto Rican women concluded that although they had higher levels of education and had middle- to upper-class backgrounds, they were more likely to own businesses located in the service sector than were their Anglo counterparts.²⁹

A special report by the National Business League, *Minority Women in Business*, also found that businesses owned by women of color were primarily in the service industries. Furthermore, this report concluded that women of color face two sources of discrimination as entrepreneurs: gender and race/ethnicity.³⁰ Indeed, all women of color—entrepreneurs, as well as women of color in the paid labor force—experience the triple impact of gender, race, and class.³¹ Future studies of women entrepreneurs will need to address the impact of race, class, and gender on the development of entrepreneurship.

Motivational Factors for Women Entrepreneurs

The Mexican American women entrepreneurs interviewed in this study shared some of the motivational factors for starting their own businesses with other women in studies of entrepreneurs. Yet, the societal context within which Mexican American women lived significantly shaped their entrepreneurial motivation and drive. The experiences of these Mexican American women entrepreneurs reflect the multiple and simultaneous effects of race, gender, and class.

Past research found that women business owners started their businesses because they wanted to be their own bosses and receive the total profits for their labor. These women expressed significant dissatisfaction with the jobs they held prior to starting their own businesses. Such dissatisfaction with their employers was based on economic inequalities and gender discrimination. Women entrepre-

neurs typically discussed interpersonal conflicts in their work environment in terms of gender conflicts. As one woman entrepreneur stated:

A woman has got to be better than a man. If a man and a woman are up for the same job—both of equal ability—the man is always going to get it. I know I had gone as far as I was ever going to go. As a woman there was never any way I was going to get any higher.

Goffee and Scase provide a general framework for the analysis of business start-up among their sample of British female entrepreneurs. Goffee and Scase discovered key explanatory factors in the development of women's motivation to start their own businesses. Motivational factors included a combination of both economic and non-economic reasons. The majority of women started a business as a result of a combination of their concentration in low-paying, full-time occupations and the inability to meet the demands of childcare. Women entrepreneurs shared common experiences regarding the effects of occupational gender segregation and its immediate economic and social consequences: wage inequities, limited opportunities for advancement and upward mobility, and the job's inflexibility regarding their childcare needs. Furthermore, many of these women entrepreneurs did not consider part-time employment as a practical option for financial reasons.

Among the women who did not have childcare problems, Goffee and Scase found that a basic motivating factor involved their ambition to achieve some degree of independence and autonomy. These women described themselves as highly dissatisfied with their previous employment, largely a result of their ambition to "be their own bosses" and thus to have a major voice in decision-making in their jobs. In addition, women entrepreneurs stated that a primary motivating factor in establishing their businesses was a strong desire and financial need to accrue the benefits of a business owner as contrasted with that of an employee. Two women entrepreneurs stressed the importance of autonomy:

I was fed up working for people and I wanted total control...flexibility. I wanted the profit.

I didn't want to work for somebody else. I wanted the satisfaction of doing something for myself...the satisfaction of thinking "I set that up and if I hadn't thought about it, it wouldn't be there."

Hisrich and Brush found that women business

owners expressed similar reasons for starting their own business. Two major factors involved a woman entrepreneur's interest in a particular business area and job dissatisfaction. Women entrepreneurs "reach a point where they feel they are at a dead end in terms of promotion, that they no longer have a vehicle for self-expression, or that they are no longer being challenged. As a result, women experienced high levels of job dissatisfaction and job frustration which motivated them to start their own businesses."³⁵

Women workers also expressed their dissatisfaction with their employers, who were mostly men, within the context of gender discrimination. They believed that their employers unfairly evaluated them on the basis of traditional gender-role stereotypes. Such tensions contributed to strained relationships with their employers, creating an unpleasant work environment. In addition, women identified such discriminatory treatment by their employers as a major impediment blocking their opportunities for advancement and promotion. They stated that their employers treated male workers as if they were superior to female employees. Moreover, these future women entrepreneurs also reported experiencing conflict with their male co-workers over competition for promotions.³⁶

Women entrepreneurs viewed business ownership as a means to achieve upward mobility. Their degree of worker alienation was directly related to the amount of gender discrimination they experienced. Still, these women recognized that starting a business was very difficult. Women entrepreneurs defined business ownership as a direct but arduous path to financial independence. Furthermore, single women were often motivated to start a business as a financial alternative to marriage. Business ownership would not only define these women as career-oriented individuals but also provide some of them with the means to establish their financial independence prior to marriage. Goffee and Scase also found that an important determining factor in women's starting their own businesses was their direct and practical experience, which provided them with the skill or knowledge with which to establish a business. Such expertise was usually gained as a result of their previous employment.³⁷ For example, women who started their own beauty shops had previously worked as beauticians.³⁸

In summary, business start-up among women is often described as a "quest for personal autonomy and self-determination."³⁹ In this, women entre-

preneurs resemble their male counterparts, although they also experience gender-specific economic and non-economic motivations for starting a business. Thus, according to Goffee and Scase, women workers become women entrepreneurs in order to "avoid the compulsion of a labour market which confines them to insecure and low-paid occupations...to-escape the supervisory controls of formal employment and /or the inhibiting constraints of domestic roles...[and] to reject male-imposed identities which are allocated to women via established societal institutions."⁴⁰

Mexican American Women Business Owners and Business Start-up

The most common reason given by the Mexican American women entrepreneurs in my study of Santa Clara County for starting their own businesses involved a combination of their concern with their family's financial condition and interpersonal problems between themselves and their former employers. The majority of the business owners were married women whose husbands were employed in skilled blue-collar jobs, most of which were unionized. A few of the women were married to men employed in low to middle management in the computer-related industry. While their family's economic situation was not even near the poverty levels, as it is for about 38 percent of all Mexican-origin families, these women entrepreneurs believed that on one income—their husband's—they would not be able to provide their children with what they identified as the extra societal resources they defined as necessary for upward mobility. Mrs. Ramirez, a beauty-shop owner, expressed her own motivations for starting her business:

I wanted to be successful for the sake of my children. I wanted them to have a better life. I wanted my daughters to get an education. I thought to myself, if I'm successful with such a limited education then my daughters will achieve more since they are getting a good education. They will better themselves by getting some career or profession. I see my business as a way to provide my children with more opportunities. I wanted to earn more money so they could go to private schools. This is what kept me going during the hard times.

Like Mrs. Ramirez, all the women viewed education, specifically a college education, as the most important resource for their children's achievement of the "American Dream." Indeed, the majority of



Bessie Clark, a regular customer for twenty years, has seen Mrs. Socorro Ramirez's business grow steadily since its opening in 1974. *Courtesy of the author, photo copyright Susan Merrell.*

these women expressed optimism regarding their children's ability to achieve upward mobility. As Mexican American women entrepreneurs saw it, their duty was to provide their children with additional opportunities—meaning a high-quality education—in order to improve their lives.

Similar findings have been found among Latinos at the national level. The Latino National Political Survey, the most exhaustive attitudinal survey conducted in the United States in Latino communities, revealed that the majority of respondents held optimistic views regarding their children's future. Latinos demonstrated an adherence to "traditionally American values of hard work and support for equal opportunity."⁴¹

Not only did Mexican American women business owners place a high value on education, a majority of the women I interviewed added that they believed a private education would be the most valuable for their children. Interestingly, those Mexican American women who stated such a preference for private schools were those who articulated more frequent and serious experiences with segregation and discrimination in the public schools they had attended as children. Mrs. Hernandez, owner of her own beauty shop for fifteen years, shared the sentiments articulated earlier by Mrs. Ramirez:

I didn't start my beauty shop for the money. Before I started my own business, I worked in a beauty shop in a large department store. I worked hard and tried to save money. But I only found myself working harder and harder and never really having some kind of savings. I believe that a mother should help and work for money if the money will be used to help her children find a better life. When my husband got a promotion and a good pay increase, we saved, borrowed some money from my father and then I bought this little shop. It was hard to make money at first, but I finally got it going. As my shop brought in money, it went directly for the tuition at my daughter's private school.

Indeed, all but two of the Mexican American women entrepreneurs entered the paid labor force to supplement their husband's income in order to provide their families with better access to societal resources, particularly a high-quality education.

The majority of women business owners in this study entered the paid labor force as service workers, particularly beauticians, clerical workers, sales clerks, and in a few cases restaurant workers, particularly cooks. Given the occupational and eco-

conomic status of their husbands, those women who were employed in service occupations requiring specialized training, such as beauticians, stated that their husbands were able to finance the necessary training programs, such as beauty college or secretarial school. Several of the Mexican American women business owners borrowed money from family members, typically their fathers. The women who had once worked in restaurants as either cooks or waitresses said that their full-time jobs as homemakers prepared them for their businesses. Similarly, Hisrich and Brush found that most women had some work experience in the paid labor force in an area related to their businesses.⁴² For Mexican American women, as with other women of color, their labor force experience was more often in the informal labor sector or within the home.⁴³

As reported earlier, research findings indicate that a compelling motivation factor for business ownership among female entrepreneurs was their inability to find affordable and adequate childcare while they were employees in someone else's business. With greater flexibility in arranging their work schedules, women business-owners were better able to meet their childcare needs. Unlike their workplace arrangements while they were still employees, for example, women entrepreneurs could often bring their children to their own place of business. In addition they could more easily adjust their schedules to meet their children's needs.

Mexican American women business-owners demonstrated similar strategies in solving their childcare problems. Many stated that they only started their business when their children were in grade school. These women explained that they would often close their shops—in this case beauty shops—when school was over, drive to the school and pick up their children, then re-open their shops. Interestingly, all of the women had also relied on a relative, most often their mothers, to assist them in taking care of their children. Mrs. Chavez, a beauty-shop owner who proudly stated that she never used babysitters who were not relatives, recounted that her "children were never left with strangers, with babysitters. My mother or one of my comadres [female co-parent] would always be there to help me out. If not, I would bring them [her children] to the shop." As one business-owner discussed her childcare arrangements, she also revealed her motivation for starting a business:

A few years ago my daughter used to come and stay with me after school and stay at my beauty shop. She brought some toys—dolls—and kept them in the back room. One day I noticed that she was combing the doll's hair and playing beauty shop. She was imitating me. I didn't really like this. I have always wanted my daughter to be educated, to be a professional, to be more than me. So, I brought some books and put them where she kept her dolls in the back room of my shop so that she would read. I have her in a private school. My husband and I work very hard. We sacrifice every day. That's why I started this shop. I work for my daughter's future.

MEXICAN AMERICAN WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS AND THE IMPACT OF DISCRIMINATION

Perhaps one of the most significant factors that differentiates Mexican American women business owners from other women entrepreneurs is that not only was their entrance into the paid labor force primarily in the service sector, but their past employers were usually women. These women were themselves female entrepreneurs who were owners of beauty shops, restaurants, bakeries, and nail care shops. This is not a surprising find, as indicated in an earlier section of this paper that documented the concentration of women business owners in the service sector. Moreover, the 1987 Economic Census of Women-Owned Business reports that California has a higher percentage than the national statistic of women business owners in the service industries (59 percent).⁴⁴ The region of my study, the metropolitan statistical area of San Jose, has an even higher percentage, with 61 percent of all women-owned businesses in the service sector (see Table 4). Most significantly, the Mexican American women business-owners, with the exception of one, identified a large part of their dissatisfaction with their jobs in terms of antagonistic relationships between themselves and their female employers, who were entrepreneurs operating businesses in the service sector. Mrs. Gomez, owner of a beauty shop for almost ten years, expressed her reasons for starting her own business and revealed two distinct sentiments:

I wanted them [her daughters] to have an education. Something that I really didn't have. I wanted them to be independent. They should be able to stand on their own feet. I made them very independent and, sometimes I see them so darn independent that I say



As sole owner of her beauty shop, with no employees, Mrs. Socorro Ramirez handles all aspects of her business. Courtesy of the author. photo copyright Susan Merrell.

"wow." But I also wanted my own shop because of my feelings about Mrs. Smith [her former employer] and her racism. I wanted to be my own boss—nobody telling me this or that and making me feel bad, trying to make me feel bad because I'm Mexican.

A similar story was told by another Mexican American woman who also owns a beauty shop:

After I got my license [beautician] I looked for a job at a beauty shop. The first place that hired me was owned by an American—an Anglo woman. She got jealous of me because she had a lot of clients that spoke Spanish and they asked for me to do their hair instead of her. I would speak Spanish with them, it's just a natural thing for us. This would bother her and I could tell she was angry.

Other women also experienced similar conflicts with their Anglo employers over their use of Spanish with their customers. Ironically, the majority of the business owners also admitted that they had experienced problems when they became owners. A common problem involved a customer or a sales representative asking these Mexican American women if the owner were available. One business owner stated that this happened so frequently that, in order to avoid having to explain that she was the owner, she took to saying that "the owner is not here but I can help you."

The Mexican American women entrepreneurs often became visibly upset during those times during the interviews when they recalled their specific experiences of prejudice. The following story was told by one woman:

A client told me that I had a cute accent and then



Mrs. Socorro Ramirez shares an informal moment during a break from the interviews with Professor Alma M. García, Santa Clara University. *Courtesy of the author, photo copyright Susan Merrell.*

asked me: "Are you Jewish?" I said no. "Are you French?" No. "Are you Italian?" I kept saying No, No, No. Finally she said, "You're not a [expletive] Mexican are you?" I got so mad, I said "Yes, I am a [expletive] Mexican and there's the [expletive] door—get out." I ripped the curlers out of her hair and walked her to the door.

After relating this episode, this beauty-shop owner became very emotional: "I don't want my daughters to have to experience such bad treatment. I want them to get more education—to have a career where they don't have to deal with people who are so prejudiced." Still another Mexican American woman—owner of a small restaurant—said that her supervisor—an Anglo woman—would get upset if she heard her speaking Spanish: "My feelings about her racism made me say to myself, 'I want to quit.' I dreamed of opening my little restaurant and speaking Spanish when I wanted to." Other Mexican American women shared these sentiments. The majority of these business owners believed that a person's experience with ethnic prejudice and discrimination decreased as a person entered the professional class.

With only one exception, none of the women in this sample had worked for women of color in general or Latina women in particular. This issue poses a research area in need of future investigation. In sum, my study of Santa Clara County entrepreneurs confirms that a complex combination of racial discrimination and gender discrimination was the major motivational factor for business start-up among Mexican American women.

CONCLUSION

This study of the development of entrepreneurship among Mexican American women begins to fill a gap in the literature on both ethnic and female entrepreneurs. The specific social location of Mexican American women created by the interrelationship between ethnicity, class, and gender shaped the origin and significance of business ownership. Although Mexican American women share some commonalities with other ethnic and women entrepreneurs, this qualitative study reveals patterns of differences, raising significant questions for future research on Mexican American male entrepreneurs and female entrepreneurs in general, particularly minority women business-owners.

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Mexican American women who owned businesses in the service sector were most likely to have been service workers prior to their business start-up. These women shared past experiences of prejudice and discrimination from their previous employers—predominantly Anglo women—and, consequently, identified this as a major motivational factor for starting their own businesses.

Business ownership was perceived as a means to provide their families with those extra financial resources necessary for providing their children with opportunities for a better future. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, these women were predominantly married and had husbands or parents who were able to provide the needed start-up capital. Furthermore, Mexican American women did not see entrepreneurship as a favorable career option for their children, especially for their daughters. Business ownership provided the financial resources necessary in order to provide their children with better-quality education, usually private, often Catholic. Still, these business owners were also seeking a working situation free from employer discrimination. In sum, the efforts of these Mexican American women entrepreneurs would be rewarded as their hopes and dreams for their children became a reality: upward mobility, obtaining a professional credential, and the attainment of their "American Dream." Truly, then, these women "worked for their daughter's future."

See notes beginning on page 359

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Nicaraguan-born René Cárdenas. Cárdenas, who landed his first journalism job at sixteen, convinced directors at Los Angeles radio station KWKW to broadcast the games of the recently relocated Dodgers in Spanish. *Copyright Los Angeles Dodgers.*

"Dodgers Béisbol is on the Air"

The Development and Impact of the Dodgers Spanish-Language Broadcasts, 1958-1994

by Samuel O. Regalado

Dodger Stadium was an exciting place to be during the spring of 1981. And the excitement was, in large part, due to a twenty-year-old Mexican pitching star named Fernando Valenzuela, who, as a rookie, began that year's campaign with eight consecutive victories. During this period, the Dodgers' baseball fans were euphoric on each night that Valenzuela pitched. Throughout the stadium, fans shouted encouragement in both Spanish and English, as Helen Dell, the Dodger Stadium organist, used the "El Toro" theme in place of the more familiar "Charge" for the evening's battle cry. In the press box, journalists from around the nation jockeyed for space as they sought to cover the phenomenon known simply as "Fernandomania." Longtime Dodgers' broadcaster Vin Scully, as he routinely did, prefaced each contest for his Los Angeles audience with a dramatic analysis of the left-handed pitcher.

In the meantime, and in the next booth, Jaime Jarrín, the other "voice of the Dodgers," did the same in Spanish. Like his English-speaking counterpart's, Jarrín's audience, too, encompassed the Dodgers' southern California region. Unlike Scully's, however, Jarrín's coverage was heard throughout Mexico and into the Caribbean. "You could go from one end of Mexico to the other and never lose the signal," stated Jarrín's broadcasting partner and mentor, René Cárdenas.¹ Indeed, if Valenzuela's success symbolized for many a period of arrival for Latinos in the United States, it also marked the coming of

age of Spanish-language sportscasting of major league baseball, indeed a rare commodity that had only begun to emerge in the media world by 1958, when the Dodgers arrived in Los Angeles.

By then, Spanish-language radio had been developing for nearly thirty-five years in various regions around the country. As early as 1924, these transmissions appeared in San Antonio, Texas. There, residents of Mexican descent tuned to WOAI to listen to the limited broadcasting during the day. Not until 1942, however, did the station air Spanish-language broadcasts on a full-time basis. And like other transmitters of its kind, drumming up financial support was a constant albatross. "Most retailers, and potential advertisers, were not convinced that Chicanos possessed sufficient income to justify the advertising expense," claimed radio historians Jorge Reina Schement and Ricardo Flores.² Consequently, sister stations in the San Antonio vicinity hesitated at the thought of expanding their own programming in the Spanish language.

As in San Antonio, the Los Angeles-based KWKW also struggled for sponsorships. Born in 1942, the station was only one of two transmitters—the other being KACL—that served that city's growing number of Spanish-language listeners. During this era when some 200,000 people of Mexican heritage resided within the reception area of its airwaves, the largely hand-to-mouth transmitter operated at only one thousand watts. Discriminatory laws and customs that forced *mexicanos* into limited regions inside

the periphery of the city enhanced the value of the radio medium, which, in turn, helped to make their limited environment more livable. "Wherever the Mexicans go, outside their own districts, there are signs, prohibitions, taboos, restrictions," pointed out Carey McWilliams in his groundbreaking study on the Mexican communities. "Learning of this 'iron curtain' is part of the education of every Mexican-American boy in Los Angeles."³

The Mexican world in Los Angeles during the 1940s and early 1950s, however, also provided social and cultural outlets. The Million Dollar Theater in the downtown area, for instance, was quite popular among the residents. Spanish-speaking movies, live performances, mariachi music, and guest appearances of Mexican actors all took place at the Million Dollar. Another venue—the Avadon Ballroom—was also a favorite spot at which to socialize amidst the music of the big-band sounds. As for the media, the community's most important Spanish-language newspaper was *La Opinión*. In addition to its local coverage, the daily also reported newsworthy stories from Mexico.

But Spanish-language radio had a much bigger market than the print media both in Los Angeles and in other regions. That the bulk of the city's Mexican population had migrated from northern Mexico, a region without a strong tradition of literacy, contributed to its popularity.⁴ New Mexico's Spanish-language listeners, for example, substantiated this theory. "Although Spanish of all sorts was still the daily speech of several hundred thousand New Mexicans, only a small minority could read the language with any ease," Oliver LaFarge pointed out in his history of the region.⁵ Richard A. Garcia, in his study of San Antonio's Mexican American community, also revealed that "these stations helped to reach people who could not read or get the news in any other way." The broadcasts, he claimed, sparked "a sense of cultural and psychological cohesion." Moreover, "the radio provided a cultural instrument for the dispersion of culture if not the message of politics."⁶

Hence, in an era prior to the emergence of television, KWKW's programming was quite popular indeed in Los Angeles. It featured music, talk shows, and even soap operas. Financially strapped at times, the station sometimes had to streamline these shows. For instance, KWKW's most popular program, a

daytime soap named "El Derecho de Nacer" ("The Right to be Born"), featured one broadcaster who narrated all of the character parts. Elena Salinas also captivated listeners with her inexpensive call-in programs, which included recipes for Mexican cuisine.

Baseball, too, sparked interest in the area's Spanish-speaking quarter. But the national pastime's popularity rested largely within the confines of the community's semi-professional and amateur circuits. Beyond that, only when minor-league pitcher Memo Luna, a Mexican national, threw for the Pacific Coast League's San Diego Padres, did Spanish-speaking fans from Los Angeles exhibit noticeable support.⁷ By the mid-1950s, however, *La Opinión*'s Rodolfo Garcia was nurturing awareness of major league baseball in his readers. Though relatively few players of Mexican descent were in the big leagues, those like Beto "Bobby" Avila, the Cleveland Indians' second baseman and 1954 American League batting champ, did arouse community interest. "Rudy Garcia was covering major league baseball even though the major leagues weren't even in California," remembered René Cárdenas. "He used to have his picture taken with major leaguers. And I said 'Wow, that is fantastic. Imagine a Spanish man who writes about major league baseball.'"⁸

Born in Managua, Nicaragua, Cárdenas was only sixteen years old when he went to work for that city's major newspaper, *La Prensa*. Shortly thereafter, Cárdenas got his first break in the radio business when a friend arranged a few brief spots for the youngster on a local station. This proved to be significant for him. His prowess as an announcer led to an invitation to do the play-by-play broadcasts of Nicaraguan baseball, boxing, and basketball. Within a short time, Nicaraguans came to refer to Cárdenas simply as "El Chelito" (the blond one).

In 1951, the young Nicaraguan migrated to the United States and joined his family already situated in the Los Angeles area. He immediately enrolled in an evening program to learn English and, during the day, worked for *La Prensa*'s Los Angeles bureau. Because of his experience in baseball, his duties included coverage of Pacific Coast League games. Though he enjoyed this beat, local teams, he noticed, drew few Spanish-speaking patrons. "There weren't



Los Angeles meets its new team in a parade through downtown in April 1958. Copyright Los Angeles Dodgers.

many Latin Players in the PCL," claimed the reporter."

Cárdenas's enthusiasm for baseball, however, remained robust. This intensified in 1957, when rumors circulated that major league baseball might soon arrive in Los Angeles. By the fall, all scuttlebutt centered on a move by the Brooklyn Dodgers franchise. Cárdenas immediately began to imagine the possibilities of promoting big league baseball to the Latin community. "If [the Dodgers] come here and we have a Spanish broadcast, there is already a newspaper that is going to be covering it in Spanish—the *La Opinión*. And probably Rudy Garcia is who will be covering baseball, with all of his experience."¹¹

In October 1957, the Dodgers formally announced their plans to move their operations to California. Attracted by the prospects of a new stadium and pay television, owner Walter O'Malley traveled

westward to engineer one of the most controversial, indeed revolutionary, moves in all of baseball history. The news, of course, thrilled René Cárdenas, who pieced together a proposal for the games to be aired in Spanish.

At the time of the October 1957 announcement, KWKW and KACL were the only stations serving the area's Spanish-speaking residents, and of the two, only KWKW offered full-time programming. Still operating on only one thousand watts, the station reported minimal sports information to its listeners, but did nothing in the way of play-by-play coverage of any athletic events. In fact, to that point, only Elio "Buck" Canel's broadcasts of both the World Series and All-Star games on shortwave transmission reached Latin Americans. Though the American-born Canel was the most popular sportscaster in Latin America, baseball fans there had only limited opportunities to catch the games on the air. Until the late 1950s, Spanish-speaking fans in the United

States had no avenues for listening to any games in their native tongue. Cárdenas, already experienced in radio, saw room for expansion to tap a new audience. Polishing his proposal, he met with KWKW's directors and convinced them to, if nothing else, explore the possibilities. William Beaton, the station manager and an enterprising man who sought to expand the station's constituency, agreed that an effort should be made to establish ties to the incoming eastern baseball men.

The Dodgers, of course, recognized the importance of the radio. For decades, Red Barber's voice had been a fixture in Brooklyn households. And with the help of the radio, the Dodgers were able to establish a loyal fan base in a neighborhood with

families of diverse ethnic heritage. To Brooklyn, the Dodgers, claimed Neil J. Sullivan, "represented a cultural totem, a tangible symbol of the community and its values."¹¹ And the radio helped to bring that about. But the club's new constituency on the West Coast represented a different situation. While Brooklyn was small, Los Angeles was vast, and the team's new "neighborhood" included America's fastest-growing ethnic group—those of Spanish-speaking origin.

The concentration of the Mexican American population in Los Angeles had boomed in the years following World War II. By the time of the Dodgers' arrival, Los Angeles held some 600,000 residents of Mexican descent. Though baseball was not foreign



Dodgers players receive gifts from Mexican Americans on the City Hall steps at the ceremony welcoming them to Los Angeles in April 1958. *Hearst Newspaper Collection, Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

to them, the Pacific Coast League, as indicated earlier, did not attract Hispanic fans in large numbers. The Dodgers' leaders, for their part, however, were not unaware of their new surroundings. And though the club already featured the rising star of Vin Scully as its main sportscaster, René Cárdenas's proposal nonetheless intrigued them.

With Beaton's support of Cárdenas, the Dodgers accepted the plan for Spanish-language broadcasting, pending agreement from their New York-based advertising agency, which Stan Evans managed. When the proposal reached his desk, Evans wasted no time in his response. "Our approach was if there's an audience out there, we want to reach it," he later recalled.¹² Beaton also encouraged the agency to hire Cárdenas as its lead announcer, which they did after having auditioned more than one hundred applicants. "We listened to hundreds of tapes and there was no question that Rene was absolutely outstanding," Evans stated.¹³ The ever-cautious Dodgers, however, did not fully fund the project at the outset. "They only decided to risk a certain amount of money," recalled Cárdenas. "[Initially] we didn't do all of the games nor did we travel with the ball-club."¹⁴

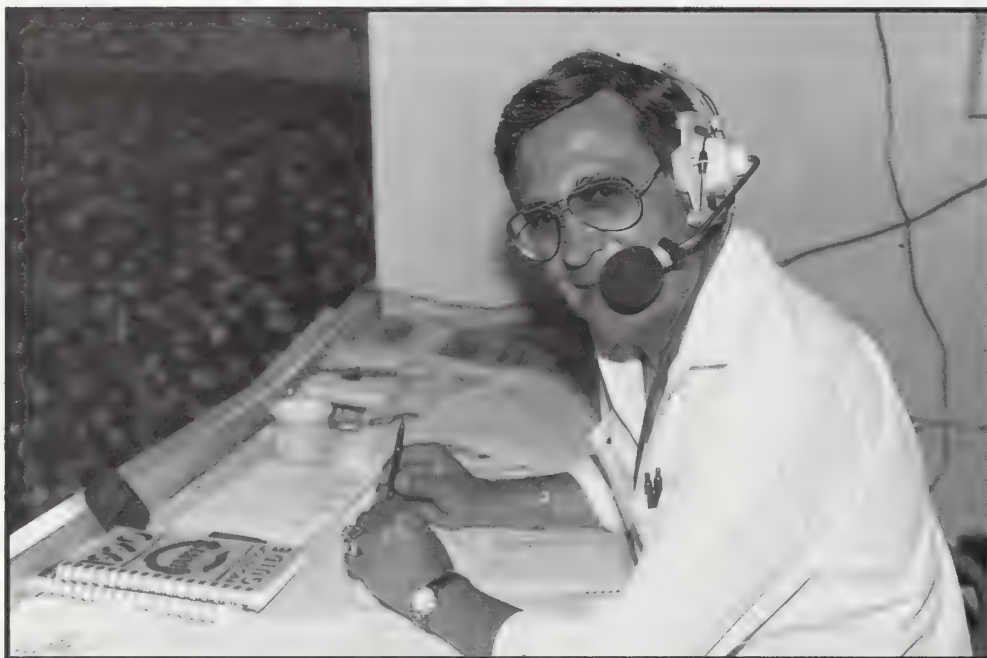
In preparation for his role, the Dodgers sent Cárdenas to their spring training site so that he might familiarize himself both with the club and its English-speaking broadcasting team. The latter was especially important, since the station agreed to do re-creation, rather than live broadcasting, of the games when the Dodgers took to the road. "I was going to have to do [the games] in the studio. So I wanted to know which way they approached the plays and what the tempo was—the speed of the announcers—what the speed of the game was."¹⁵ Cárdenas learned quickly, which was imperative if his plan were to succeed. "I had done baseball for years, but I had never done a re-creation before," he admitted.¹⁶ A difficult task even in a familiar tongue, the technique required Cárdenas both to listen to the English-speaking announcers and then to translate the commentary into Spanish in split-second time.

The Dodgers' 1958 opening day was spectacular. Civic festivities climaxed with a Coliseum crowd of 78,672—then a major league record—for that afternoon's contest against the Giants, the Dodgers' traditional cross-town rival who had just

moved from New York to San Francisco. Situated in the press box with great pride sat René Cárdenas, who painted a picture of the game for his Spanish-speaking listeners. His efforts were pioneering, indeed, for these broadcasts were the first time a major league club received daily coverage of its games in any language other than English. KWKW that year covered all of the home games on a live basis, and the road games through re-creation. Not until three years later did the station expand its coverage of the games, when Spanish-language announcers joined the team on visits to San Francisco. By 1964, the Spanish-speaking crew covered all of the games live. In the meantime, however, Cárdenas toiled with the re-creation of road games at the studio. Later, he proudly announced that "I didn't make any mistakes. Not at all. I learned to follow [Scully] with only two full seconds behind. I got to the point where I could think what Vin was thinking."¹⁷ The Nicaraguan also studied photographs of each ballpark so that he might better describe the situation to his listeners. However, he admitted that "I never pretended to be there. I always told my listeners that I was doing a re-creation."¹⁸

After one successful year in the booth, KWKW drafted its youthful director of news and information, Jaime Jarrín, to join Cárdenas. Like his Nicaraguan partner, Ecuadoran Jaime Jarrín had planted his broadcasting roots as a teenager. Unlike so many of his peers, however, Jarrín's first opportunity at the microphone came at the station named "La Voz De Los Andes," among the most powerful transmitters in the world. In 1955, the eighteen-year-old Jarrín had left Ecuador for the United States. Landing in Los Angeles, he approached KWKW for possible employment, but the station did not immediately hire the experienced Ecuadoran. It determined that Jarrín's dialect was difficult for the Mexican ear and that he would "have to work on his Spanish."¹⁹

The station eventually hired Jarrín, however, and within the next few years he quickly rose through the ranks. In 1959, the station convinced him to join Cárdenas in the Dodgers' broadcast booth. Always willing to accept a challenge, Jarrín nonetheless hesitated at the new assignment. "'One small problem,' I told them, 'I don't know anything about baseball,'" the Ecuadoran pointed out. "It certainly is hard to come into a brand-new game and learn the ins-and-



Ecuadoran Jaime Jarrín became René Cárdenas's broadcasting partner in 1959. Copyright Los Angeles Dodgers.

outs of every phase of baseball."²⁰ Ever the team player, however, Jarrín plunged into "months of reading through every baseball book available, every publication on the subject and also many hours of coaching."²¹ To compound his anxieties, Jarrín, like Cárdenas, had to learn to do re-creation of the games. "That was very tough. Remember that in those years they played lots of doubleheaders and to do two games from inside the studio was very [difficult] because you really had to concentrate to hear. Watching the games was easier. But in the studio you had to close your eyes and realize how the ballpark was set and...go from there. It was very tough to talk and listen at the same time."²²

The club's Spanish-speaking broadcasts gained added importance when in 1959, only one month into its world-championship season, the Dodgers' new stadium project in Chavez Ravine ran into a promotional snag. In May, residents living in Chavez Ravine, largely a Mexican American enclave, were handed eviction notices. The neighborhood's most celebrated resident, Mrs. Avrana Archiga, a sixty-eight-year-old, "was carried kicking and screaming from [her] premises."²³ Local television news covered the unpleasant scene, and considerable doubt as to the Dodgers' relationship with the Mexican community arose as a result of the fiasco. Los Angeles

city councilman Edward Roybal declared that "Someone stands to answer for violating the individual rights of these people. This is the type of actions that occurred during the Spanish Inquisition and Hitler's Germany."²⁴ The Dodgers and the city of Los Angeles, however, weathered the episode after local papers revealed that the Archiga family owned at least nine homes. That the club employed Spanish-language coverage of its games was also of great help in restoring its reputation within the Mexican American quarter.

KWKW's broadcasts of Dodgers' baseball also contributed to the station's expansion. Within a few years, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) granted the station permission to increase its power to ten thousand watts. As Spanish-language coverage of Dodgers' games increased, however, the club did little to incorporate players of Latin descent. To be sure, this proved frustrating to announcers like Jarrín. "What we did in those days," recalled Jarrín, "was to give special emphasis to Latin stars on other clubs—Roberto Clemente, Juan Marichal, and the Alou brothers, for instance."²⁵ Indeed, in an effort to tap the Spanish-speaking market further, in 1964 the club attempted to advertise reliever Phil Ortega—its sole Latin prospect—as a *mexicano*. Unfortunately for both the Dodgers and KWKW, Ortega routinely



A bulldozer razes a home in Chavez Ravine to make way for the new Dodger Stadium in May 1959. *Hearst Newspaper Collection, Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

celebrated his Yacqui Indian background during interviews. Picking up on this, the *Los Angeles Times* featured a headline reading "Geronimo on the Warpath."²⁶ Dodgers' vice-president Buzzie Bavasi was not amused and remarked "I wish you guys would stop calling him an Indian. He's Mexican."²⁷ Ortega's insistence on identifying with his Indian heritage, however, continued to undermine Bavasi's promotional efforts. Caught in the middle, of course, were the KWKW's announcers, who attempted to follow the team's official position. "We told [Ortega] that 'you're missing the point,'" recalled Jaime Jarrín. "In this town you have to be Mexican."²⁸ That he could not speak Spanish complicated the problem further. Ultimately, the Dodgers' attempts to "Mexicanize" Ortega failed. Moreover, he never developed into a top-flight pitcher, and, at the end of the season, the team dealt him to the Washington Senators. Other Dodger Mexican signees, such as José Peña and Vicente Romo, also fell short of their expectations.

In the meantime, as the city's Spanish-speaking community expanded, so, too, did KWKW's audience. Jarrín himself became a celebrity, and in 1970 he became the first Hispanic to win the coveted "Golden Mike Award," an honor repeated in 1971. Furthermore, revenue for the station also increased. By 1980, recognizing the economic potential of Latin consumers, such companies as Union Oil, Farmer John meat company, and Coca-Cola, among others, were sponsoring Dodgers' Spanish broadcasts. Moreover, other Spanish-language stations in the Los Angeles area also competed with KWKW for daily listeners. Indeed, after KWKW balked at selling time for the Dodgers' broadcasts, one of them, KTNQ, a rival station, began to carry the games in 1980. Faced with the conflict of loyalty between his old station and the new transmitters, Jarrín, with

support from the club, remained behind the microphone as the Dodgers entered the new decade. One year later, Fernando Valenzuela, a rookie pitcher from Mexico, helped to catapult both Jarrín and Spanish-language baseball broadcasts to a new level.

Valenzuela's triumphant 1981 season is well-documented in baseball annals. His impact on Spanish-language radio sportscasting, however, cannot be overestimated. Jarrín, whose baseball announcing career began with a one-thousand-watt station, reached a 1981 audience of gargantuan proportion during the height of "Fernandomania." Thirty-one affiliates initially tied into KTNQ's feed of the games in which Valenzuela hurled. Later, forty-eight stations throughout Mexico and other areas in Latin America picked up the broadcasts. By comparison, *Inside Sports* reported that Vin Scully's English transmissions reached only twenty-four affiliates.³⁰ "Before Fernando we had our audience in Southern California. But when Fernando came...our audience went up to the millions. We had up to fifty million

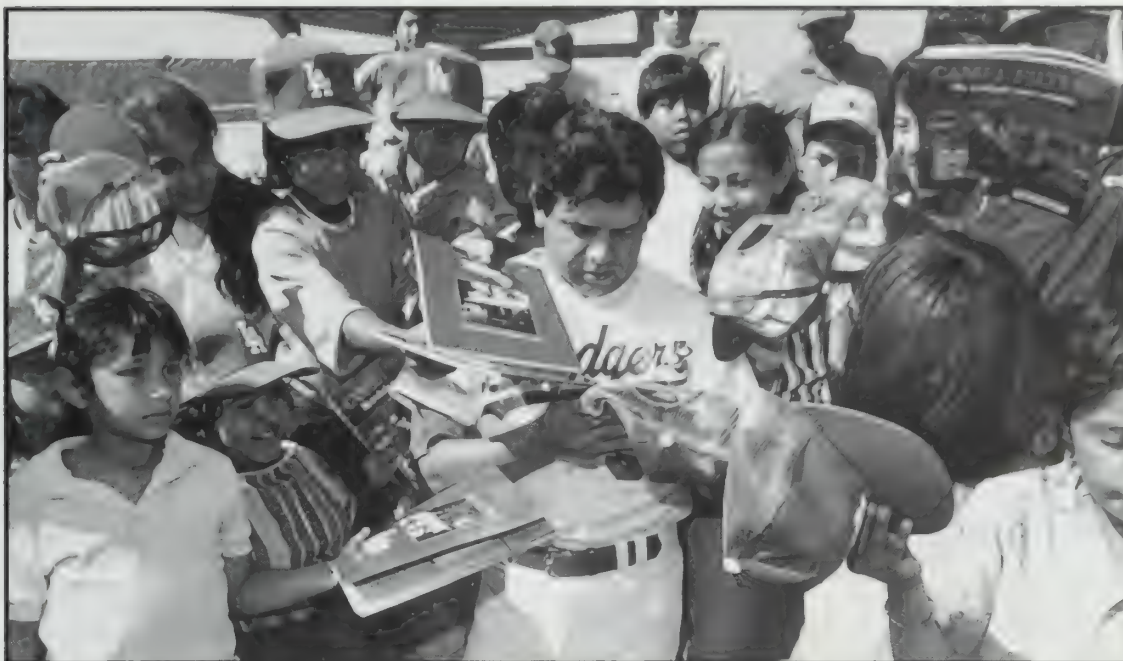
listeners every game he pitched," claimed Jarrín, who became the most popular Spanish-speaking baseball announcer since Buck Canel.³¹ Jaime Jarrín also served as Valenzuela's interpreter, which enhanced his reputation even among the English-speaking audience of Dodgers' games.

By that time, René Cárdenas had also made his mark. After his success in initiating the Spanish-language broadcasts in Los Angeles, in 1962 the young National League franchise in Houston invited him to do the same in that city. Desperate for fan support, the new club gave Cárdenas carte blanche to reach Latin listeners throughout Texas. Within a few years, the Colt 45s (later renamed the Astros) reached Spanish-speaking audiences in Corpus Christi, Dallas, Amarillo, Brownsville, and, appropriately, San Antonio. Later, Cárdenas helped establish a similar network for the Texas Rangers.

Cárdenas returned to the Dodgers in 1982 and was reunited with his old student Jarrín. By the end of the decade, several other big league clubs also intro-



Broadcaster Jaime Jarrín interprets for Fernando Valenzuela and reporters.
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Fernando Valenzuela autographs caps and programs for Los Angeles youth. Copyright Los Angeles Dodgers.

duced Spanish-language coverage of their teams. Along with the Dodgers, the Padres and Astros, both teams located in regions with large Latino populations, devoted full coverage throughout the season. In 1993, the expansion Florida Marlins, with numerous Cuban immigrants in their hinterland, included full-scale radio coverage of their contests. By 1994, fourteen of the twenty-six major league organizations made provisions for Spanish-speaking stations to do the baseball games on either a full-time or part-time basis.

Spanish-language sportscasting brought a new element to baseball in the United States and expanded the game's horizons well beyond its borders. In addition, it reflected the impact made by Latino players and the development of Hispanic society at large. These transmissions also stimulated large corporate sponsorship of Spanish-language radio stations across the United States. And this growth offered important endorsement avenues for both players and announcers. Jaime Jarrín, for instance, by the 1990s served as the Spanish-language spokesman for various sponsors, such as Sears and Southern California Chevrolet. As for René Cárdenas, he continues to beam at the impact made by his 1958 proposal. "It's so wonderful to hear from other [Spanish-language] broadcasters. Every

time they see me, they shake my hand and say, 'We are so grateful you opened the door for us.' That makes me feel very, very good," he stated.³² The pioneering efforts of René Cárdenas, Jaime Jarrín, KWKW, and the Dodgers, who throughout the years remained consistent in their support of the broadcasts, expanded baseball's sphere of influence. Moreover, they opened up a vast new realm in the area of Spanish-language radio.

See notes beginning on page 361.

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THE ORIGINS OF CHICANO CULTURAL THOUGHT

Visions and Paradigms— Romano's Culturalism, Alurista's Aesthetics, and Acuña's Communalism

by Richard A. Garcia

It is as acceptable to join history and criticism as it is to have description, dramatic dialogue, and reflective soliloquy in the same novel.

—Dominick LaCapra

The society we have made simply won't survive without the values of tolerance. And cultural tolerance comes to nothing without cultural understanding.

—Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

The Mexican American mentality of integration, Americanism, and acculturation was in question, if not in crisis, in the late 1960s. The youth of Mexican American communities were promoting a Chicano Renaissance that was reminiscent of the Black Renaissance of the 1920s. The young activists of the Mexican American communities attempted to give rebirth to the energy of "*lo mexicano*" in a world in which many people of Mexican American descent found themselves becoming more a part of the culture of "*lo americano*." This period gave rise to a new consciousness of nationhood that was promoted by the radical youth who had begun to identify themselves as Chicanos rather than as part of Mexican American communities. Like the New Left of the larger American student movement led by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), these new Chicanos sought to establish a new ideology, a new epistemology, and a new tracing of their history. In short, this new Chicano generation was in search of new cultural visions and paradigms that would provide focus to a new critical reality that they felt existed in the United States and within their own Mexican American communities. Like the rest of the contemporary movements in the United States and worldwide, it was the youth in the Mexican American population who spearheaded this new search,

although there were other dimensions of the radicalization that would be important.¹

But, regardless of how we remember this period, it is difficult not to conclude that there was a separation between the masses of youth and the rising young intellectuals who articulated the ideological direction. In the Anglo-American protest movement, young intellectuals, such as Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, Richard Flacks, Staughton Lynd, and others, come to mind. The same situation occurred in the Chicano radicalization of the late sixties and early seventies, when there was a separation between the general radicalizing youth of the barrios and universities and the emerging intellectuals. Especially notable were the young intelligentsia who grouped around the cultural-intellectual journal *El Grito: The Journal of Mexican American Thought*, begun by Octavio Romano, and the historical-social science journal *Aztlan*, edited by Juan Gómez-Quinones. There were also the poets and writers, headed by Alurista, and the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS), led by such people as Carlos Muñoz, as well as Chicano Studies departments at universities, such as the one directed by activist Rodolfo Acuña at California State University, Northridge. These two journals brought together and helped to nurture the rising Chicano intelligentsia, and both functioned like the *Partisan Review*, which had served the radicalizing American intellectual generation of the 1930s and 1940s. NACS



In the intense heat of the California summer of 1971, Chicano protesters paraded through the streets of Sacramento to oppose a plan by Governor Ronald Reagan to cut back on public education and welfare. They had just completed a sixty-day march on the state capital from Calexico in the far-southern Imperial Valley. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was the youth of Mexican American communities in California and across the nation who led the protests against the injustices their group had traditionally suffered since the United States' conquest of the Southwest and Far West in the 1840s. It was their search for a new ethnic meaning that gave rise to the new "Chicano" identity and touched off the development of new historical interpretations of their experiences. Changing Chicano conceptions of history are the subject of this article. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Skip Shuman, photographer.*

and California State University, Northridge, served to provide intellectual and teaching forums for the discussion of ideas, theories, and strategies.²

In this essay, I will examine the origin of recent Chicano cultural thought by focusing on the cultural visions and paradigms of three major intellectual activists who, through their writings, lectures, and overall presence, helped to formulate the Chicano mentality, identity, and new consciousness in the 1960s. I will explore the ideas of Octavio Romano, Alurista, and Rodolfo Acuña as three of the main intellectuals who created and articulated the new Chicano critical perspective that fractured the Mexican American *zeitgeist* of accommodation and assimilation that had held sway since the 1930s.

For these three intellectuals, the task seemed to be straightforward: to redefine the cultural and political reality that they perceived and experienced and in which they functioned. The questions they addressed, however, were not uniquely their own. Although they listened and attempted to articulate the cries in the streets, as intellectuals they ultimately articulated their own perceptions and interpretations. Nevertheless, Romano, Alurista, and Acuña attempted to address many of the radical youths' questions, such as the one that was on the lips of the young at the suburban church in Los Angeles who uttered "Who am I?" or the passionate cry of the poet Benjamin Luna, who seemed to cry to the heavens when he wrote "I stand naked in the world, / hungry, / homeless, / despised..." These cries, however, were put in a more political, yet lyrical, form by the activist Rudolfo "Corky" González, who wrote: "I am Joaquin / Lost in a world of confusion, / Caught up in a whirl of an Anglo society, / Confused by the rules, / Scorned by attitudes, / Suppressed by manipulations, / And destroyed by modern society..."³

It seemed that these three intellectuals had to confront the issues of alienation, oppression, discrimination, sexism, manipulation, powerlessness, and an ahistoricalness that were shared by many of the other cultural movements of the 1960s. These themes were reflected in the voices of youth, and even the adults, of La Raza, as Stan Steiner captured in his discourse, but these themes were magnified through the lens of ethnic impoverishment. Ernesto Galarza, a transitional intellectual of the Mexican American generation, quickly perceived this crisis of ideology and culture that the rising Chicano intellectuals had to face, and he quickly responded that "it is too early to foresee where these movements will

lead. There is little unity of thought."⁴ Galarza had touched on the key point. The need for a "unity of thought" was a metaphor for a need to develop or create a new perception of reality.

In short, all of the rising Chicano intellectuals, especially Romano, Alurista, and Acuña, needed to reinterpret the American reality in order to provide the new Chicano voices to change and diversify the American discourse. Also implied in Galarza's statement was a rejection of the cultural visions and paradigms of the Mexican American generation, which had formulated and voiced them since the 1930s and 1940s, especially through such organizations as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the G.I. Forum, and other organizations that had always promoted a vision of justice, equality, education, and cultural pluralism.

However, the radicalizing young Chicano intelligentsia rejected the ideas of integration, bi-culturalism, and ethnicity advocated by intellectuals such as George Sánchez, Alonzo Perales, Carlos Castañeda, M.C. González, Ernesto Galarza, Julian Samora, Arthur L. Campa, and many others. These budding radical intellectuals, who were grouped around the journals *El Grito* and *Aztlan*, also rejected the ideas of transitional intellectuals, such as Ralph Guzmán, Armando Rendón, Elui Carranza, and even the ideas of *El Grito* editor, Octavio Romano, who had sought to bridge the ideas, sentiments, and visions of the Mexican American intellectuals of the 1950s and early 1960s with the rising Chicano *élan vital*. The Mexican American generation intellectuals did not oppose the "redress of societal grievances" or the resurrection of "*lo mexicano*" in the 1960s. However, they still sought these goals within the boundaries of Americanism and ethnicity, and not within the Chicano generation's parameters of nationalism and *chicanismo*, which in essence argued from the theoretical premise that Chicanos were held in a state of colonialism similar to what had happened to much of the "third world." Moreover, it seemed that rising Chicano intellectuals sought to use and to connect the themes and ideas of radical liberal Carey McWilliams's *North from Mexico* to the colonial radicalism of Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, and the New Left, instead of connecting the liberal cultural themes and ideas of Matt Meier and Feliciano Rivera's *Los Chicanos* with the pluralism of Jefferson, Madison, and de Tocqueville.

The Chicano generation inaugurated a struggle of nationalism and internal colonialism, rather than one of ethnicity and political pluralism. These emerging

Chicano academicians and intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s basically saw the world, as historian Alex Saragoza has stated, as a polarity of "them and us," a conceptualization that searched for a textual reality beyond Americanism and beyond the ethnic dualism of Mexican Americanism. Although, like the New Left, they were not without internal disagreements, Chicano intellectuals essentially sought to reorder the categories of the world, that is, to create a new aesthetic of perception.⁵ In short, they sought to establish a new cultural discourse to redefine the Mexican American self, and to promote a new communal reality or unity.

In this essay, I will explore this attempt by the new Chicanos to establish a new cultural vision by examining the ideas, cultural values, and paradigms of three central intellectuals: first, the cultural visions of anthropologist and editor Octavio Romano; second, the aesthetic ideas of the poet Alurista, who was perceived as the poet laureate of the 1960s and 1970s; and third, the communal themes of historian Rodolfo Acuña, who through his writings was by far the most influential intellectual of the period. Each of these intellectuals, through writings, lectures, and activities, has directed his social critique at combating what he considered to be an American cultural, intellectual, and textual imperialism of the Mexican population in the United States.⁶ In doing this, however, they, like some other radical intellectuals in other societies, distanced themselves from both the masses and the seats of power by naively adopting the Marxian view that the intellectual should be an instrument of proletarian liberation. Alurista and Acuña, unlike Romano, became trapped by the mythology of the Mexican proletariat, and thus were unable to be more influential in national and international political and policy issues. Ironically as well, in the 1960s and even as late as the 1990s, the Chicano intelligentsia, by accepting a third-world perspective, persisted in distancing themselves from the majority of the Mexican American population.

Anthropologist Octavio Romano, however, did not seek to deny the traditional Mexican American vision, but to imbue it with a stronger sense of ethnic history via a new "consciousness of collectivity" based on cultural and historical memories and expectations. For Romano, Chicanos were in a constant process of phenomenologically becoming, depending on their individual choices. Alurista, on the other hand, sought to supplant the American and Mexican American reality by creating a new poetic

imagery based on the aesthetic notion of a primal Eden in the Southwest: *Aztlan*, the mythological homeland of the Aztecs. For Alurista, Chicanos were already phenomenologically defined. They just had to rid themselves of their historical oppression, which to him included the tradition of assimilation into the larger American culture. The historian Rodolfo Acuña, for his part, sought to preserve the community against any encroachment by the larger society. For Acuña, it was a Rousseauian struggle against modernity.

In short, Romano sought to establish a consciousness of collectivity, Alurista a poetic historical vision, and Acuña a sense of organic community. The ideas of each have helped to shape the basic paradigms, texts, and visions that are at the core of most Chicano studies programs from the 1960s through the 1990s: the ethnic liberal-conservatism of Romano; the cultural-nationalism of Alurista, and the communal-nationalism of Acuña. Let me now turn to discuss each cultural vision.

OCTAVIO ROMANO:
SEEKING THE CULTURAL CORE AND
THE "CONSCIOUSNESS OF COLLECTIVITY"

Octavio Romano was one of the most important intellectuals of the 1960s in formulating the new Chicano perspective. In 1967, in order to disseminate his ideas to the rising Chicano academics and activists, he founded the journal *El Grito: The Journal of Mexican-American Thought*, which became the most influential political and intellectual journal for the Chicano renaissance of the 1960s and early 1970s. Romano was central to proposing and establishing the guiding theoretical contours for the rising Chicano intelligentsia and the movement's activists. Through his writings, his journal, and his lecturing in the late sixties, Romano had a profound effect on establishing the Chicano Renaissance's historical, intellectual, and cultural-communal themes. In fact, these themes would provide the ideological framework for what would be called the Chicano mentality and perspective. However, Romano's writings were most influential in the late 1960s because of the passion and politics of the early renaissance period; his vision was quickly discarded for more socialistic or nationalistic views.

In the mid-1960s, Octavio Romano was a professor of behavioral science and public health at the University of California, Berkeley, where he was one of



Octavio Romano in his Berkeley office. *Courtesy Richard A. Garcia.*

the first Mexican American academics to question the central contradictions of his ethnic existence, the larger American society, and his social science academic discipline. Theoretically and personally, Romano was well aware, as Carey McWilliams had phrased it, of the "Mexican[']s forgotten man" status in the United States, and he abhorred it. But, for Romano, neither liberalism, radicalism, nor militant nationalism seemed to provide the ideological perspective from which Mexicans in the United States could free themselves from the "essence of nonentity" and from the "structures of domination." Instead, he advocated a new conceptual awareness for the Mexican Americans. It was based on the identification of new intellectual and cultural forces that were not only constantly emerging and interrelating, but were also providing the basis of an historical "consciousness of collectivity" that lent continuity both to individuals and to communities. Above all, Romano saw the Mexican as an active, not passive, historical figure, and as having a viable, dynamic, pluralistic culture and not a traditional and stagnant homogenous one. In fact, Romano believed that within the historical and

intellectual development of the Mexican American there existed the archetypal human condition.

As a result of his developing theoretical formulations, Romano's intellectual burden in the late 1960s was almost Herculean: to be a critical theorist without being an ideologue, to be visionary without being a utopian, and to be an intellectual without losing touch with the community. Above all, Romano's greatest burden was how to move himself and the Mexicans in the United States toward the development of new consciousness, new memories, and better expectations. He wanted to give everyone the possibility of leaping from the "realm of economic poverty and necessity" to the "realm of individual freedom and pluralist unity," but without letting any mode of political or ideological domination be forced upon them. Consequently, through his writings, Romano's personal search for "freedom from domination" and his personal *grito* (anguished cry) of liberation became a public *grito* of self, community, and history.⁷

As an anthropologist, Romano used a cultural context from which to examine and analyze these for-

midable problems. He first approached his task by formulating a radical critique of the prevailing negative discourse of social scientists; second, by using himself as a microcosm of the Mexican American population, he sought to establish a positive, ideal model of the Mexican; and third, by using cultural anthropological and social psychological theories, he hoped to examine the existing patterns of culture and community.⁸ However, Romano later stated that in formulating his approach, he had simply "dug deep, deep inside of me to understand myself and my society."⁹ From the time of his first writings in the early 1960s until today, Romano has continually given the impression that his knowledge, his ideas, and his framework for analysis came from only four sources: his own experience, his information from the *viejitos* (the elders) in the community, other Chicano writers, and Carey McWilliams. Moreover, throughout his career, he has also given the impression that he has had only three cultural *dichos* (proverbs) that provided his theoretical premises: 1) *en cada cabeza el mundo* (in each head, metaphorically, the whole world); 2) *en cada loco su tema* (in each person, his own ideas); and 3) *los mismos cueros tenemos todos los mortales al nacer y sin embargo, cuando vamos creciendo, el destino se complace en variarnos como si fuésemos de cere y destinados por sendos diferentes al mismo fin: la muerte* (we mortals are all of the same race at birth; nevertheless as we grow up our destinations are different depending on our choice, but we go on our different paths to the same destination: death). It seems that as Romano sought a unique theory, like the New Left he wanted to start from a new beginning. Consequently, Romano began the "self-analysis" that would become a communal analysis with three broad categorical hypotheses: 1) each Mexican American is an active individual, with his own ideas and choices for his own direction in life; 2) each Mexican American has common racial roots; and 3) each Mexican American has common ties with all other humans.

Romano's observations, travels, and discourses were the partial basis for his articles, beginning in 1967 in *El Grito*. "I discovered," he said, "that there was no shame in what the Mexicans had done historically or tried to do temporally as a group (as opposed to the Social Scientist indictment)—for they had simply tried to make a better life for their families and their children, and to protect themselves from adversity and injustice."¹¹ Romano had discovered in Carey McWilliams's book *North from Mexico* and in the barrios, a life of "no shame," a life

of work, a life of struggle, a life of hope, and a past and a future that were the margins of the present. He discovered, above all, the contradictions in what he had been led to believe by his teachers and professors to be the "truth" of Mexican reality. As he put it, "[I had been] systematically brainwashed in public school... into believing that people of Mexican descent in the United States had done nothing of any significance ... and that...their true role had ended with...the last dying Spaniard."¹² The teachers had implied, he felt, that Mexicans' existence was characterized by little more than economic deprivation, shame, and nonentity status, as well as a poverty of essence and culture. Consequently, Romano would later write that the work of the social scientists was "a classic case of the caricature of a people."¹³ To make up for this deficiency, Romano embarked on a search for the Mexican Americans' own cultural traditions and historical themes. He sought the commonality of a shared consciousness, memories, and new expectations that would help forge the core of the new Chicano mentality and reality.

Romano found the core of this "paramount reality" by using the concept of central configurations, or the "genius of the culture," as anthropologists Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict called it. These configurations consisted of the main idea or ideas that formed the central core of a culture, which integrated individuals to each other and to the core that was the essence of that culture. Later, in his now-classic article "The Historical and Intellectual Presence" (which sold over 50,000 copies), Romano argued that Mexican communities had such a central cultural core, consisting of folkways central to the intersubjective world of the community. Romano argued that through his textual readings and his observations and discourses with the *viejitos*, he had discovered that Mexican Americans' central cultural and historical configurations consisted of four sets of dynamic folkways that had developed historically: *Indianism, historical confrontationalism, cultural nationalism, and immigrationism*. These folkways, which will be examined further, tied Mexicans to a central matrix of ideas at the level of what Emile Durkheim called the "consciousness of collectivity." Romano thus argued that all Mexican American individuals shared in this subjectively internalized cultural core, this communal mentality, regardless of the differences in their daily lives.

As a result, Romano successfully fashioned an eclectic theory that primarily borrowed from the

Boas-Mead-Benedict idea of an evolving and changing culture. But Romano also wanted a cultural core that did not change but remained stable. Consequently, he borrowed anthropologist and sociologist William Graham Sumner's non-dialectical, non-teleological concept of folkways. Sumner had argued that some folkways remained continuous, stabilized over time because they were a result of cumulative patterns of habits and repetitive acts by great numbers of people acting in concert to face a need. In short, every individual of Mexican origin is a part of this "consciousness of collective folkways" that guides life and becomes the basis of a communal consciousness in a crisis, in many ways reminiscent of the Jewish consciousness of collectivity.

In sum, Romano postulated from his observations and research that certain ideas were (and are) present wherever people of Mexican descent live: first, *Indianist philosophy* (Mexicans constituted a timeless symbol of tradition and opposition to cultural imperialism); second, *historical confrontationism* (the state of constant critique of the existing, oppressive order); third, *cultural nationalism* (an openness to multiplicity, pluralism, and individualism); and fourth, *immigrationism* (the reality of cultural change through migration and acculturation). However, Romano never meant these central folkways to be taken as timeless collective ideological positions. He also stated that these folkways "at times...coincide with actual historical occurrences. At other times, they lie relatively dormant or appear in a poetic metaphor, a song, a short story told to children, or in a marriage."¹⁶ Sometimes, these historical folkways, residing in the memory of each individual as they coincided with a reality of communal experience, provided the matrix, or the "prime basis," as Romano said, "for [the] interpretation of the temporal phenomenon." At other times, the folkways were simply ideal models from which to understand whether the present reality was a left-over of the past or an indication of the future reality. Romano believed that these four "ideological currents [were more than an analytical tool because they] actually gave individuals alternatives from which to choose."¹⁷

This was Romano's central focus. Individuals with choice, he believed, produced a community of pluralism—in ideology, social class, status, and lifestyle—but one that still allowed for the retention of a consciousness of collectivity. That is, all individuals could be themselves while still being tied to a group consciousness.

This historical and cultural core of folkways was also central to building a world from which Mexicans could develop a new consciousness of everyday life that would allow them to escape from the American "cultural mystique" that promised success, happiness, and independence (but only through acculturation). Acceptance of cultural goals dictated by the dominant Anglo-American group only made Mexicans an exploited minority in American history. Romano's central argument was that the Mexicans' new consciousness was to be based on a criticism of the traditional assimilationist cultural mentality. The essence of each Mexican American individual was not an internal Freudian psychological essence, nor was it to be an objectified economic, occupational, or class identity, or even a racially determined one. In fact, the Mexican identity was an *essence in process*, Romano believed, one that was constantly changing according to the actions of the individual, but was also constantly affected by the traditional core of folkways that was present in each one's consciousness of collectivity.

Finally, according to Romano, these collective folkways were especially shaped, fostered, and nurtured by the contours of family relations. For Romano, therefore, the key to the folkways' continuation and to the continuation of the group's mentality was the family. The family, Romano said, "produced" individuals, but always with a sensitivity to the common culture core of folkways, the consciousness of collectivity.¹⁸

ALURISTA: CREATING A POETIC REALITY

Just as Octavio Romano tried to forge a new Chicano political and cultural imagery from a central core of traditional folkways, so did the poets of this rising generation seek to create a new mentality. These new Chicano poets gave rise to a new aesthetic imagery—a set of beliefs (not as ideas but as essence)—that would be accepted by many as a new reality. At the center of this new poetic consciousness was Alberto Urista, who became better known as "Alurista." Between 1971 and 1976, he wrote three major books of poetry, and he came to be perceived as the poet laureate of *Aztlán*. A young assistant professor at San Diego State College in the late sixties, Alurista forged new metaphors that helped change the youths' perception of reality. Like the Spanish writer Ortega y Gasset, but unlike Romano, Alurista thought that the substance of history—its

Poet and intellectual,
Alurista. Courtesy
Hispanic Research
Center, Arizona State
University.



marrow—was not the ideas, but rather what the ideas covered up: beliefs. Persons, Alurista argued, are better defined by their beliefs than by their ideas. He once stated that the true nature of Chicanos was not in ideas—Marxism, nationalism, colonialism—but in their Aztec roots.¹⁹

Aztlan, the mythical homeland of the Aztec Indians, became the centerpiece of Alurista's metaphor of the Chicano consciousness. For Alurista, *Aztlan* was Eden—the land before conquest by the Spaniards, Mexicans, or Americans. For Alurista, *Aztlan* was the center of new freedom just as the newly discovered America had been the new *Utopia* for sixteenth-century English thinker Thomas More. Like Octavio Paz, More, and others, Alurista believed freedom was the center of the discourse. As he wrote, "oppressive chains must perish and dissolve." For him, poetry was not only a means to knowledge and understanding, but it was the key to liberation and the tool to forge a new mentality, a new imagery, and thus a new reality.²

In 1969, Rudolfo "Corky" González, a major figure in the Chicano activist movement, called for a conference known as the Denver Chicano Youth Conference, which was attended by over a thousand youths, to codify a new communal sentiment of nationalism. González and young people from throughout the country met and merged myth and

reality, identity and ideology, present and past, rhetoric and truth, appearance and essence, and poetic license and historical mythology. At the center of this conference was Alurista, who became the principal architect of the forging of the new Chicano mentality based on a sense of nationalism rooted in *aztlan*. At this "transformational historical moment," Alurista wrote a set of his beliefs and ideas into a new vision of *Amerindia*. As the leading poet, he wrote into the preface of the document *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan* what would become the essence of Chicano mentality and the basis of a new historical and temporal reality:

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also the brutal 'Gingo' invasion of our territories: We the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the Northern Land of *Aztlan*, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of our birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

In this short statement, which was accompanied by a program of action, Alurista and other activists and poets forged a new Chicano mentality and thrust it into existing Mexican-American and American discourses. It was different from Romano's consciousness of collectivity. Alurista was the main

proponent of this new code of consciousness, a new code of truths. Or as Michel Foucault would say, Alurista was attempting through poetic imagery to change the existing power relations, especially within the mode of knowledge.²²

Within the preface to the "Plan of Aztlan," Alurista did several things. First, he posited the idea that Chicanos (as young Mexican Americans now called themselves) were to become conscious of their historical Indian heritage, not their white one. Second, he stated that Chicanos were a nation that was brutalized and invaded by "Gringos"—a term that was derogatory. Third, he also argued that Chicanos had established a civilization in the Southwest before Americans oppressed and colonized them, and fourth, he further posited that Chicanos were now claiming their birthright as "people of the sun" (a reference to the Aztecs and their philosophy of constant rebirth and development) and that their Chicano blood was the genetic source of their power. Moreover, Alurista wrote that all Chicanos' responsibility was to their people, and to their destiny of survival as a nation.

With this statement, Alurista had bypassed the transitional ideas of historical folkways advocated by Octavio Romano, the integrationist philosophy of the Mexican American generation, and most notions of the American and the Mexican philosophy, as well as any Spanish ideas. Alurista had fractured the historical matrix with his creation of the poetic piece and had announced the new age of Chicanos. The Chicano Renaissance would consist of a people creating themselves, their reality, their beliefs, their communal existence, and their essence of Indianism—not Spanish, not Mexican, not Mexican American, and not white. Alurista was functioning, as Octavio Paz had suggested, as a poet creating realities.

But Alurista was also interested in merging the self with the communal *we*. He captured this new rebirth of the self in this classical poem:

Mis ojos hinchados / Flooded with lagrimas de
bronce / melting on the cheek bones of my concern
/ razgos indigenas / the scars of history on my face
and the veins of my body that ache / vomito sangre
y lloro libertad / I do not ask for freedom / I am free-
dom.²³

In this poem, Alurista merges the *I* with the collective *we*; he also cleanses his historically anguished soul, not with general human tears, but with ones of color and Indianism. He metaphorically vomits

his blood and his old colonized identity. He becomes not free, but the personification of freedom. He was in himself what Octavio Paz had said of collective Mexico in his *Labyrinth of Solitude*—not in search of freedom but of *being*, the carrier of freedom. This was not existentialist, but scholastic. Chicanos did not have to become, they already were; they simply had to get rid of the "cages of oppression." Thus, Alurista and the Chicanos not only claimed that the Aztecs and Mayas were their forefathers, but that the early-nineteenth-century Mexican revolution from Spanish colonialism, as was now true of the Chicano Renaissance, was their redemption.²⁴

When seen through the pen and poetry of Alurista, Chicano cultural thought and heritage was a creation of multi-rich textures: a psychology of Meso-American Indianism; a daily life of rituals, myths, and common existence; an emotional world that predated rationality; a spiritual world of magical realism; and time that was not teleologically perceived—it just was. For Alurista, conceptualizations such as time, space, myth, and reality were all intertwined dimensions. In Alurista's vision, pre-Columbian Aztec society was the metaphorical core of Chicano life and thought: Chicanos were still warriors, and Amerindianism was at the root of their consciousness.

Paradoxically, people sought to understand Alurista in their own contexts. Marxists sought themes of proletarian struggle and workers' clarity in his poems, speeches, and writings, but found only fables, myths, and illusions. Liberals sought reason and individualism, but found only emotionalism and collectivity. Third-world nationalists and colonialists sought a culture of an oppressed reality, but found only Aztec rhetoric, Indianism, illusions, and assertions of the "true" society. Every Chicano found something in Alurista, but never enough, since most young Chicanos wanted education, not mythology; political and economic power, not a historical poetic image of a heroic Amerindian society.²⁵ The problem was that Alurista was functioning in the tradition of the Latin American literary intelligentsia of Marquez, Paz, and others. Nevertheless, Alurista said, "I'm convinced that my poetry reflects, or at least I try deliberately to reflect the experience of our people. I am not the author of my poetry, I am not the author of my words, my images or metaphors. I am the weaver of these things. The people are the authors of the imagery, of the symbols. All I do is weave them together in such a way that our people can reflect themselves in them and can see themselves in them." Ironically, Chicano youth venerated Alurista, but did

not follow him. They listened, but did not understand.

Alurista, in spite of this, attempted to do two things: first, to create an archetypal imagery that would be at the center of a new belief system, and second, to attempt to function as the voice of the people. As a poet, Alurista felt he was forging and creating a Chicano essence, a new mentality, that had no diachronic time—it was a continual synchronic present that had simply been interrupted by a series of oppressions from the Aztecs and Mayas to the period of the Chicano Renaissance.

Consequently, for Alurista, Chicanos were, as he put it, "the belt between Anglo-American and Indo-Hispanic America." This forced Chicano thought to be a protagonist missionary vision. As he stated it, "our position in historical time-space is a missionary one, whether we want it or not."²⁷ For Alurista, the Chicanos in the late sixties and early seventies became the saviors of history, the carriers of a heroic world—a world, he said, that united the spiritual with the material—and an Aztec philosophy that promoted a unity and interrelationship of life, death, spirituality, and constant rebirth.

As Alurista promoted it and wrote books of poetry about it, the new Chicano world was a complete "way of life" that in the 1960s seemed better than the liberal capitalistic society that Alurista referred to as "Amerika." At the core of this new imagery was the attempt, as he put it, "to reconstruct ourselves, because being colonized people, the self that we possess, and the view that we have is colored by the colonization that we have suffered, by the schools we have been subjected to. We have to expel the [oppressors] from our heart."²⁸

Neither Romano nor Alurista sought a revolution in the streets, or violence, but a revolution of the mind, a new consciousness. Romano emphasized the individual's right of choice and the ability to be functional in society, while stressing the notion that everyone was linked to a set of central folkways that formed the heart of communal relations. Alurista, on the other hand, emphasized the self, but one that was part of society—a pre-Columbian world where there had existed a fusion of reason, passion, and being. All one had to do was get rid of the oppressor by functioning with this belief system, by constantly being a "pre-Columbian warrior" in a foreign land. Alurista forged a Chicano mentality of mythology; Romano forged a Chicano reality of historical memory. Both sought to provide a sense of pride. Alurista as the poet-creator wanted to restore faith and pride in young alienated

Mexican American youth, he wanted to give young Chicanos the sense of being creators and to teach them to follow his philosophical axiom that "to believe [is] to build [is] to be." He considered himself, he said, "to be a farmer of the heart, I cultivate hearts, thoughts, and feelings."²⁹ Romano, on the other hand, as the anthropologist, wanted to excavate the memories, expectations, and historical folkways that gave continuity to Mexican Americans' lives without imposing an ideology. Romano functioned as the wise man—the Don of the Mexican communities—simply giving advice, direction, and memory. Both forged a new Chicano mentality and reality, Romano arguing for Chicano thought to be predicated on the cultural principle that all individuals were tied to each other via an ethnic heritage and a consciousness of collectivity. Alurista was creating a mythology of a colonized people with a national and historical heritage.

RODOLFO ACUÑA:
USING A TEXT AS A TOOL
TO MAINTAIN COMMUNITY

On the other hand, Rodolfo Acuña's influence as an intellectual can be measured by the success of his book, *Occupied America*, which has been used as a basic historical text throughout the Southwest. It is a text that has been revised and reissued three times, in 1972, 1981, and 1988. Each version reflected an analysis and an interpretation of the current decade: the 1960s, 1970s, and the 1980s respectively. Acuña's book is intended to be more than text; each time it is reissued it is a new polemical discourse intended to serve as a chronicle, an ideological beacon, and the cornerstone of Chicano thought for academicians, intellectuals, and students. As a consequence, I suggest that Acuña's text is not just a text, but a central part of the discourse that is in quest of defining and maintaining the new Chicano reality.

Occupied America is reminiscent of Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition*, a major interpretive work on American history. For example, no matter what historical, theoretical, or logical flaws may be found in Hartz's *Liberal Tradition* or Acuña's *Occupied America*, we cannot discard them. Both texts provide the historical and philosophical "vital center" (to use Arthur Schlesinger's phrase) of a society and a community, respectively. Hartz maintains a "Lockean individual will" permeated American history, and Acuña emphasizes a "colonized communal will" permeating Chicano history. Whether myth or real-

ity, in either case both Hartz and Acuña are speaking of a "sense of commonality of presence." For Hartz and Acuña, there is a "sense of presence" whenever an American or Chicano is speaking to another American or Chicano respectively. Both believe that there is an intuitive agreement or sense of common understanding without verbiage or outward acts.³¹ Philosopher Philip Wheelwright puts it this way:

To know someone as a presence instead of as a lump of matter or a set of processes is to meet him with an open, listening, responsive attitude; it is to become a *thou* in the presence of his *I-hood*. Most of us become a *thou* only occasionally and imperfectly; but it is the ability to do so and the occasional actualization of that ability, that give us the sense of personal otherness and enables us more readily to recognize presence as an independent dimension of reality.³²

Liberalism, as an essence for Hartz, and Chicanoism, as an essence for Acuña, are within this realm of a "sense of presence" in one another that is independent of empirical circumstances or even historical or temporal realities. This "sense of presence," Acuña argues, is felt among all Chicanos regardless of whether they are in conflict. Both Hartz and Acuña believe, it seems, in a vital essence that defines an individual within a group experience. We feel a "sense of interrelationship" without having to speak or act. This unique "sense of presence" ties us together, in Hartz's sense to a "liberal societal will" of individualism, in Acuña's sense to a "communal colonized will" of ethnicity.

Through his text, *Occupied America*, Acuña hopes to provide not only information but this "sense of presence" that will involve each Chicano reader in a responsive-imaginative act by invoking in each an awareness of injustices, the awareness of historical resistance in the community, and the awareness of a collective memory, and consequently, will create in each reader an awareness of the *other*, the collective *we*, the community.³³ Acuña, unlike Alurista, recognizes the Americanism of each Chicano individual. He recognizes the tremendous pressures for all Chicanos to follow their own individual lives. However, he does not accept Romano's ethnic "consciousness of collectivity" as being enough. Consequently, for Acuña, the American liberal Lockean *I* is not authentic unless it is one interwoven within the texture of the collective-communal Chicano *we*. The specific purpose of his 1988 edition of *Occupied America* was to make Chicanos, especially scholars, aware of this *we* in order to maintain their ties to the

Chicano community. Acuña has said he feels and fears the exodus of Chicanos from the community to make their lives in American society.

Acuña, like Rousseau, believes that devotion to the common good of the community is the essence of virtue, and virtue is always political virtue. Acuña, through his text *Occupied America*, wants Chicanos within their own existential selves to become aware of this "sense of presence" or the communal "other," thereby restoring the acculturating selves to their own authentic ethnic selves, and thereby restoring organic unity to the Chicano community. This problematic "otherness" is the Acuñaian world of feelings, sense, and everyday living patterns that the Chicano mind would implicitly receive through the language, style, mythology, and historical themes of his text. In short, *Occupied America* is to be read as a metaphor for Chicano "otherness"—the barrio, the masses, the issues, and the community. *Occupied America* is the textual "corazon" or essence of *Amor Propio* (Acuña's term), which is self-authenticity, in the world of what Acuña likes to call "Los de Abajo" (the impoverished and oppressed).³⁴

Moreover, I suggest that the intellectual themes that underlie and shape Acuña's text are informed by historian Carl Becker's notion of historical relativism, Charles Beard's notion of progressive activism, as well as Rousseau's communal philosophy (which consequently causes tensions with Chicanos' American "other"—the Lockean, individualist liberal tradition).³⁵ Consequently, Acuña's importance lies not only in his roles as an activist and as a scholar (as had been pointed out in a 1981 symposium on his work), but primarily as a Rousseauian "philosopher of origins," and therefore, as a voice of ethnic authenticity that emanates, he feels, from the acceptance of the centrality of the notion of *gemeinschaft*—the community.³⁶ Consequently, he would like to believe that the catalyst to spark Chicanos' acceptance of community and *Amor Propio* is his text *Occupied America*.

Acuña has clearly stated that his "whole thrust [in writing] is not [in] using a model, not using anything else but exposing the injustices in society. I want people to get indignant about injustice. And I want them to do something about the injustice, the *mierda* that they are living in [literally and figuratively]." "Moreover," he says, "it is important for us to have 'Amor Propio,' (which can be translated as 'authentic ethnic self'), and 'I believe,' he further says, '[that] we as a Mexican people have this 'Amor Propio' [in the community]. I [also] believe it is important," Acuña

continues, "to write for the people and not for our fellow intellectuals who have been so professionalized [or acculturated in modern society] that they cannot become indignant." As can be noted from his passage, the act of writing for Acuña is for communal liberation and not for personal, analytical, or intellectual purposes.

Therefore, writing is for Acuña, as Derrida suggests of Rousseau, a "necessary evil," because, as literary critic Christopher Norris points out, "writing or Rousseau [and in this case, Acuña] was a dangerous supplement, an addition to the natural resources of speech that always threatened to poison the springs of authentic human understanding. Writing belonged to the stage of cultural development where the loving community of face-to-face contact had given way to a vast, impersonal network of social relations, a degenerate state of existence which Rousseau [and Acuña] never ceased to lament."³⁸ Acuña has pointed out that he has devoted much time to speaking to community groups and student groups, therefore maintaining, one can say, the natural resources of language. Consequently, Acuña writes, although unwillingly, to preserve an organic Chicano community and not to participate in or benefit from the academic discourse.³⁹

In many ways, *Occupied America*, in its three editions, is the same text, with different emphases. Therefore, each creates a space as it chronicles changes in American society and in the Chicano community, while Acuña, as the writer, maintains the continuity of "truth," the "colonized will," and the idea of "resistance." He knows, as he has stated, that "there is right and there is wrong; there is justice and there is injustice. I personally cannot live," he says, "with injustices." This fervor, he continues, was carried over to each successive edition of *Occupied America*.⁴⁰ Acuña thus sees a strict dichotomy between society and community, and between the *I* and the *we*. There can be no compromise for him; there is almost a scholastic formalism to his base of thought. His scholasticism will allow, it seems, Aquinas and Rousseau, but not Locke. Consequently, regardless of whether Acuña changes the subtitle of his texts from "The Chicano Struggle Toward Liberation" (1972) to "A History of Chicanos" (1983), his basic theme is still what historian Alex Saragoza has called the "them versus us" relationship.⁴¹

In an article on Chicano historiography, Saragoza implies that although Chicano historians are still sensitive to Acuña's colonialist theme, they are working

with other themes and different interpretative frameworks.⁴² Due to these changes in historiography and to extensive criticism, as well as changing issues within the Chicano communities, Acuña has ostensibly dropped the colonial model as his overt framework for subsequent editions of his text. Nevertheless, the "colonized will" is still the central notion that forms and shapes the continuity of the Chicano mind in the changing editions of *Occupied America*. Chicanos, as his 1988 title—*Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*—strongly suggests, have been colonized throughout their entire existence in the United States. They were conquered by the U.S. in the nineteenth century and formed into an "under-class" in the twentieth century (aggravated by the colonization of the West by eastern America), and since then the developing Mexican communities throughout the United States have been under a "state of siege," especially during the last four decades since World War II.⁴³

Acuña directly chronicles this process of siege in modern America in his latest book, entitled *A Community Under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River, 1945-1975*. In essence, this book is simply a micro-study of the macro changes presented in *Occupied America*. As he states in his preface, "Perhaps the groundwork laid in *Community Under Siege* will help [Chicanos in East Los Angeles] withstand the assault [of occupation]." Again, Acuña presents the notion of "colonized will" in order to have Chicanos resist the modernization and acculturation process. Ironically, the Ford Foundation helped to finance the study.⁴⁴

Acuña believes that only in the 1960s did the Mexican American communities exhibit an organic period where community, struggle, resistance, and intellectuals were all fused into an authentic community—"Un Pueblo, Una Lucha," (One Community, One Struggle), as he calls it. The only other historical state of nature, or period of authenticity, for the communities, Acuña implies, was before the colonization of the Southwest.⁴⁵

Historian John Chavez, a follower of Acuña, uses Acuña's thesis in a more imaginative and sophisticated form when he states in his book *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest* that within the individual "Chicano mind" the "image of the Southwest is in the most literal sense a picture of a particular barrio street, of a specific rural adobe, of a particular brown child, or any number of other sensory perceptions that are peculiar to the Chicano's Southwest." "At its most sophisticated [however]," Chavez

writes, "the collective Chicano image of the Southwest, and other ideas concerning such matters as race and culture together form a guiding myth that has affected Chicano history from earliest time to the present."⁴⁶ Chavez has attempted to lift Acuña's history, his textual chronicle of feelings, and his "philosophy of origins" to a central guiding mythology in Chicano consciousness. Chavez has tried to do for Acuña what Henry Nash Smith did in his book *The Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* for Louis B. Hartz's liberal tradition: provide a mythology to an interpretive reality.⁴⁷

Both Acuña and his text are simultaneously celebrating and lamenting lost origins, roots, and meanings of the Chicano mind. Acuña has constantly written and said that his text is only a beginning—"a process," he writes, "necessary for laying the groundwork for a strong theoretical base in the future."⁴⁸ Therefore, Acuña's most recent edition (1988) clearly warns that the economic progress, social improvements, and new political developments taking place in the Chicano community are not necessarily to be perceived as beneficial. "What I am trying to convey is a sense of urgency," he states. "Poor Chicanos are not progressing collectively." Acuña's 1988 text, therefore, is a cry for a return to the spirit of the 1960s in order to re-establish the unity, the action, and the community of that period. Acuña pointed out in his 1972 edition that "these years [of the sixties] were important, since the oppression was lifted long enough to make the Chicano liberation movement possible. In the 1960s, it became popular to expose exploitation, and minorities lost their fear of violence. [Therefore]... public opinion would not support the blatant oppression of the past. [Also]...communication among Chicano groups increased during the 1960s and a general spirit of La Raza developed." This general spirit was based on the "colonized will," and was mobilized to resist liberalism and modernity, as well as to encourage the struggle for authenticity and a community of natural origins.⁴⁹

The 1960s, Acuña believes, were the Camelot years, similar to the Southwest before the 1846-1848 United States-Mexican War. For a brief moment in the late 1960s, Acuña remembers and writes, the "Chicano movement translated itself into a counter-hegemonic force." Resistance was the catalyst, and pride, community, and unity were the result.⁵⁰ Acuña laments the loss of this era with its discourse of unity.

Chronicling dissipation of unity and resistance during the seventies and eighties, Acuña stated in

1981 that "the ...community does not become politically conscious through the process of osmosis. Today the Chicano community is apathetic because only a few Chicano activists and scholars have remained behind and because of the lack of a network of community activists." In the 1960s, Acuña called the Anglo and the Mexican American middle class the "power brokers," and now, in the 1990s, he has included the Chicano middle class and Chicano scholars as part of the "broker" class because they now are also "insiders in America society." As a result, Acuña writes, Chicanos are worse off:

What little news media attention is paid to the community is dominated by magazines such as *Nuestro*, *La Luz*, and *Lowrider*, which encourage Chicanos to join the "Me Generation." Spanish language radio and television offer the people [only] circuses [and not substance]. The heroes and events proposed for the community to emulate are found on beer calendars; the latter ... [is] usually the [result of the] new class of brokers. The result is that we [the community] are actually worse off today than in the 1950s [because of the increasing acculturation].⁵¹

Acuña does not see that these new Chicano professionals and scholars who are merging in interests and ideology with the old Mexican American middle class are, in reality, unlike the old assimilationist middle class in that they are proud of their ethnic differences and see their ethnicity as a strength rather than a weakness. American culture and politics have become somewhat more receptive to ethnic diversity, and therefore more opportunities for success are available to Chicanos. But, for Acuña, this is the very problem. Like Rousseau, Acuña shares the Enlightenment tradition; he believes in progress and in the goodness of human beings, and in the tradition of the perfectibility of man. However, like Rousseau, Acuña also attacks the social and cultural order of the day for its artificialness, for its corruption, and for its undermining of the individual's authenticity, which Acuña feels lies with a commitment to the community and to ethnicity.⁵²

Like Rousseau, Acuña advocates that human beings return to nature (in the case of Chicanos, to the ethnic community of the barrios such as East Los Angeles) and begin to accept and trust their inborn natural feelings, feelings that are not tied to rationalism. For Rousseau and Acuña, nature was good, and since reason was part of civilization, it was evil and not to be trusted as the guide to truth. In place of reason, Acuña substitutes a return to the community and a return to feelings, as well as a return

for all Chicanos to a collective and a just community, such as existed in the idyllic 1960s.

For Acuña, the power in society now resides in the producers of knowledge. Therefore, ethnic leadership must come from the new Chicano intellectual class to encourage the collective return to communal origins by becoming *community* intellectuals rather than university academicians. To Acuña, the loss of unity and resistance that had characterized the Chicano community of the 1960s must be blamed on the intellectuals, who retreated to academia instead of accepting the more important calling of serving as community leaders. The responsibility for what went wrong with the Chicano movement, he has charged, "in great part...should and must be placed at the feet of the new class of Chicano intellectuals who have assumed the role of critics rather than leaders or participants in the struggle to politicize the community."⁴

Acuña advocates the continuity of a community rather than the progress of self-interested individuals, including intellectuals. He seeks a return to a community where an individual can find the authenticity of *el Amor Propio* (self-love), and where one can communicate in speeches rather than in writing, which he believes fractures communication. He wants to reconstruct communities that are no longer under siege and where people can merge their individualism with a communal "sense of presence."⁵ Although Acuña is the last Rousseauian romantic, his importance lies in what clearly is his purpose, to make Chicano intellectuals feel, question, and think about an ethnicity that is rooted in the Mexican American community and not in the broader American society.⁶

THE COMPARISON

By way of comparison, each of these three Chicano intellectuals—Romano, Alurista, and Acuña—had several major things in common in formulating their cultural visions and paradigms. Each wanted to correct the visions, theories, and perspectives of American intellectuals who saw Mexicans as ahistorical, as migrants, and as non-communal people. Second, each one wanted to establish a new sense of community and civic virtue, and above all, they wanted to establish a new sense of pride and self-esteem in the Mexican American population. As a whole, they wanted to restore or create a new sense of *lo mexicano*, but they did not seek political revo-

lution. They urged instead a revolution of consciousness, memories, ideology, and imagery.

Romano essentially sought to establish the core of the Mexican American communal existence by finding what he termed the "paramount reality" of the Mexican American lifeworld. He felt that this core of culture "was composed of four historical folkways that formed the Chicanos' consciousness of collectivity": an Indianist preference for tradition against cultural imperialism, an emphasis on constant historical critique and confrontation, an assertion of cultural pluralism based on historical memories of cultural multiplicity and individualism, and an acceptance of change through immigration and the development of a consciousness of collectivity. Romano's cultural vision for the Chicano movement was rooted in a philosophical conservatism that sought stability and continuity with the Mexican American past in the order of the community, a historical continuity from within a central core of a "consciousness of collectivity," and above all, freedom and choice for the individual. Romano sought to link the Mexican American vision of the changing and pragmatic *americano* with the collective memory of *lo mexicano*. But ultimately, he sought a cultural condition of universality where the "mind," the "heart," and the "action" of the Mexican could be reconciled.

In contrast, Alurista's cultural vision was not rooted in the intellect, but in the heart, in the emotions. *Beliefs*, rather than *ideas*, were central to Alurista's cultural vision and paradigms, which were transmitted through the vehicle of poetry. Ironically, Alurista's belief system was codified in the *Plan de Aztlán* and became the basis of a paradigm tied to the politics of resisting internal colonialism. Moreover, there was a pragmatism to his vision of an Amerindian reality: One believed; therefore, one could act; and since one acted, the beliefs were therefore true. There was almost a cult lifeworld produced. The belief system of the *Plan de Aztlán* created cultural and visionary commonalities that, in turn, produced an integrated community—a world of "them and us." In essence, Alurista constructed the Chicano reality out of Octavio Paz's dictum that: "The poem is archetypal time; and because it is, it is time that is incarnated in the concrete experience of a nation, a group, or a sect. This possibility of being incarnated among men makes it a spring, a fountain: the poem lets us drink the water of a perpetual present that is, likewise, the most remote past and the most immediate future."—For Alurista, the *Plan de*

Aztlan was not only a poem, but a social product, an historical testimony, a link among its adherents, and a visionary creation that fractured American and Mexican American society. All of Alurista's poetry has reflected this vision of Amerindian utopia and ideological nationalism that, if one believed, was the Chicano reality. In turn, the poetic vision created a personal/communal epistemology and an ontology.

On the other hand, Acuña was imbued with Rousseauian romanticism. His texts were intended to be the "keys" not only to discover the ontological "colonized communal will," but also to link individuals to the natural, free, and open community of the Chicano barrio, as opposed to the broader American society. The center of Acuña's cultural vision was not a consciousness of collectivity à la Durkheim, or a Pazian poetic creation, but a Rousseauian "general will" that allowed the *I* to merge with the *we*. Consequently, Acuña proposed that intellectuals function as organic communal leaders and not as academic critics, and as group activists, not self-interested writers or professionals. Above all, Acuña sought to maintain Chicanos—especially intellectuals, professionals, and the rest of the middle class—in a community—a barrio—rather than in the broader American society, where they would be guided by careerism, consumerism, individualism, and modernism, rather than by civic virtue, *el Amor Propio*, and a unity of "wills." Acuña would agree with Rousseau that the only legitimate source of law, the only sovereigns, were the Chicano people and their "general will." Consequently, as Rousseau would have, Acuña abhorred the American "will" of individualism, equality, and the pursuit of self-happiness.⁵⁷

But if the 1960s had given rise to new Chicano cultural interpretative realities, by the 1970s and 1980s they no longer were adequate and viable visions or perspectives. The Chicano visions of Alurista and Acuña had proven to be, for the most part, mergers of utopianism and ideology, and were not able to sustain, explain, or operate in the new context of the 1980s and 1990s. As the Chicano cultural notions of Romano, Alurista, and Acuña of the 1960s had questioned, critiqued, and reinterpreted the American reality, their writings were becoming problematic by the 1980s. Romano's perspectives, however, have continued to be more functional because they are centered on an ethnic historical vision that allows for a changing individual temporal reality.

By the 1990s, it seemed to many observers that the Chicanos' intellectual quest for a new reality had been

a discontinuity, not part of the continuity, of Mexican American history. In the 1990s, it is the Chicano reality, not the Mexican American community, that is in crisis. For example, by 1990 historians such as Arnaldo de Leon were writing that the Chicano movement was peripheral to the Mexican American community, and Mario T. Garcia was calling for historical narrations instead of ideological analysis, and a focus on ethnicity, not on nationalism. Political scientist Mario Barera even doubted the feasibility of a Chicano nation and suggested that Chicano intellectuals turn to comparative politics. Other Chicano intellectuals and academics, such as those who attended the Conference on Critical Theory and Chicano Studies sponsored by Stanford University and held in Laguna Beach in the fall of 1989, spent hours debating whether the very word "Chicano" could itself be used, or should be used, in the light of its ideological connotations. Even Carlos Muñoz, who in many ways personifies the Chicano movement, has acknowledged that the crisis in the early 1990s is no longer a crisis of Mexican American communities, but one of the Chicano movement.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION— THE NEW CULTURAL THEORISTS

In sum, the Chicano intellectuals' quest for a cultural reality has eluded them because their cultural visions and paradigms have been based on utopianism and ideology, and have been essentialist in nature. Nevertheless, the Chicano intellectual/cultural quest from 1968 through the 1990s has lifted the consciousness of *lo mexicano* to be on a par with *lo americano*, and has restored self-pride, ethnicity, and a stronger sense of community within Mexican American barrios and suburbs. Yet, in the 1990s there have arisen new post-modern groups of Chicano theorists who operate under the genre of "deconstructionism," but who, I suggest, are fundamentally still within the philosophical tradition of Romano's culturalism, Alurista's aesthetics, and Acuña's communalism.

The new post-modernist Chicano intellectuals represent a new school of cultural interpretation. The unity within this intellectual grouping of historians, literary critics, political scientists, sociologists, and other educators is based on the new "deconstructionist" approaches to analysis and interpretation. Regardless of the variation of their post-structuralist theory, these new Chicano intel-

Attempts to correct social and economic injustices suffered by Mexican-Americans were an important part of the general protest movement in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. As was the case with other protest groups, political protest for Mexican Americans was accompanied by a heightening of ethnic identity, a cultural reawakening, and a search for new meaning in the group's history. Important in giving impetus to the development of the new Chicano consciousness and in building support in the wider society was the California farm workers' organizing movement led by César Chávez (right) and Dolores Huerta (left), shown here in attendance at a United Farm Workers union meeting in 1969. *Courtesy Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.*



lectuals "read" (interpret/understand) worlds and selves that no longer possess unity, coherence, or meaning. Realities are essentially fictional and decentered, and everything is placed into question, or problematized. All realities are constructed and deconstructed through language. Consequently, everything is basically "a text." For many new Chicano cultural intellectuals, every utterance is potentially the site of a contested struggle: texts and words are the new arena of protracted struggle. The cultural wars are intertextual: the quest for power and freedom lies within the language that constructs worlds of "reality." These intellectuals outlined their theoretical perspectives at the conference on Chicano Cultural Studies held at the University of California at Santa Barbara on May 25-26, 1991. They argued that

the new field of [Chicano] cultural studies transcends the traditional boundaries between academic disciplines such as literature, history, sociology, and media studies, at the same time contesting and rearticulating theoretical models such as Marxism, psychoanalysis, semiotics, hermeneutics, pragmatics, feminism, and deconstruction. Broadening the concept of the text to include nonverbal forms of representation, cultural studies problematizes the author/text/audience triad and transcends the traditional evaluative divisions of high, mass, and popular culture. Models developed at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies under the

direction of Stuart Hall and by other theorists such as Williams, Spivak, Bourdieu, Canclini, de Certeau, Jameson, Balibar, Mulvey, and Bennett have been in the forefront of the new field [of Chicano Studies thought].⁵⁹

Attending these meetings were Chicano literary critics, historians, sociologists, and other educators. The conference was reminiscent of Octavio Romano's 1970 Stanford Institute for Chicano scholars, which promoted the new Chicano critical theory, culturalism, aestheticism, and communalism. In similar fashion, the 1991 meeting in Santa Barbara promoted the new Chicano deconstructionists' critical and cultural theory.

This new school of sophisticated theoretical interpretation consolidates earlier radical-leftist theoretical positions and now seeks to incorporate many notions of the deconstruction philosophy without losing the notion that critical theory is in service to the masses. However, unlike Romano, Acuña, and Alurista, who sought to link the intellectual to praxis via visions and paradigms, the new Chicano post-modern intellectuals seek to link praxis to writing ("critical reading") and to the establishment of new oppositional canons of cultural thought.

See notes beginning on page 361

MOVING STILL

A Short Story by Francisco Jiménez

For the last few days, when I got home from school, I found Papá lying flat on his back and complaining about not being able to pick cotton because his back was killing him. He often talked about leaving Corcoran and going back to Santa Maria, but he kept changing his mind, hoping to get better. He constantly worried that we would not have enough money saved at the end of the cotton season to carry us over the winter months. It was already the end of December, and Roberto, my older brother, was the only one working. Mamá stayed home to take care of Papá and Avelina, our youngest sister, and Ruben, our youngest brother. My other two younger brothers, Torito and Trampita, went to school with me, and on weekends, when it did not rain, we went to work with Roberto. The only cotton left for us to harvest was *la bola*, the leftovers from the first picking, which paid one and a half cents a pound.

But that day when I got home, Papá did not complain about anything, not even his back. As soon as I entered the cabin, he strained to straighten up from the mattress, which lay on the floor, and exclaimed, "*Mi 'ijo*, are you all right?"

"Sí, Papá," I responded, wondering why he looked so worried.

"*Gracias a Dios*," he said. "*La Migra* swept through the camp about an hour ago, and I didn't know if the immigration officers searched your school too."

Mamá must have noticed the fright in my eyes when I heard the word "*migra*" because she immediately came and hugged me.

That word evoked fear in me because I recalled the immigration raid in Tent City, a labor camp in Santa Maria where we lived. It was Saturday, late afternoon. I was playing marbles with Trampita in front of our tent when I heard someone holler, "*La migra! La Migra!*" I looked over my right shoulder and saw several vans screech to a halt, blocking the entrance to the camp. The vans' doors flew open. Out dashed armed men, dressed in green uniforms. They invaded the camp, moving through tents, searching for undocumented workers who ran into the wilderness behind the camp, trying to escape. Many, like Doña Maria, "*La Curandera*," were caught, herded, and hauled away in the Border Patrol vehicles. A few managed to get away. We were lucky. Mamá and Roberto had gone to town to buy groceries. Papá showed the officers his "green card," and they did not ask about Trampita, or me.

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When Roberto came home from work that evening, Papá and Mamá were relieved to see him. "You didn't see *La Migra*?" Papá asked.

"It came to our camp, but missed us," Mamá said, rubbing her hands together.

"It didn't come to the field," Roberto responded.

"So, you didn't go out with *La Migra*," Papá said jokingly, trying to ease the tension.

Roberto went along with Papá's joke. "No, Papá, she's not my type," he answered. We all laughed nervously.

When Papá stopped laughing and bit his lower lip, I knew what was coming. "You have to be careful," he warned us, waving his index finger at Roberto and me. "You can't tell a soul you were born in Mexico. You can't trust anyone, not even your best friends. If they know, they can turn you in." I had heard those words so many times, I had memorized them. "Now, where were you born, Panchito?" he asked in a firm tone and giving me a piercing look.

"Colton, California," I answered instinctively.

"Good, *mi 'ijo*," he said.

Roberto then handed Papá the money he had earned that day. Papá clenched his fists, looked away toward the wall, and said, "I am useless; I can't work; I can't feed my family; I can't even protect you from *La Migra*."

"Don't say that, Papá," Roberto answered. "You know that's not so."

Papá glanced at Roberto, lowered his eyes, and asked me to bring him the small, silver metal box where he kept our savings. When I brought it, he sat up slightly, opened it, and counted the money in it. "If I work in Santa Maria, we might be able to get through this winter with what we've saved," he said worriedly. "But what if my back won't let me?"

"Don't worry, Papá," Roberto responded. "Panchito and I can find work in Santa Maria, thinning lettuce and topping carrots."

Seeing this as a chance to persuade my father to leave Corcoran, and knowing I was anxious to return to Santa Maria, Mamá winked at me and said to Papá, "Roberto is right, *Viejo*. Let's leave. Besides, the immigration may come around again. It's safer living in Santa Maria."

After a long pause, Papá finally said, "You're right. We'll go back to Bonetti Ranch, tomorrow morning."

Like swallows returning to Capistrano, we would return to our nest, Bonetti Ranch, in Santa Maria, every year after the cotton season was over in Corcoran. The ranch became our temporary home. We had lived there in barracks, eight months out of the year, from January through August, ever since Tent City, the farm labor camp, had been torn down. The ranch was located on East

Main Street, but had no address. Most of the residents were Mexican field laborers who were American citizens or had immigrant visas like Papá. This made the ranch relatively safe from Border Patrol raids.

I was so excited about going back to Bonetti Ranch that I was the first one to get up the following morning. After we packed our belongings and loaded them into the car, we headed south to Santa Maria. I could hardly contain myself. Roberto and Trampita were excited too. I imagined this was how kids felt when they talked about going away on vacation. Papá could not drive because of his back pain, so Roberto drove. The trip took about five hours, but it seemed like five days to me. Sitting in the back seat, I opened the window and stuck my head out, looking ahead for road signs saying SANTA MARIA. "Can't you go faster?" I asked impatiently, poking Roberto in the back.

"Sure, if you want us to get a ticket," he responded.

"That's all we need," Papá said, chuckling. "If that happens, we may just as well turn ourselves in to *La Migra*."

I immediately closed the window, and sat back without saying a word.

After traveling for a couple of hours, Mamá suggested we stop to have lunch, which she had prepared that morning. I was hungry, but I did not want to waste time. "We can eat in the car," I said, hoping my little sister and brothers would go along with my idea.

"What about Roberto? He can't eat and drive," Papá responded.

We stopped by the side of the road to eat. Papá slowly got out of the car, holding on to Roberto's arm and mine. He lay on the ground and stretched his back. I gobbled my two egg-and-chorizo tacos and, making sure Papá was not looking, I signaled to Roberto to hurry. "*Ya pues, Panchito*" he said, a bit annoyed. "I am almost finished."

After lunch we continued our trip, and the closer we got to Santa Maria, the more excited I became because I knew where we were going to live for the next several months. And I looked forward to seeing some of my classmates in the eighth grade at El Camino Junior High. I had not seen them since last June, when school ended for summer vacation. "I wonder if they'll remember me?" I thought to myself. As we drove by Nipomo, the last town before Santa Maria, my heart started pounding. And as soon as I saw the Santa Maria bridge, which marked the entrance to the city limits, I yelled out, "We're here! We're here!" Trampita and Torito also began to cheer, and woke up Ruben and Avelina, who had fallen asleep. Mamá looked at us and laughed.

"*Se han vuelto locos*," Papá said, smiling and gesturing with his hand that we had gone crazy.

Once we crossed the cement bridge, which went over a dry river bed for a

quarter of a mile, I stretched my neck trying to pinpoint the location of Bonetti Ranch. I knew it was near where Tent City used to be, about a mile south of the city dump.

The highway became Broadway and went right through the center of the town. When we got to Main Street, Roberto turned left and drove east for about ten miles. Along the way, I kept pointing out places I recognized: Main Street Elementary School; the five-and-dime store; the Texaco gas station where we got our drinking water; and the hospital where Torito stayed when he got sick. We then crossed Suey Road, which marked the end of the city limits and the beginning of hundreds of acres of recently planted lettuce and carrots.

When we turned into Bonetti Ranch, I noticed nothing had changed from the year before. We were greeted by dozens of stray dogs. Roberto had to slow down the *caranchita* to a crawl to avoid hitting them and to dodge the deep potholes in the dirt path that circled the front of the barracks. A few of the dogs belonged to the residents, but most of them had no owners. They slept underneath the dwellings and ate whatever they found in the garbage. But they were never alone. They were plagued by hundreds of bloodthirsty fleas. I felt sorry for them and wondered if the dogs were bothered by the fleas as much as I was when they invaded our bed at night.

The barracks were still the same. Mr. Bonetti, the owner, continued to ignore them. Looking like victims of a war, the dwellings had broken windows, parts of walls missing, and large holes in the roofs. Scattered throughout the ranch were old, rusty pieces of farm machinery. In the middle of the ranch was a large storehouse where Mr. Bonetti kept lumber, boxes of nails, and other building supplies he planned to use someday.

We rented and moved into the same barrack we had lived in the previous year. We covered the gaps between wall boards with paper, and painted the inside and covered the kitchen floor, using paint and pieces of linoleum we found at the city dump. We had electricity. And even though we could not drink the water because it was oily and smelled like sulphur, we used it for bathing. We heated it in a pot on the stove and poured it into a large aluminum container, which we used for a bathtub. To get drinking water, we took our five-gallon bottle and filled it at the Texaco gas station downtown. Along the front edge of our barrack, Roberto planted red, pink, and white geraniums. Around them, he built a fence and painted it, also using supplies from the city dump.

To the right of our house, a few yards away, stood three large empty oil barrels that served as garbage cans for the residents. Mr. Bonetti periodically burned the garbage and hauled the remains to the city dump in his truck. Behind our

barrack was the outhouse we shared with two other families. Sometimes, on rainy days, the earth underneath would shift and tilt the toilet to one side, making it difficult to balance inside. Mr. Bonetti nailed a rope to the side wall so that we could hold onto it.

The week after we arrived in Santa Maria, we enrolled in school. Roberto started the tenth grade at Santa Maria High School for the first time that year; Trampita and Torito resumed elementary school at Main Street School. At El Camino Junior High I continued the eighth grade, which I had started in Corcoran, the first week of November, after the grape season was over. Ruben and Avelina were still too young for school. Mamá stayed home to take care of them.

Even though this was my first time in the eighth grade at El Camino I did not feel too nervous. I remembered a few of the kids in my class because they had been in my seventh-grade class the year before. Some I hardly recognized. They had gotten taller, especially the boys. I had stayed the same, four feet eleven inches. I was the smallest kid in the school.

I liked my two teachers. I had Mr. Milo for math and science in the mornings, and Miss Ehlis for English, history, and social studies in the afternoons. In history, we concentrated on U. S. government and the Constitution. I enjoyed Mr. Milo's class the most because I did better in math than in English. Every Thursday, Mr. Milo gave us a math quiz, and, the following day, he arranged our desks according to how well we did on the test. The student with the highest score had the honor of sitting in the front seat, first row. Sharon Ito, the daughter of the Japanese sharecropper for whom we picked strawberries during the summer, and I alternated taking the first seat, although she sat in it more often than I did. I was glad we did not have the same seating arrangement for English!

As days went by, Papá's back did not get better and neither did his mood. Mamá, Roberto, and I took turns massaging him with Vick's Vaporub. When he was not complaining about not being able to work, he lay in bed motionless, with an empty look in his eyes. He took a lot of aspirin, ate very little, and hardly slept during the night. During the day, when he was exhausted, he took short naps.

Early one evening, when Papá had dozed off, Mamá took Roberto and me aside. "I don't think your Papá can work in the fields any more," she said, rubbing her hands on her apron. "What are we going to do?"

After a long pause, Roberto answered, "I've been thinking about getting a job in town. I am tired of working in the fields."

"Yes, a job that is year-round," Mamá said.

"That's a good idea!" I said enthusiastically. "Then we won't have to move to Fresno again."

"Maybe Mr. Sims can help me," Roberto said.

"Who's Mr. Sims?" Mamá said.

"He's the principal of Main Street School," I answered. "Remember? He gave me a green jacket."

Trying to help her memory, Roberto added, "He also bought me a pair of shoes when he saw mine were worn out. I was in the sixth grade."

"Ah, sí. Es muy buena gente," Mamá said, finally recalling who he was.

Mr. Sims agreed to help Roberto find a part-time job in town. He told my brother he would let him know when he found something. Meanwhile, Roberto and I continued working, thinning lettuce and topping carrots, after school and on Saturdays and Sundays when it did not rain.

Several days later, Mr. Sims told Roberto that he had found a job for him. He set up an appointment for my brother to see the owner of the Buster Brown Shoe store on Broadway that Saturday afternoon. Roberto, Mamá, and I were very excited.

Early Saturday morning, Roberto and I headed for work, thinning lettuce. As he drove, Roberto could not stop talking about his new job at the shoe-store. His appointment that afternoon seemed a long time away. To make the hours go by faster, we decided to challenge ourselves. We marked a spot in our rows, about a third of the way in, to see if we could reach it without straightening up. "Ready? Go!" Roberto said.

I stooped over and began thinning with my six-inch hoe. After about twenty minutes without rest, I could no longer stand the pain in my back. I dropped to my knees and continued thinning without stopping. As soon as I reached the marked spot, I fell on my back. Roberto did too. "We did it," I said out of breath. "But my back is killing me." To ease the pain, I lay flat on my stomach in the furrow, and Roberto pressed down on my back with his hands. I felt relief as my spine cracked.

"You're getting old, Panchito. Let's rest," Roberto said, laughing. I chuckled between moans.

Roberto lay on his stomach next to me. I turned over on my back and looked up at the gray sky. The dark clouds threatened to rain.

"I am tired of moving every year," Roberto said, picking up small dirt clods and tossing them. "I really hope I get that job at the shoestore."

"Me too," I said. Then following a moving cloud with my eyes, I asked, "Do you ever wonder what we'll be doing ten or twenty years from now? Or where we'll be living?"

Looking around to make sure no one was listening, Roberto whispered, "If

we don't get deported..." Then he added confidently, "In Santa Maria, of course. I can't imagine living anywhere else. What about you?"

Recalling the different labor camps we lived in, I answered, "I don't want to live in Selma, Visalia, Bakersfield, or Corcoran." After thinking about it for a while, I said, "I like Santa Maria. So if you decide to live here forever, I will too."

Right after lunch, Roberto left work to clean up and keep his appointment. I continued working and thinking about Roberto's new job. Every few minutes I straightened up to give my back a rest. "This is our chance to stay in Santa Maria all year and not move to Fresno to pick grapes and miss school," I said to myself. The more I thought about the idea, the more excited I became. "Perhaps Roberto will get me a job at the shoestore too," I thought. "How about that, Buster Brown!" I said out loud, flipping the hoe in the air and catching it by the handle. Just as I finished my row, it started to rain. I ran and took cover under a pepper tree and waited for Roberto.

When he returned to pick me up, his mood was darker than the sky. "What's the matter?" I asked. "You didn't get the job?"

Roberto shook his head, "No, I got the job," he said watery-eyed. "But not working at the store."

"Doing what, then?" I asked impatiently.

"Cutting his lawn. Once a week," Roberto answered sadly. His lips quivered.

"Oh no!" I exclaimed, throwing my hoe on the ground in anger. "What now?"

Roberto cleared his throat, wiped his eyes with his shirtsleeve, and said, "I am going to see Mr. Sims after school on Monday. Maybe he can suggest something else." He picked up my hoe and handed it to me. "Don't lose faith, Panchito," he said, putting his arm around me. "Things will work out."

Monday morning, my mind was not on school. I kept worrying about Papá and thinking about Roberto. "I hope he gets a job," I thought. "But what if he doesn't? No, he will," I said to myself, recalling Roberto's words to me when I got angry because he did not get the job at the shoestore.

To make things worse, that afternoon Miss Ehlis gave our class an assignment I was not expecting. "I am passing out an important part of the Declaration of Independence that I want you to memorize," she said, counting the number of sheets of mimeograph paper to hand out in each row. Her announcement evoked a series of moans and groans from the class. "Now, there is no need for that," she said smiling. "The part I want you to know by heart is very short." Once everyone had the sheet of paper, she read the first few lines to the class.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among

these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That, to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' You see, it's not difficult. You can recite it to me independently or, for extra credit, in front of the class."

We were to let her know our preference the following week. For me there was only one choice: to recite it to her privately. I did not want to get in front of the class and risk being laughed at because of my Mexican pronunciation. I knew I had a thick accent, not because I heard it myself, but because kids sometimes made fun of me when I spoke English. I could not take a chance of this happening in front of the whole class, even though I wanted to get the extra credit.

That afternoon, after school, I took the bus home. On the way, I tried to memorize the lines of the Declaration of Independence, but I had trouble concentrating. I kept wondering what Mr. Sims told Roberto. When I got home and saw the *carcanchita*, I knew Roberto was already there. I rushed in. Papá, Mamá, and Roberto were sitting at the kitchen table. "What happened? Tell me!" I said excitedly.

"What do you think?" Roberto asked, trying to conceal his smile.

I glanced at Papá and Mamá. They were beaming. "You got a job!" I cried out.

"Yes. Mr. Sims offered me the janitorial job at Main Street School," he answered, grinning from ear to ear.

"It's a year-round job," Mamá said, looking at Papá.

Being careful with his back, Papá stood up slowly and hugged her gently. He then turned to Roberto and said, "Education pays off, *mi 'ijo*. I am proud of you. Too bad your Mamá and I didn't have the opportunity to go to school."

"But you've taught us a lot, Papá," I answered. I had not seen Papá that happy for weeks.

After supper, I sat at the table to do my homework. I was so excited about Roberto's new job that it was difficult to focus. But I was determined to memorize the lines from the Declaration of Independence and recite them perfectly, without forgetting a single word. I took the text and broke it down, line by line. I looked up in the dictionary the words I did not know: "Self-evident," "endowed," "inalienable," and "pursuit." I added them to the list of English words I kept in a small, black pocket notepad I always carried with me. I had gotten in the habit of writing down a different English word and its definition every day and memorizing it. After I looked up the meaning of the words, I wrote the entire text in my notepad in tiny letters: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal..." I went over the first line many

times until I memorized it. My plan was to memorize at least one line a day so that I could recite it on Friday of the following week.

On Wednesday, after school, Roberto drove to El Camino Junior High to pick me up so that I could help him clean Main Street School. It was starting to rain. When we arrived at the school, we headed down to the basement to the janitor's room to get the cleaning cart, which was on wheels. It held a large cloth trash bag, a dust broom, a sponge, and toilet supplies. As we entered the first classroom we were to clean, it brought back memories. It was the same room I had been in in the first grade, when I had had Miss Scalapino. Everything looked the same except that the desks and chairs seemed a lot smaller. I sat down at the teacher's desk, took out my pocket notepad, and read the second and third lines I needed to memorize: "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these, are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." I went over to the cart, picked up the wet sponge, and began wiping the blackboard as I recited the lines in my head. Thunder and lightning interrupted my concentration. I looked out the window. It was pouring rain. On the window pane I could see the reflection of Roberto behind me dust-mopping the floor. "We are really lucky to have this job," I thought to myself.

By Friday, I had memorized the lines to the Declaration of Independence and could recite them with relative ease. Only the word "inalienable" caused me problems. I had trouble saying the term, so I broke it into syllables and repeated each sound slowly and then the whole word. On my way to school on the bus, I took out the black notepad from my shirt pocket, closed my eyes, and practiced saying "in-a-li-en-a-ble" silently to myself. The kid sitting next to me gave me a puzzled look and asked, "Are you trying to say something?"

His question took me by surprise. "No," I answered. "Why do you ask?"

"Well, you keep moving your lips."

A bit embarrassed, I told him what I was doing. I don't think he believed me, because he stared at the notepad I was holding in my hand, mumbled, and changed seats.

The day started out just right. In the morning, Mr. Milo returned the math exams to the class and asked us to rearrange our seats according to our scores. I sat in the first seat in the first row. This was definitely a good sign. It was my lucky day. I even looked forward to my recitation in Miss Ehlis's class that afternoon.

At one o'clock, right after lunch, I was the first one in Miss Ehlis's classroom. I sat at my desk and went over the recitation in my mind one last time: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that

they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness..." I checked the text in my notepad to make sure I had not forgotten anything. It was perfect. Feeling confident, I placed the notepad inside the desk and waited for the class to start.

After the bell rang and everyone was seated, Miss Ehlis began to take roll. She was interrupted by a knock at the door. When she opened it, I could see Mr. Denevi, the principal, and a man standing behind him. As soon as they stepped inside the classroom, and I saw the green uniform the man was wearing, I panicked. I wanted to run, but my legs would not move. I began to tremble and could feel my heart pounding against my chest as though it wanted to escape too. Miss Ehlis and the immigration officer walked up to me. Putting her right hand on my shoulder, and looking up at the officer, she said sadly, "This is him." My eyes clouded. I stood up and followed the immigration officer out of the classroom and into his car, marked "Border Patrol." I sat in the front seat as the officer drove down Broadway to Santa Maria High School to pick up Roberto.

CHS

Moving Still



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Francisco Jiménez. *Courtesy of the author.*



Homegirls, Cholas, and Pachucas in Cinema

TAKING OVER THE PUBLIC SPHERE

by Rosa Linda Fregoso

INTRODUCTION

We have seen her body painted next to Aztec gods in murals, recognizable by her style: hair in a long, atted and sprayed beehive, draping over her shoulders; her face caked with make-up and shellacked lipstick. Her body adorns the hood of lowrider cars. Or, with a permed, curly, layered hairstyle, ruby-red polished nails, short tight skirt and halterneck, revealing the body's full curves, she's inside the lowrider magazine as a pin-up. And her image gazes back at us from under a crisp, white tee shirt where she rests a tattoo on the body of a man. This production of the *pachuca* as an image for public and private consumption permeates many facets of Chicano cultural politics. And I wonder what is being played out on the body of the *pachuca*?

The production of her image predates the current fascination and commodification of the "gangsta" style in mainstream popular culture. So too does her performance in public as a social subject. Since the 1930s, *pachucas*, the predecessors of *cholas* and of today's homegirls, have hung out in the public domain of barrios like Maravilla, in southern Cali-

fornia, as members of girls' clubs, or what is currently referred to as girl gangs. Yet she stands figuratively on the margins of literacy and film testimonies on *la pachucada*, subservient to masculine versions of the gangsta life and lifestyle. The violence and abuse she has witnessed remains unknown to us. Characterized as a deviant in studies about adolescent girl gangs, her story remains untold and untheorized.¹ Throughout this discussion, I will explore what it is that the *pachuca-chola*-homegirl as an historical subject and as a producer of meaning—that is, a creator rather than merely an object of meaning—offers to feminist discourse, and what she teaches us about opposition and resistance, not just to *la vida loca* (the crazy life), but to *la vida dura* (the hard life).

THE GIRLS MY MOTHER WARNED ME ABOUT²

Where I grew up in South Texas, *pachucas* were the objects of parental scorn. As a young Catholic-school girl, I was both fearful of and fascinated by *pachucas*. They went to public schools, hung out mostly at corner stores, smoked cigarettes, wore lots of make-up, were loud in public and quick to start a fight. My first lesson in sex education came from a *pachuca* named Mary Ester.

With peroxide-orange hair, big, light-brown eyes circled by Maybelline black eye-liner, eyebrows shaped and painted like wings, reddish-orange lips, and a teased beehive hairdo that my mother said was a nest for cockroaches, Mary Ester was a *guera* (light-skinned girl) who lived across the street from my grandma's house in Corpus Christi. I once heard she

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[At left] Draping themselves seductively over the jukebox and *El Pachuco* (Edward James Olmos) in the 1981 film *Zoot Suit*, these *pachucas* (left to right: Candice Silva, Anacani Escheverria, and Bertha Oropeza) are predecessors of the "gangsta" style in mainstream popular culture. Courtesy Universal Studios.

was my Tio's *movida* (lover). Yet what I remember most about Mary Ester was how she disturbed my childhood innocence, teaching me the meaning of that popular lyric, "Let me tell you about the birds and the bees." One day I was walking down the street with her when Mary Ester asked me about the due date for my mother's baby. "What baby?" I responded. "The one in her stomach, *mensa* (dummy). That's why she's so fat....Don't you know anything about the birds and the bees?" I didn't, except that they were somehow related to "a thing called love." Several hours later I stood in the middle of my grandma's dark, enclosed kitchen, before the tribunal of my mother, grandma, and Tio Pepe. I was proud of my sudden deconstruction of that song about the birds and the bees. And with the bright-eyed innocence of a nine-year-old girl, I shared that new knowledge with these family members, whose judgmental looks shamed me. I was silenced and punished immediately for knowing where babies come from. Yet I never forgot Mary Ester's casual frankness, nor her role in unlocking my sexual curiosity. I was always fascinated by that *pachuca* masquerade she wore in public, by how she had made her face into her canvas. She died several years later of a drug overdose.

Another *pachuca* named Gloria taught me the meaning of female solidarity. When I was fifteen years old, gang-banging was spreading throughout Corpus. Gang-banging referred to group rape: a group of guys getting a girl high on drugs, driving her to the beach, then raping and abandoning her. One Saturday night, I was hanging around the Carousel dancehall, stoned on "reds," walking from car to car, smoking, drinking, and listening to music. Gloria and a friend were there as well. Gloria did not like me. I could tell by the way she glared at me. I was friends with her ex-boyfriend, one of two brothers I knew who were *pachuco* drug dealers. That Saturday night one of the brothers invited me to go cruising: "Maybe the beach," he said. Right before I entered that tan Chevrolet station wagon, Gloria drove up and yelled, "Get in the car. I'm gonna take you for a ride." I don't know what stirred inside me, but without hesitating or protesting, I followed Gloria's command. She took me home and on the way told me that the guys, including my friends the two brothers, were "preparing a gang-banging" with me as their victim. I knew she was right. The hurt and

terror I felt drove me away from my Carousel hang-out. I even quit doing drugs. And all that summer I wondered why Gloria had intervened to save me. What I didn't understand then was Gloria's gift to me: a *pachuca's* sense of female solidarity.

In some Chicano *familias*, mothers warn their daughters about lesbians. In mine, I was cautioned about *pachucas*—*por ser muchachas corrientes y callejeras* (cheap, street-roaming girls). They fought like guys and would stand up to anybody's provocation. And, most of all, the street was their turf. Indeed, the street constitutes the social geography of urban space, the arena where *pachucas* apprehend public life. But the streets are also contested semiotic terrains within the public sphere, functioning, in the words of philosopher Nancy Fraser, as "culturally specific rhetorical lenses that filter and alter the utterances they frame."³ In the eyes of parents, the streets are sites of danger, where young girls become *pachucas* and *callejeras* (street-roamers). For *pachucas*, the street is an arena where they appropriate public space. Refusing to stay in the place assigned to them by Chicano society, *pachucas* are trespassers in public spaces, violating the boundaries of femininity.

In my childhood, *pachucas* were often viewed by adults as transgressive girls who disturbed private and public patriarchy, *la familia*, and the Catholic church. They threatened the foundations of *la familia's* gendered structure by speaking and acting in the public sphere. Mary Ester disrupted my family's acquiescence to the Church's moral prohibitions regarding sexuality. In public, she spoke openly about her sexual knowledge. And, on the streets of Corpus Christi as well, Gloria subverted patriarchal misogyny. She had intervened to stop men from inflicting their powerful violence and privilege on my body. In public spaces, both of these young women exhibited this mastery over and resistance to the sanctimony of patriarchal culture and religion.

I now understand the reason for parental scorn. In their appropriation of the public sphere, *pachucas* set a "bad" example. Most importantly, in their rebellion, *pachucas* failed to do what the Chicano family demands of girls and women. They rejected and challenged parental norms by refusing to stay inside the home. Their provocative language and dress style served to further refute *la familia's* authority. Boldly displaying their sexuality, *pachucas*

refused to be confined by domesticity. The *pachuca* is therefore the body that marks the limits of *la familia* and is also the one who introduces disorder into its essentially patriarchal project.

GENDERED TERRITORIALITY

The confinement of girls and women to domesticity is not endemic to Chicano families, but is an inherent feature of modern capitalist societies, as well as others throughout history. It is intimately linked to women's subordination in societies that, as Nancy Fraser explains, are premised on both the separation of the public from the private spheres, as well as on the "separation of the official economic sphere from the domestic sphere and the enclaving of child-rearing from the rest of social labor."⁴

Fraser's work on contemporary social theory is particularly useful for exploring the construction and enactment of social and cultural identities within the public sphere. She takes issue with the tendency in feminist scholarship to collapse the entire arena outside the home into the single concept of the "public sphere." Following the theoretical model developed by Jurgen Habermas, Fraser conceptualizes classic capitalist societies as comprised of two levels of interrelated public/private separations: "systems" and "lifeworld spheres." At the level of systems, the division is between the State, as a "public" system, and the "(official) capitalist economy" as a "private" system of market relations. At the level of lifeworld spheres, the division separates family, or "private" lifeworld sphere, from the "public" lifeworld sphere, which Fraser defines as a "space of political opinion formation and participation."⁵ In this manner Fraser departs from feminist theorists who define the private realm solely in terms of the home or the family. In Fraser's view, the private realm is more than the home, for the private encompasses both official economy of paid employment (the private system of market relations) as well as the family (the private lifeworld sphere).

Thus for Fraser, the public sphere is not an "arena of market relations." Rather it is comprised of the State (as a public system) and the public lifeworld sphere. With this qualification in mind, Fraser defines the public sphere as an arena of "discursive relations." In Fraser's words,

It [the public sphere] designates a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is the space in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs, hence, an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction.⁶

The distinction Fraser makes between the two levels of public/private separations is important to my work because in order to support their families, Chicana working-class women are allowed to work outside the home in the "private" official economy of paid employment. My concern in this paper is with the social and cultural prohibition of women's access to the public sphere of the "streets" and "discursive relations."

Giving Jurgen Habermas's insights a feminist twist, Fraser explores the gendered aspects of each of these spheres. She explicitly underscores the masculine sub-text (premises) of the citizen's role in the public sphere and the feminine sub-text of the child-rearing role in the familial or private lifeworld sphere. According to Fraser, in defining citizenship, modern capitalist societies invest a higher value on the soldiering role rather than on what she terms "life-fostering child-rearing." In so doing, modern societies privilege the public (masculine) citizen-subject in the formation of the nation-state. Indeed, male dominance is intrinsic rather than accidental to classic capitalism precisely because it is structural and "premised on the separation of waged labor and the state from childrearing and the household." It is an institutional arrangement, namely, the domestication and separation of childrearing and household work from the rest of social labor, that for Fraser marks "the linchpin of modern women's subordination."⁷ As Fraser adds, it is in the public sphere as citizens and in the private (official) economic sphere as producers that men are the privileged subjects of discourse and social relations. In sharp contrast, women's role and function are confined to the private domestic sphere of the family and consumption.⁸

Within Chicano culture, the subordination of women is exacerbated by a dual legacy, Catholicism and the particularities of the Spanish conquest. If in our current era, Mexican Catholics continue to be subjected to the Church's regulation of women's public and private behavior, as the recent debates on reproduction make evident, the Catholic church's

power in proscribing women's comportment was even greater in the years prior to independence or the secularization of Mexican society in the nineteenth century.

With respect to the confinement of Chicano girls and women to the home, Jean Franco's study of gender and representation in Mexico offers a valuable insight. Franco traces the immobility of women in Latin American society, what she terms their "territoriality" within Latin America, not simply to Catholic hegemony but to the inheritance of Spanish pre-Cortesian culture:

Here we should keep in mind the privatized and inward looking Hispanic house and the fact that the virtual confinement of married women to the home had not only been required by the Church but was also intended to insure the purity of blood that Spanish society had imposed after the war against the Moors.⁹

Even though Chicanas are permitted to work outside the home, as potential wives young Chicanas are instructed to view the home as "female" and the public sphere of the streets and discursive relations as "male" terrain. Thus the origin of Chicanas' territoriality, their immobility, their confinement to the home, can be traced essentially to earlier prohibitions against miscegenation. A masculine project indeed! Masking as a concern for their safety, the confinement of girls to the home is first and foremost about protecting sexual property, about policing sexuality. And this is precisely the masculine familial project that *pachucas* interrupted and disrupted. Their bodies refused to be contained by domesticity or limited by the prevailing orthodoxy of appropriate female behavior.

CHICANA URBAN IDENTITIES IN LITERATURE

Chicana feminists have interpreted familial, literary, and oral narratives through symbolic icons and archetypes such as *La Malinche*, *La Llorona* (the wailing woman), *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, identifying these as prototypes occurring frequently in patriarchal discourse about women. Whether figured as the self-renounced female, *la madre abnegada* (the suffering mother), the passive virgin, or in portraits of female treachery or sexual promiscuity, these views

of women, assigned a one-dimensionality, are invariably sublimated into symbolic icons and archetypes of Mexican femaleness. However, the recognition of symbolism in Chicana urban identities has been shamefully neglected by the same feminists. The *pachuca-chola*-homegirl, as primary actress within the Chicano family tale, has escaped the attention of Chicana feminists. She has appeared, though, in literary works by writers such as Carmen Tafuya, Laura del Fuego, and Mary Helen Ponce.¹⁰ It is in Laura del Fuego's recent book *Maravilla* that the subversive potential of *pachuca* sexuality is explicitly brought into focus.

Maravilla tells the story of a young *pachuca* growing up in East Los Angeles during the 1960s. A member of the "Las Belltones East LA" girls' gang, the main character, Consuela, or "Cece," challenges Catholic prohibitions against corporal pleasure. Exploring her own body and affirming it as the site of sexual pleasure, she openly circumvents Catholicism. In an early part of the novel, Cece innocently experiences her first sexual encounter in her home with a girlfriend, Liz. As a further affront to Chicano patriarchal values, Cece openly combines her interest in boyfriends with an attraction to and admiration of girls.

While *Maravilla* stops before consummating homosexual desires, scenes of Cece's homoerotic pleasures and her homosocial bonds with other girls nonetheless disclose the novel's homosexual subtext. In this manner, Laura del Fuego's *Maravilla* openly introduces disorder into the Chicano family's essentially masculine and heterosexual project. By hanging out with girlfriends, cruising the streets or fighting rival gangs, Cece and her cohort of *pachucas* refuse to be contained in the home or limited by the prevailing views of female comportment. As a *pachuca*, Cece openly expresses a young woman's sexual pleasures and desires despite Chicano culture's prohibitions. Unfortunately, the *pachuca* as social subject would appear quite differently on the screen in the gang genre film.

SCREENING THE HOMEGIRL

Early debates in cinema studies underscored the invisibility, but also the visibility, of certain kinds of images about Chicanas and Chicanos in mainstream



Sad Girl (Angel Aviles, left) and Ernesto (Jacob Vargas) fall in love in the 1993 film *Mi Vida Loca*. Courtesy Sony Pictures Clas-

media. The gangsta motif, for instance, had been deployed extensively since the 1940s as the way to make Chicanos visible in U.S. popular culture. And this deployment has not been the sole purview of dominant culture, for, in contesting mainstream representations, Chicano filmmakers such as Luis Valdez and E.J. Olmos resort as well to the gangsta motif. As usual, mainstream and oppositional films succeed in marginalizing the female gang member vis á vis the male character. Yet despite the erasure and denial of the *chola* as narrative subject, what does stand out is her figuration in peculiar kinds of ways.

When I was a child, the term *pachuca* was used interchangeably with "*puta*" (prostitute). There is a scene in Luis Valdez's classic film *Zoot Suit* where the mother of the main character, upon witnessing her daughter's 1940s *pachuca* dress style, makes precisely that equation by saying: "*Pareces puta...pachuca!*" Thus, the fusion of the *pachuca* dress style with that of the hooker motivates me to read the image of the *pachuca-chola-homegirl* through historical and cultural discourses as well as through social and feminist theorizing about the subject, in order to analyze and interpret the visual strategies chosen to con-

struct her image in cinema, in those frames where she figures as an object of cultural discourse. What is being played out by the use of the body of a homegirl? What kinds of social and cultural meanings is masculinist ideology mapping onto her image?

In mainstream "gangxploitation" films like *Boulevard Nights*, *The Warriors*, and *Bound by Honor* (also called *Blood In, Blood Out*), the *pachuca* is incidental to the narrative, appearing textually as an appendage, as a female prop draped around the body of a male gang member. In the 1988 film *Colors*, by Dennis Hopper, the homegirl has a speaking part, the semblance of a narrative voice. A film about Chicano gangs in Los Angeles, *Colors* is told from the point of view of the Los Angeles Police Department. The motif of miscegenation is a major sub-text, dealing with the romance between Chicana homegirl Luisa (played by the Cuban actress Maria Conchita Alonzo), and Danny (played by Sean Penn). In the first part of the film, Luisa appears as the nice, subservient, sexy-but-not-too-promiscuous girl from the barrio—a demeanor designed to emphasize her passivity, thereby making the brown woman appealing to the white cop. By operating as the translator for the gang world, the homegirl facilitates white male penetration into the world of the other. However, as we learn by the second half of the film, Luisa's accommodation has been just a masquerade.

Responding to a drive-by shooting in the barrio, Danny and other law enforcers walk in on a party at a gang member's home. As Danny approaches the bedroom, a black man walks out. Inside the room Danny finds Luisa, who has shed her previous homely "good-girl" attire. Danny watches as Luisa, in heavy make-up, teased hair, wearing the provocative dress typical of *cholas*, is donning her hose. To Danny's dismay, Luisa violently and aggressively confronts him as he walks out of the house.

Luisa's initial subservience in the film masks the underside of a native woman, for as the bedroom scene illustrates, passivity and accommodation figure as disguise. Beneath the passive acquiescence, Luisa surfaces as a hypersexual object—the embodiment of unbridled sexuality, betrayal, and deceit. The end of the film demonizes Luisa, reinscribing her as a threat to the white race, an inscription serving to legitimize U.S. society's historic prohibition of mixed-race unions. Yet, the film also recapitulates Hollywood's fascination with the motif of miscegenation

and the "forbidden other": the mythic native women figured in *Colors* as the homegirl of the studio's imagination.

Does the *pachuca-chola*-homegirl fare any better in Chicano productions? Partly in response to films such as *Colors*, Chicano cultural workers have focused their attention on countering the pejorative image of *pachucos* as incorrigible deviants within the dominant culture and media. In poetry, theater, and film, this refashioning of the *pachuco* as urban warrior and anti-hero has centered exclusively on male identities. (I have written elsewhere about his reformulation, as well as the production of the historical subject of Chicano nationalism.)¹¹ This masculine subject found its narrative expression in characters of the public sphere: males operating outside the home, in the streets, in the recording industry, and as urban warriors against threatening external institutional forces such as the police, the media, and the state. Chicano feature-length productions are marked by a strict gender division between the public sphere and the private domestic sphere, thereby creating an artificial separation between them. Despite critiques by feminists about the role such separation plays in the subordination of women, the stories told by Chicano films are particularly forceful in affirming and adhering to that gendered social division. For example, while Chicano male identity is depicted as a product of the public sphere, the female identity is absent from that space. Her presence is contained in domesticity as a mother, wife, girlfriend, caretaker. Just as in the experiential realm, so too in Chicano media representation, woman's containment to the private sphere is buttressed by the social forces of the Church and *la familia*—forces dictating a specific, limited environment for Chicanas.

The *pachuca* has appeared in two such films: *Zoot Suit* and *American Me*. In *Zoot Suit*, she is again imaged in terms of the strategy of containment, appearing only in limited scenes and roles. Consequently, for all the differences in politics between *Colors* and *Zoot Suit*, both are akin in their imagery of the homegirl.¹² While three *pachucas* have speaking parts in *Zoot Suit*, my focus is on Berta, who appears in the dance hall and whose love-interest is the main character, Hank. Berta is depicted as a pathetic, "not-chosen-as-the-anointed" lover of Hank. She is promiscuous, exaggerating her character traits as a *pachuca*.

Berta's overstated *pachuca* style is best evident when she approaches Hank and Della on the dance floor. Obviously drunk, Berta circles around the dancing couple, hanging onto Hank, who openly expresses his annoyance. Berta's provocative facial and bodily gestures make explicitly obvious her jealousy of Della and desire for Hank. Directing rude and obnoxious comments to the couple as she flaunts her body, Berta ends by saying: "I hope she [Della] knows the difference between being cool and being *pulo* [piece of ass]."

As noted earlier, Hank's sister also exhibits the style of the *pachuca*, yet it is Berta who embodies the *lifestyle*: she is in control of her own sexual desires. Yet, the filmmaker deploys a standard "*virgen/whore*" distinction in order to punish Berta for exhibiting her desires in public. She is reprimanded for her transgression through an imaging strategy that ridicules her, depicting her as exaggerated and hypersexed. By deploying this narrow strategy of containment, the filmmaker prohibits any meaningful expression of Berta's complex sexuality. In so doing, *Zoot Suit* illustrates the extent to which female desires and explicit female sexuality threaten the familial order. Yet as the impropriety of her clothing style and her provocative gestures and language illustrate, Berta represents a threat to both *la familia* and the Church's orthodoxy of female comportment. Just as in the social realm, the *pachuca* of *Zoot Suit* figures as a subject whose personal style and lifestyle, whose very presence on the dance floor, contest her exclusion from the public sphere.

In the film *American Me*, the homegirl, Julie (Evelina Fernandez), appears as a *veterana*, that is to say not as an actual, but as a former, rehabilitated, *chola*. In this film we witness a distinct form of the "strategy of containment," for her status as former-*chola* demonstrates the filmmaker's inability to handle the inscription of a *chola* on the screen. While the *chola* is part of Julie's *past* identity, she does not manifest that aspect of her character on the screen. Indeed, throughout the film Julie has masked this identity, remaking herself into a different form of femaleness: a mother. What is most significant about the film's articulation of the "strategy of containment" is the site where Julie's identity as a *chola* is made known to the movie audience.

Toward the end of the film, Julie is in her bedroom dressing for work. Viewers hear the voice-over of

Santana's farewell letter. A shot of Julie combing her hair before a mirror ends as she stares at her hand. There, between her thumb and index finger, is an insignia testifying to her membership in *la primera* gang. Before leaving the room, Julie covers the cross tattoo on her hand with skin-toned make-up.

By masquerading and shielding the mark on her body, Julie demonstrates the extent to which social identity is not stable but is, rather, a production that is fluid and provisional. Yet because the act of veiling and unveiling her identity takes place in the space of the bedroom, the film locates the *chola* subject in the private sphere of domesticity. By prohibiting its unveiling in the public sphere, *American Me* exemplifies and suggests just how threatening the performance of *chola* identity can be to Chicano society. The film reinforces society's censure, that the Chicana can only be a *chola* in the interior space of the bedroom.

I concluded my book, *The Bronze Screen*, with an evaluation of the modern Chicana's untold conflicts as portrayed in the film *American Me*. Lamenting the film's erasure of the female subject, I ended with the following words:

Who is this new subject, this Chicana whom Edward James Olmos claims is the heroine of *American Me*, the hope in our barrios? His story ends before hers can begin. In the final close-up shot of a cross tattooed on Julie's hand resides her untold story. It is the history of Chicana membership in gangs that unfolds not on the screen, but in my mind. The final weathered look in Julie's eyes sparks the painful silent memory of the female gang members I have known: Chicanas surviving and resisting *la vida dura* (the hard life). I often wonder why the story of Julie's oppression and resistance, why the pain of her rape is not up there, on the Hollywood screen, looking at me.

That story of Chicanas surviving *la vida dura* would appear on screen in 1994. Three decades after Herbert Biberman's feature film, *Salt of the Earth*, focused exclusively on Chicana identities on the screen, another white director attempted a similar project. Allison Anders's *Mi Vida Loca* tells the story of young Chicana gang members, homegirls with names like Mousie, Sad Girl, and Whisper, who live in Echo Park, Los Angeles. As I have written elsewhere, *Mi Vida Loca* is a splendid contradiction. It is the first commercial film to focus entirely on Chi-

cana gang members. The film faithfully renders the style, stance, posture, gestures, mannerisms, and speech of so many *pachucas-cholas-homegirls* I have known throughout the years. Yet its daring and gritty realism is very partial in its one-sided view of *la vida loca*, or what I prefer to call *la vida dura*.

Reviews of the film have been mixed.¹⁵ Professional film critics have trashed *Mi Vida Loca* on political and ideological grounds. Writing for the *Los Angeles Times*, Kevin Thomas points to the filmmaker's paternalism as well as to the fact that the film confirms negative stereotypes of Chicanas as welfare dependents. Pat Dowell further blasts the film's nihilism, its downbeat resolution. It should come as no surprise that a Latina critic would launch the usual "negative stereotype" accusation. Writing on behalf of the "Latino" community, Rose Arrieta

disapproves of the film for playing "on every stereotype 'mainstream' America thinks about urban gang life," and urges the portrayal of Chicanos as something else besides gang members.¹⁶ In the United States, as well as abroad, others fault the film for depicting teenagers without ambition, "drifting downward into chaos and dead-end lives."¹⁷

I am less concerned with these types of objections, as hopelessness and helplessness are, in fact, pervasive among inner city youth. Therefore, unless we deal directly with the very serious social and economic problems of the inner city, a positive or uplifting ending to a gang film would make no difference in the lives of young gang members. Even though I too desire the production of films that show Chicanas and Chicanos as characters other than gang members, filmmakers such as Anders cannot be held



Public and private spheres overlap: a domestic scene in *Mi Vida Loca* is disrupted when homegirl Whisper (left) gives Sad Girl a gun to use in her impending showdown with Mousie. Courtesy Sony Pictures Classics.

responsible for the widespread dissemination of these images in popular culture. While it is true that in choosing a subject, Anders took advantage of the current fascination and commodification of the gangsta style in mainstream culture, *Mi Vida Loca* is not the usual gangxploitation film.

In fact, *Mi Vida Loca* is the first Hollywood film to take homegirls seriously, detailing the gangsta life of the Echo Park Locas. At first glance, it seems as though the story is told from a homegirl point of view. The film opens with frames of the iconography of a vibrant barrio. It portrays homegirls who are fiercely independent, struggling as single teenage mothers whose boyfriends or husbands have ended up in prison or in the grave. In terms of the "politics of representation," that is, in the context of other portrayals of Chicana homegirls, *Mi Vida Loca* appears to have all of the essential ingredients.

In the first place, through its exclusive focus on relations among teenage girls, the film enables a Chicana homosocial (same-sex social relations) perspective to emerge for the first time on the big screen. The film begins by telling the story of two childhood friends, Sad Girl and Mousie (Angie Aviles and Seidy Lopez). The girls are lifelong friends whose friendship ends when they both end up pregnant by the same homeboy, Ernesto (Jacob Vargas). Mousie and Sad Girl's fatal showdown at a barrio vacant lot has a surprise resolution when Ernesto is gunned-down by one of his despised customers, a white female druggie. This ironic twist in the plot propels the story in a different direction and opens up a space for narrating a tale of female bonding and collectivity, not just between Sad Girl and Mousie, but among the homegirls in general.

It is Giggles, a *veterana* just released from prison, whose words about female solidarity consolidate the homosocial space created in the film. On their trip home after picking up Giggles from prison, the Echo Park Locas stop for a bite to eat. Inside the diner, as the homegirls share news about their lives, an argument about Ernesto erupts between Sad Girl and Mousie. Giggles interrupts them with the following words: "Girls, you don't ever throw down with a homegirl over a guy. Guys come and go. They ain't worth it." From this point on, *Mi Vida Loca* unfolds as a sisterhood saga, portraying young Chicanas whose lives are marked by camaraderie, affection, struggle, and survival.

The film is shot in a style Anders calls "romantic realism," where camera movement follows characters' emotions. The film's cinematographer, Rodrigo Garcia (son of writer Gabriel García Márquez), effectively mixes low-angle close-ups with opalescent and luminous shots. Structurally, the film disrupts conventional narrative coherence. Rather than presenting a single unifying thread, *Mi Vida Loca* features three interlocking stories, giving the film its episodic quality. Besides the main storyline described earlier, another plot features an epistolary romance between La Blue Eyes and El Duran, who is in prison. A final plot line revolves around Ernesto, a young Chicano obsessed with a lowrider truck.

The film's ethnographic-documentary texture derives from its use of six different narrators. Voice-over narration is often self-reflexive, exhibiting a subjective quality. At other times the narration is informational and descriptive, further accentuating the film's ethnographic-documentary character. Another significant feature of the film derives from the fact that multiple narrators, framing shifting points of view, disrupt the audience's natural identification with a single cinematic position. Textual reality is presented first through Sad Girl's point of view, then through Mousie's vision, followed by Ernesto's, so that identification with spectators shifts from one character to another. For example, at one point, the story is told from Ernesto's point of view. When he is killed, the audience's attention is shifted back to a homegirl point of view. Thus, in contrast to the single narrative point of view and/or character identification typical in most conventional films, *Mi Vida Loca* constructs multiple positions from which viewers can identify with its narrative reality. In so doing, the film offers a collective subjectivity that challenges the individualism typical in Chicano gang-films. In other words, by depicting subject formation through shifting perspectives, the film enables a space for collective Chicana urban identities neglected in other films about gangs.

Yet for all its feminist politics, its aesthetic and narrative innovations, *Mi Vida Loca* succumbs in some respects to conventional film antics. Sad Girl's final statement, "Women don't use weapons to prove a point; women use weapons for love," has the melodramatic flavor of a Mexican soap opera. And the final scene, which depicts the drive-by shooting of Sleepy's daughter, gives the film a classic Hollywood

ending. More substantive critiques of the film come from the gang members themselves, who have taken issue with the filmmaker's depiction of their lives. Among Chicana homegirls' objections to the film are that 1) homegirls don't get pregnant from the same guy, they have more respect than that; 2) a homeboy does not become obsessed over a lowrider truck at the expense of his kids' welfare; and 3) rival gangs fight over turf, never over a car.¹⁸ At the San Francisco Film Festival's screening of the film in 1994, during the question and answer session, the following comments by a member of Oakland's Da Crew girls' gang were directed at Anders:

The movie was really down... Why didn't you show the girls really throwing down? And why did they throw down over a boy? You know, we wouldn't throw down over a guy.

These may seem to be minor quibbles with the film's storyline, but the critiques by Chicana homegirls underscore, albeit in a coded form, the central problem of the film. Chicana gang members did not object to *how* they were portrayed as much as they objected to the *details* of their narratives. In fact, the film's three interlocking stories reflect autobiographical experiences from the life of the filmmaker. A victim of unrequited love, Allison Anders discussed her decision to transform a romantic episode in her past into the epistolary affair between La Blue Eyes and El Duran. A short script written by her former boyfriend, Kurt Voss, inspired the lowrider truck segment. Anders also said that the sub-plot in which the two homegirls discover they both have become pregnant after having intercourse with the same man is taken from a story that her daughter heard on the streets.

In *Mi Vida Loca*, Chicana homegirls are portrayed as independent and self-sufficient young women whose survival depends on a bond and camaraderie with their cohorts. For them, a strong family bond is not an option, since the Chicano family is portrayed as either dysfunctional or non-existent in their lives. And this is part of the film's problem, for while the heterosexual nuclear family may not figure prominently in the lives of these women, in reality there is an alternative form of family unit operative in the barrio. Anders misses the reality that the sisterhood so eloquently captured in the film is not created in a vacuum. Those who decide to create stories and films

about Chicanas ought to understand that the girls' survival in the barrio depends heavily on the kinship of older, compassionate, and understanding women who have also resisted and survived *la vida dura*. For reasons that are unclear, Anders chose to portray Chicana teenagers as self-sufficient, having little interaction with adults. Untold is the story of the elaborate extended family of mothers, grandmothers, and aunts, who visit them in jail, bail them out, help deliver, feed, and take care of their babies. At the San Francisco Film Festival's screening of the film, Anders told the audience: "My goal was to humanize people who don't get represented on the screen." And while Anders misses crucial elements of Chicana homegirl reality, *Mi Vida Loca* nonetheless serves as an effective vehicle for my discussion of the *pachuca-chola*-homegirl, because the film opens up a space for the refashioning of Chicana urban identities.

What is the nature of that space that *Mi Vida Loca* opens up for viewers? As we know, social identities are both produced and constituted experientially, in the public sphere as well as within and through representational forms.¹⁹ In cultural forms and practices, the formation of identity is also depicted for us textually in their stories about the process. As the images on the screen demonstrate, the film challenges the artificial division between the public and the private spheres, where men and women are "assigned" "appropriate" terrain. In the film, the production of Chicana urban identities takes place simultaneously on the "streets" and in the domestic site of the "home" thereby positing the physical aspect of the homegirl as a disruption of those spaces restricted by gender. One scene in the film in particular obliterates the public/private split completely. In an interior domestic scene, the *veterana* Giggles organizes the Echo Park Locas. At this meeting, a dozen or so homegirls sit around the living room, smoking, drinking beer, and discussing the main issue before them: what should be done with Ernesto's truck. Earlier, their male counterparts had met on the streets in a vacant lot to consider this same issue, whereas the Locas met inside a home. Yet, in this particular case, the home is not linked to women's subordination and containment. Instead, the film transforms this privatized space of the home into a public sphere of "discursive interaction." Departing from the usual treatment in Chicano films, the home in *Mi Vida Loca* functions as the arena where, through the medium of talk, homegirls are act-



In an experience of female solidarity, the homegirls prevent Mousie and Sad Girl from "throwing down over a guy" in *Mi Vida Loca*. Courtesy Sony Pictures Classics.

ing as citizens deliberating an issue. In organizing the homegirls, Giggles has symbolically channeled them into the collective public sphere of action. While they may be mothers, these young women are neither confined by, nor contained in, domesticity.

My reflections on the Chicana *pachuca-chola*-homegirl have attempted to underscore the ways in which the physical body of this historical figure contributes to Chicana feminist discourse. Her very presence disrupts *la familia*. The inability of masculine cultural discourses thus far to portray Chicanas in their urban identities rather than restricting them to the narrow, private sphere of the home, derives, in my view, from the threat to the Chicano "family romance" that the *pachuca*'s presence represents. Her comportment signals the outer boundaries of Chicana femininity; her body marks the limits of *la familia*; her cosmetic-and-clothing masquerade accentuates her deviance from the culture's normative domestic place for women. And perhaps, the production of *pachuca-chola*-homegirl urban identities has not been celebrated by many of us precisely because her body defies, provokes, and challenges the traditional basis of our representation and formulation of the Chicano nation.



See notes beginning on page 363.

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Artist Robert Peña Graham's sculpture of Quetzalcoatl. The *Plumed Serpent*, which rests on a stone base, was unveiled and dedicated in its downtown San Jose location on November 18, 1994. Photo copyright Dana L. Grover.

QUETZALCOATL IN SAN JOSE: CONFLICT OVER A COMMEMORATION

by Ramón D. Chacón

INTRODUCTION

In 1991, the city of San Jose decided to commemorate on a grand scale its Mexican heritage by placing a sculpture of the Toltec god Quetzalcoatl (the Plumed Serpent) in the city's most centrally located park, Plaza de César Chávez, formerly Plaza Park. Before the final decision was made by the city council, however, the idea of recognizing Quetzalcoatl evoked opposition from a small but well-organized and vocal group. While Quetzalcoatl as a cultural symbol might be appreciated and supported by the large majority of the Chicano community and many non-Chicanos, some segments of the city's populace strongly opposed the commemoration on religious, cultural, and racial grounds.

This study will explain the initial proposals to honor the Plumed Serpent and the role of city government officials, especially the city council spearheaded by Councilwoman Blanca Alvarado, in supporting the project. The study will also examine the nature of the opposition to the project, one that involved largely a religious faction consisting mainly of non-Chicanos and some Chicanos. Finally, it will explain why such controversies evolve and what the significance of this case study is with respect to future efforts by Chicanos and other ethnic groups to commemorate leaders and cultural symbols.

SAN JOSE AND QUETZALCOATL: CITY GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

San Jose is located some fifty miles south of San Francisco and is the hub of the high technology region known as the Silicon Valley. The city has a population of more than 835,000 and has surpassed San Francisco. In San Jose, 50.8 percent of the residents are "people of color," with Latinos comprising the largest segment with 27 percent.¹ San Jose was established in 1777 during the Spanish phase

of colonization of California. Historically and culturally, then, San Jose has a strong Mexican background, since non-Hispanic settlement came largely after the Mexican War in 1848.² Plaza Park, recently renamed Plaza de César Chávez, site of the proposed Plumed Serpent sculpture, represented one area within San Jose's environs that had strong links with the city's Mexican heritage.

The planning and decisions that resulted in placing a sculpture of Quetzalcoatl at the plaza began in March 1991. At the time, the South Gateway Committee was formed, chaired by Blanca Alvarado, vice mayor and city council member, to guide the conceptual development of public art for the South Gateway, located at Gore Park in the downtown area. The committee was charged with installing artwork that recognized the city's Mexican heritage. The committee met with internationally known sculptor Robert Peña Graham, and based on the committee's thoughts and ideas, Graham developed what Blanca Alvarado described as "a powerful piece of sculpture depicting the Plumed Serpent." The committee decided that Graham's sculpture represented an important work of art, that it be included in the Art in Public Places Program, and that it be placed in a location other than Gore Park. Committee members proposed, and the Art in Public Places Advisory Panel and the Visual Arts Committee of the Fine Arts Commission concurred, that the sculpture should be sited at the south island of Plaza Park for the following reasons: (1) the sculpture, an important work of art by an internationally known Latino artist, merits a premiere location in downtown San Jose; and (2) the south island is an appropriate site because the Plaza Park area was originally settled by the Spanish/Mexican founders of the city of San Jose. It was pointed out that, because of flooding, the pueblo of San Jose had been relocated in 1797, to what is now Plaza Park. The park site was described as "the center of life and activity for the Pueblo."

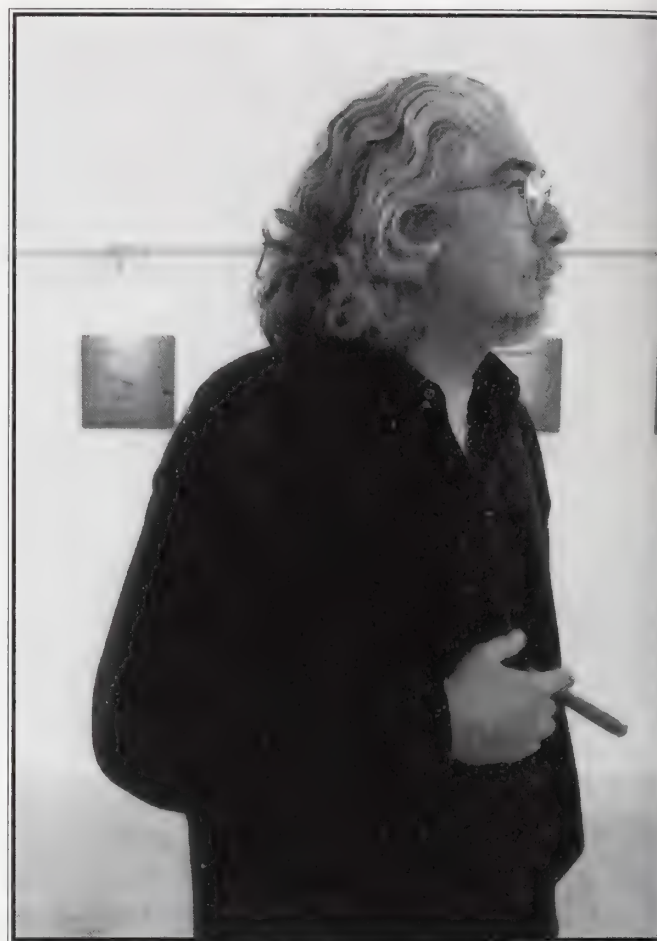
Working with the city council, Alvarado provided

the leadership and directed the official process to gain approval for the sculpture. Through Alvarado's leadership, the city council developed a six-step public process to gain approval, which involved obtaining support from the Art in Public Places Advisory Panel, the Visual Arts Committee, the Parks and Recreation Commission, the Urban Design Review Board, and the Fine Arts Commission. These city agencies reviewed the sculpture proposal, and some eighteen months after the initial proposal was presented, they recommended its approval. The final and sixth step in the approval process was a positive review from a joint session of the city council and the Redevelopment Agency Board.⁶

The cost for the fabrication of the proposed *Plumed Serpent* by Graham totaled \$400,000. An additional \$100,000 was allocated to provide for the costs of site preparation, lighting, installation, and transportation, bringing the total expense to \$500,000. The proposed sculpture measured approximately fifteen feet in diameter and from twenty to twenty-five feet in height. As proposed, the work included three major components: "a bronze sculpture of the Plumed Serpent, a masonry or terracotta-like structure that will serve as both a base for the sculpture and a chamber large enough to enter and view the interior of the sculpture, and a gilded sphere representing the sun, suspended above the figure of the serpent."⁷ The project would be funded by the Redevelopment Agency through funds specifically designated for urban revitalization.⁸

Robert Peña Graham, the artist selected to produce the sculpture, was born in Mexico City in 1938. At the age of twelve, he immigrated to San Jose with his family. Graham attended high school in San Jose, graduated from San Jose State University, and studied at the San Francisco Art Institute. The fifty-six-year-old artist now resides in Los Angeles and is married to the Oscar-winning actress Anjelica Huston.⁹ He is described as "one of America's leading figurative sculptors" and as "one of the most accomplished artists to have grown up in our community."¹⁰ His work includes a monument to the heavyweight boxer Joe Louis in Detroit, the 1984 Olympic Gateway in Los Angeles, the F.D.R. Monument in Washington, D.C., and the Duke Ellington Memorial for Manhattan's Central Park. Graham's work is also displayed in national museums, among them the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art.¹¹

The last step, which many believed would be the final one in approving Graham's proposed sculpture,



Sculptor Robert Peña Graham. Photo by Paul Kitagaki, San Jose Mercury News.

involved a joint meeting of the city council and the redevelopment agency board scheduled for December 3, 1992. At this meeting, the city council adopted a resolution by the redevelopment agency board to approve an agreement with Robert Graham for the fabrication of the *Plumed Serpent*, to be located at Plaza Park at a cost not to exceed \$400,000.¹²

THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE PLUMED SERPENT: OPPOSITION AND SUPPORT

Opposition to the proposed sculpture began to take root during public agency meetings that were held to approve the project. At the joint city council and redevelopment agency board meeting held on December 3, 1992, city government officials heard testimony from those opposed to the project. Most of those in opposition at this meeting were described by the press as "a few old guard" Chicano activists

who argued against spending \$400,000 in public funds for the proposed sculpture and instead favored allocating the money for "housing, food, and other social services for the poor."¹¹ The Chicano activists who expressed opposition to the sculpture were: Ernestina García of Confederación de la Raza; Kathy Chávez-Napoli of the Santa Clara County Auto Recycling Association; Ignacio Hernández of Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (M.E.Ch.A.), a Chicano student organization, San Jose State University; Enrique Domínguez of the Black Berets; Felix Alvarez of Teatro de los Pobres; and Raquel Silva of Confederación de La Raza. While some Chicano activists opposed the Quetzalcoatl statue because of monetary priorities, others testified in support of the proposal. They included: Father José Rubio, associate pastor of St. John Vianney Church; Consuelo Santos-Killian, member of the California Arts Council and director of the Institute for the Arts and Letters at San Jose State University; Andrés Gutiérrez, Teatro Campesino; Javier Salazar, Aztlán Academy of Ethnic Heritage; José Antonio Burciaga, representing La Raza of Stanford University; Angel Ríos, Mexican American Community Services Agency; Albert Rodríguez, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce; and Leonard Ramírez, East Valley American G.I. Forum.¹⁴ There were also non-Chicanos, academics and artists alike, who testified in support of the project.

Four non-Chicanos testified against the proposal, however. One of them present at the meeting wrote a letter expressing extreme discontent accentuated by a reference to an ironic earlier instance in which Chicanos in San Jose vehemently opposed a statue dedicated to an Anglo-American hero. The letter fairly dripped with racism and xenophobia and merits quoting:

On November 27, 1992, the *San Jose Mercury News* reported one of the most controversial and anti-American legislative proposals to come of the San Jose City Council which I can recall in my 55 years as a San Jose resident. That is the proposal to erect in Plaza Park a statue, the Plumed Serpent, representing a pagan god, Quetzalcoatl, in the very park where the American patriot, Capt. Thomas Fallon, was recently denied the right to be so honored by his admirers, Americans all.

This scandalous behaviour by the city council is in direct response to the revolutionary and anti-American political clout of Mexican American activists. Mexican Americans, by definition are not Americans. But being residents of San Jose, they wish to redesign San Jose, into their innermost dream of an ideal community. This ideal is the very antithesis of everything that is American. This explains their vicious assault two years ago on the proposed erec-

tion of Capt. Thomas Fallon's statue in Plaza Park, and the cowardly surrender to their demands by the San Jose City Council.

Will history repeat itself? Will the city council again display the contemptible wimpish cowardice which seems to have become its hallmark when dealing with semi-barbaric minority pressure groups?

Although attitudes similar to the above persisted in San Jose, in the succeeding months little controversy was evident concerning the Quetzalcoatl statue. After the death of César Chávez on April 23, 1993, however, the proposed sculpture generated new opposition. Following Chávez's death, the city council, again under the leadership of Alvarado, decided to rename Plaza Park, Plaza de César Chávez. For many, San Jose's renaming of the park to honor Chávez was most fitting. Chávez had once lived in East San Jose, in the *barrio* then known as "Sal si puedes" ("Get out if you can"). He gained much experience in organizing through his work with the city's Community Service Organization. Chávez's parents, now deceased, had been long-term residents of the city, as had his sisters, who still reside there. Thus, to many San Joseans, Chávez was one of their own, a person who merited recognition.

In May 1993, at the request of Mayor Susan Hammer and Councilwoman Alvarado, the city council referred the renaming of Plaza Park in honor of César Chávez to the city's Parks and Recreation Commission. On August 18, 1993, the commission held a public hearing to vote on the request. Approximately two hundred people attended, and nearly seventy gave testimony regarding the renaming of the park. The great majority of the citizens present supported the change, as they found Chávez to be worthy of such recognition. Three speakers, however, spoke against the proposed renaming of the park for "historical reasons." A number of citizens also brought up the city council's decision to locate the Quetzalcoatl sculpture in the park. This faction "felt that what Cesar Chavez stood for and what the plumed serpent represented were in great conflict." Three weeks later, on September 8, the Parks and Recreation Commission voted six to one in favor of the name change.

Thus, the proposal to rename Plaza Park to commemorate César Chávez opened the door for a different kind of opposition to the proposed sculpture, one that differed significantly from those Chicano activists who had opposed the project some nine months before. In a letter to the mayor and city council, Ellen Oppenheim, director of Convention, Cultural, and Visitor Services, expressed concern over those who opposed the sculpture. In reference to the

hearing to rename the park, Oppenheim warned that "the objections to the work expressed at the hearing seemed to be on religious grounds. Many testified that the sculpture represented Quetzalcoatl, or the Plumed Serpent from Aztec and Toltec mythology. They claimed that this god was worshipped through human sacrifice. The sculpture therefore was not a fitting memorial to Cesar Chavez. Some speakers stated that the serpent form represented evil. Several complained that this project had happened without opportunity for citizen input. She also reported that her office had "received a number of phone calls about this artwork over the past ten days."¹⁸

Due to the number of letters written to the mayor and city council, as well as letters critical of the sculpture published in the *San Jose Mercury News*, Mayor Hammer and the city council scheduled a public hearing for the evening of September 21, 1993, on the "Public Art Process" and the council's decision to locate the *Plumed Serpent* in Plaza de César Chávez.¹⁹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION

The new opponents to the Quetzalcoatl sculpture based their opposition first, and foremost, on religious grounds. Second, they argued that placing the

sculpture at the park constituted an affront to César Chávez, in whose honor the plaza would be renamed. Third, they recommended that the money should be used instead for social services. Fourth, they predicted that the sculpture would promote violence and bloodshed among Chicano youth. Last, they complained that the citizenry had had no say in the decision. The latter four reasons were largely used by religious opponents—by far the largest and most vocal group—to generate opposition among others who found the sculpture to be religiously inoffensive.

Thus, although the letters that were addressed to city officials raised all the afore-mentioned objections, it was clear that the central issue involved religion. The claim that citizens had not been consulted about the decision became hollow after officials pointed out that five public meetings had dealt with the sculpture and that there had been ample opportunity for public comment. According to Ellen Oppenheim, "two of the meetings were public hearings. All of the meetings were properly noticed and the public hearings were announced in newspaper articles."²⁰ Moreover, officials had just called the additional public hearing to be held on September 21.

The letters, largely written by non-Chicanos who at times claimed to speak also for the Chicano community, expressed discontent with locating the statue



The outdoor stage at Plaza de César Chávez, formerly known as Plaza Park, in downtown San Jose. The Quetzalcoatl sculpture lies at the opposite, southern tip of the plaza. Photo by Peter Orsi.

n a park honoring Cesar Chavez. One letter from three citizens stated that they were pleased that the park would be renamed after Cesar Chavez. However, they added, "what an unworthy tribute this work would be to a man who lived only to improve the quality of life of downtrodden human beings, migrant workers! What an insult to Hispanic people that nothing better than this blood thirsty symbol can be resurrected and erected to represent their culture."²² Another letter noted that Chávez had great respect for human life, was a "devout Catholic and was in no way connected with the pagan religion of the Aztecs. His roots are Hispanic/Mexican American, traced back at least 500 years, of the Catholic tradition."

While a few letters asserted that funds for the sculpture should be used instead to support libraries, youth centers, and the homeless, other letters alleged that the Quetzalcoatl statue would promote violence in San Jose, especially, by implication, among Chicano youth. A letter addressed to Mayor Hammer stated "one would have to admit that a snake of this size even without the religious connotations could likely attract some undesirable individuals to this park. That would be bad for local business as well as the local populace. What message can we possibly give our young people from this deity of human sacrifice? I think we have a real danger here." The author then reminded Mayor Hammer about the previous year's killing and mutilation of an eight-year-old boy by three Chicano teenagers. "You and the council," the writer added, "must take responsibility for your actions in this matter. Is it worth even the remotest possibility of violent deeds as a result of this artwork? I strongly encourage you to take a closer look at this statue and the effect it could have on our youth and our city."²⁴ Another letter to Alvarado suggested that the statue would cultivate violence, "as if San Jose doesn't have enough problems with people getting killed by gang members."²⁵ In an interview a few months later, Nathan Hill, host of a Christian television news magazine program took a more demonic view: "Blanca said she was compelled by the artist's rendition of the sculpture. She didn't even know why. I can tell her why. It refers to the powers behind it. It's still alive. Spirits don't die." Hill predicted that if the sculpture were placed at Plaza de César Chávez, the park could become the site of modern-day human sacrifices, with the homeless population the first victims.²⁶ Since these residents conceived of Quetzalcoatl as a blood-thirsty idol, they implied that Chicano youth, as proponents of Mexican culture, would fall under the influence of the Plumed Serpent, and violence would increase.

The religious issue, therefore, became the domi-

nant force against the sculpture. One person, Salvatore Caruso, was particularly instrumental in mobilizing this kind of opposition to the sculpture. A member of the city's Planning Commission and the Urban Design Review Board, Caruso had on September 17, 1992, originally voted in favor of the site location for the Plumed Serpent sculpture. In fact, he had seconded the motion. His comments at that meeting, recorded in the Urban Design Review Board minutes, make it surprising that he would later foment opposition to a sculpture he had approved. According to the minutes, Caruso had expressed "philosophical concerns about the imaging of the piece," and questioned whether the artwork would be "representative of the Hispanic community." While he did believe the "Quetzalcoatl image is beautiful and representative of Aztec culture," he felt that the "image of a snake ready to strike could frighten children." Nevertheless, at another point, Caruso stated that "a total picture of the public art program should be in place. The image of Quetzalcoatl as a piece of a link is OK, but it must be part of a larger program."²⁷

Almost a year later, however, after the idea to rename Plaza Park became public knowledge and resulted in the resurrection of the Quetzalcoatl issue, Caruso was lining up opposition to the sculpture. By August 1993, a group consisting of Protestant fundamentalists/evangelicals and a small number of traditional Catholics—a group that included some Chicanos—was organized to foment opposition against the sculpture. For the past several months, Caruso now reported, he had undertaken "research" on the Plumed Serpent, although this was perhaps based on a single book.²⁸ According to Caruso, it was his research into the history of Quetzalcoatl that had convinced him to act against the statue.²⁹ Caruso denied any alliance with religious groups opposing the statue, although the protest began shortly after church leaders received pages from a book on the Plumed Serpent reportedly provided by him. As explanation for the appearance of the pages, according to Caruso, a woman employed in his office became interested in the controversy as she typed Caruso's letters of protest. Caruso provided her copies of the text, and she in turn gave them to her husband, Roger Litwin, who was horrified by what he read because "he had worked with children who had witnessed human sacrifice."³⁰ Caruso maintained that it had been Litwin who had circulated the information to churches. Among the religious leaders whom Litwin contacted were the Rev. E. Cannistraci of the Evangel Christian Fellowship, the Rev. Dick Bernal of the Jubilee Christian Center, and Nathan Hill.³¹ In addition to enclosing results of



Protesters and television media at the unveiling ceremony of the Quetzalcoatl statue. Photo copyright Dana L. Grover.

Caruso's research, Litwin addressed a letter to these religious groups. He explained that on August 18, 1993, the Parks and Recreation Commission would discuss the renaming of Plaza Park. Litwin called for church leaders to influence their flocks to attend the meeting and to use their numbers to defeat the Quetzalcoatl proposal. Litwin stated:

It [Quetzalcoatl] does not represent the human dignity and value for life that is so important in our society. What makes a difference in the decisions made by public officials is people. If there are not the people at that meeting to say that the sculpture does not represent the value of life of our community, then we will have that image in the most central park in San Jose. Should you feel like asking your people to be involved at the meeting...please encourage them to speak up from the stand point of what it represents to our community and people. Note, a strong

statement as to it being in contradiction to the Truth of Jesus Christ...would set up any speaker as well as others around him or her of being dismissed by the political leadership as religious fanatics and so not representative of the community at all. And since the political leaders of this city are concerned as to votes, should pastors be there who can mention that they represent churches of 100, or 1,000, etc., members, this would translate into the idea of numbers and so votes and so cause the politicians to be more willing to listen.³²

Thus, many who attended the August 18 Parks and Recreation Commission hearing to discuss renaming Plaza Park, and who were against the Plumed Serpent project, were affiliated with Protestant fundamentalist religious groups that had been contacted by Litwin. The few traditional Catholics soon left the ranks of the opposition, perhaps leery of supporting a cause dominated by Protestant fundamentalists whom they regarded as opponents on other issues.



Christian protesters hold a vigil near the site of the Quetzalcoatl sculpture. Photo copyright Dana L. Grover.

Although it was denied by Caruso, some residents of San Jose still believed that Caruso played a central role in fomenting religious opposition to the sculpture. For example, Mike Cassidy, a reporter for the *San Jose Mercury News*, wrote the following regarding Caruso's involvement: "He hates the bronze feathered serpent planned for Plaza de César Chávez as a...tribute to San Jose's Hispanic residents. Last fall, he started a campaign joined by charismatic and fundamentalist churches to derail the monument, which Caruso says represents human sacrifice, government-sanctioned religion and poor use of tax money. Caruso's role in the Quetzalcoatl debate was far more deliberate and mysterious." And, Cassidy concluded, "Caruso still insists he is not allied with the churches opposing the statue, even though the protest began shortly after church leaders received pages of research on Quetzalcoatl provide by Caruso."³³ Indeed, city officials as late as November 1994 believed that Caruso had

been a major force in organizing opposition to the sculpture and that he had been a leader in organizing demonstrations during the dedication ceremonies later that fall.³⁴

CHICANOS/LATINOS AND EVANGELICALS

A number of Chicanos affiliated with the fundamentalist churches supported their leaders' attacks on the Quetzalcoatl sculpture. Symbolically, gaining involvement of Chicanos to protest against the *Plumed Serpent* represented a strategy to prove that the opposition was not comprised solely of non-Chicanos, and that race was not a factor. The involvement of Chicanos in fundamentalist/evangelical sects, such as in San Jose, is a national phenomenon. Some Latinos have become dissatisfied with the

Catholic church, and it is estimated that in the past fifteen years more than one million Latinos in the United States have left the church. Indeed, every year that number is increased by between 60,000 and 100,000.³⁵ Latino defection from the Catholic church has been attributed to its large size and impersonality, resulting in the lack of a family atmosphere, the weakness of the Catholic pastoral focus in the *barrios* and among the poor, marginalized sectors of society, the active involvement of Christian fundamentalist missionaries in *barrio* communities, and the scarcity of Latino priests among the Catholic clergy.³⁶ Latino priests number approximately 2,000, which represents only three percent of the total number of priests in the United States; moreover, more than half of the Latino priests are foreign born. On the other side, Latinos comprise about 40 percent of the Catholics in this country, and it is expected that the percentage will increase to 50 percent by the year 2000.³⁷ "Confronted with everything from larger parishes, and fewer priests, to proselytizing by evangelicals," wrote Demetria Martínez of the *National Catholic Reporter*, "Hispanics are abandoning Catholicism in greater figures than at any other time in history. Although exact figures are not available, studies show that, in some areas, a quarter of Hispanics no longer identify themselves as Catholic."³⁸

While many Latinos who have abandoned the Catholic church are poor, according to the National Opinion Research Center, "Protestant Hispanics make more money, have a higher level of education and are more likely to be white-collar workers—in effect, they are middle class."³⁹ Yet, many of those who have defected are Latinos from immigrant stock, often recent arrivals. The Apostolic Assembly of Churches, a 60,000-member Hispanic pentecostal denomination, has experienced tremendous growth in the past few years, drawing largely from recent Mexican immigrants. Richard Almaraz, the denomination's secretary general, stated that "many immigrants come to this country seeking the American dream. But instead they find themselves in need"—a need his church can fill.⁴⁰

In reaching Latino converts, Protestant fundamentalist evangelicals have preached a conservative social ideology emphasizing capitalism, individualism, and acculturation. In the United States, the sects preach "success," "standing on one's own two feet," and seeing the church as a way of truly entering America and into a better social class. They also promote acculturation to the dominant society by influencing Latinos to reject their traditional cultures.⁴¹ Allan Figueroa Deck, a Catholic priest, contends that the real "danger of the sects is that they are not only drawing Hispanics away from Catholi-

cism, but from their own identity. The sects in the name of religious conversion, are in a sense doing violence to the very identity of these people."⁴² Bill Ruth, a non-evangelical Christian and pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in San Francisco's Mission district, a Latino *barrio*, concurs in this view. Ruth has noticed a rejection of Mexico and its culture by some converted Mexican evangelicals. In Ruth's view, these converted Mexicans believe that becoming an evangelical Protestant is a way of becoming an American—rejecting the "old ways."⁴³

This focus on assimilation and acculturation has also been stressed in evangelical missionizing in Latin America. There, the sects have also been charged with acting as a counter-revolutionary force by serving the right-wing interests that have dominated the societies and governments of some Latin American countries. Indeed, a Catholic priest from San Francisco contends that the CIA is behind the growth of evangelical Protestantism in Latin America because it suits some officials in Washington, D.C., to promote a "conservative, counter-revolutionary force."⁴⁴

A recent study regarding evangelicals in Guatemala concluded that "contemporary evangelicals in Guatemala support the status quo and serve to dampen progressive tendencies and squelch revolutionary activities."⁴⁵ In a country where fifty percent of the population belongs to the Maya or other native groups, the ideology promoted by evangelical sects plays a central role in preserving military rule. For example, fundamentalists have had tremendous success in Guatemala, especially by influencing the country's educational system. Evangelical recruits have increased their numbers from 3 percent to 25 percent of the population in Guatemala, and the country has the highest percentage of Protestants in Latin America. The great majority are conservative evangelicals who preach a religious ideology that is anti-communist, pro-capitalist, and supportive of military rule.⁴⁶ In a country dominated by military regimes, according to two observers, "both capitalist and military objectives are furthered by a conservative Protestant ideology which stresses individual salvation rather than group solidarity and disciplined work under sanctioned authority." The evangelicals teach "obedience to the authority of a regime that uses repressive tactics to coerce the population toward the kind of 'stability' that favors Guatemalan capitalists and transnational corporate interest."⁴⁷ Not only do evangelicals preach that Guatemalans should submit to the authority of Christ, but also that everyone should submit to the authority of the nation and the army.⁴⁸

Thus, considering the influence of evangelicals

among Latinos in the United States and in Latin America, it is not surprising that similar religious groups surfaced in San Jose and that some Latino Protestants supported the attacks on the Quetzalcoatl statue. The ideology preached in the United States is modified, especially because of the differences in the political, economic, social, and educational conditions that exist in this country compared to such nations as Guatemala. In the United States, for example, the religious ideology promoted includes the view that upward mobility is predicated on the Protestant ethic of hard work, acculturation, and assimilation to the nation's dominant culture as defined by these sects.

THE CITY COUNCIL MAINTAINS ITS POSITION

The San Jose city council's meeting scheduled for September 21, 1993, represented the final step toward resolving the Quetzalcoatl controversy. Vice-Mayor Alvarado anticipated protests and attacks against the project. She had been receiving letters critical of the statue and the city council's decision. One letter stated: "SHAME ON YOU!!! SHAME ON YOU!!! SHAME ON YOU!!! For you to support such a mon-

ster must surely be a sin. Any such demonstrative display can only bring this city bad times. It is a woman's prerogative to change her mind. It would be very honorable of you to change yours." In rebutting religious attacks against the sculpture broadcast on Nathan Hill's television program, Alvarado made the following statement on radio KBAY's Free Speech Message Program: "The city of San Jose is a leader in recognizing the diverse cultures that reflect our city's heritage. Unfortunately, when interpreting the symbols from another culture, the tendency is to impose one's views in the reading. Those who speak against the proposed sculpture conduct a form of censorship and cultural cleansing and show disrespect and contempt for another's culture."

Alvarado decided to broaden support within the community in order to counter the religious opposition. Through her assistant Eddie García, a group of community leaders, Catholic priests, and university professors, the latter specializing in Latin American history and pre-Columbian civilization, were asked to attend the meeting and to testify in support of the sculpture. These individuals, particularly the professors, were asked to provide an assessment of the role of Quetzalcoatl in Mexican his-



Blanca Alvarado, then vice-mayor of San Jose, speaks at the dedication of the Plumed Serpent sculpture. Photo copyright Dana L. Grover.

tory. The educators came from local universities—Stanford, San Jose State, and Santa Clara—and were organized by Alvarado and García to counter charges that the vice-mayor was incorrect regarding her historical and anthropological interpretation of Quetzalcoatl.⁵¹

More than two hundred people attended the city council meeting, the great majority affiliated with Christian fundamentalist evangelical groups. The religious opposition had organized effectively. Approximately seventy-five percent of the audience was against the project, and they strongly vocalized their discontent. Some of those associated with the religious element were Chicanos, clearly recruited to provide the impression that the issue was non-racial. As each faction addressed the city council, the fundamentalist/evangelical group made rude remarks toward those who testified in favor of the sculpture.

One of the professors from a local university made the following statement in his testimony in support of the Plumed Serpent statue:

I am appalled at the reaction to the decision made to place a sculpture of Quetzalcoatl at Plaza Park. I am here to speak against those 'good Christians' who have made a mockery of this decision by their charge that the Plumed Serpent represents a negative image. I am against what they state on two grounds. First, because I believe their efforts constitute an attempt at art censorship; and second, because they have fabricated what Quetzalcoatl represents, and in so doing, have misled the public. Regarding the first point, art censorship, I believe what these groups are attempting to do smacks of McCarthyism of the 1950s. The difference in this case is that these so-called 'good Christians' are using a fanatical religious ideology to obstruct indigenous art. Second, regarding the misrepresentation that these groups have made regarding Quetzalcoatl, I asked myself various times: What sources have they consulted to draw these erroneous conclusions about Quetzalcoatl? Why have they fabricated the meaning of an indigenous cultural symbol? Their views that Quetzalcoatl was a diabolic, evil idol who promotes human sacrifice is a fabrication of Mexican history.⁵²

The city council considered the testimony provided by the various speakers and stood with its original decision to fund and place the sculpture. Two weeks later, on October 5, the city council met again to vote on renaming the park to Plaza de César Chávez. Some of the same critics who spoke against the sculpture were in force, using this occasion to protest once again. The city council, however, "brushed [their complaints] aside" and voted unanimously to honor César Chávez by renaming the

park.⁵³ On March 27, 1994, a formal dedication and renaming took place at the park.

Months later, on November 18, the Quetzalcoatl sculpture by Robert Graham was unveiled and formally dedicated at Plaza de César Chávez. The planning for a public lecture the evening before, on November 17, and the dedication ceremonies the following day considered the possibility of demonstrations by the fundamentalists.⁵⁴ The lecture, held at the San Jose Museum of Art, was presented by Renato Rosaldo, professor of anthropology at Stanford University. Rosaldo, an excellent speaker, conveyed the historical and contemporary significance of Quetzalcoatl in a lecture hall filled to capacity by a receptive audience who overwhelmingly supported the symbol of the Plumed Serpent. The dedication also drew a large crowd with Luis Valdez, director of the Teatro Campesino and a former San Jose resident, presenting a powerful keynote address. In response to those opposing the statue, Valdez countered that "to those people that resist the true spirit of Quetzalcoatl, let me tell you, speaking as a Chicano, that we have had 500 years of the Spanish Inquisition. We don't need another month of a Protestant Inquisition."⁵⁵

Less than two weeks before the dedication, religious opponents renewed their attacks, claiming that the artwork promoted a "demonic pagan god whose image in San Jose is as appropriate as a statue of Adolf Hitler would be in Berlin." Dick Bernal, pastor of the Jubilee Christian Center, Santa Clara County's largest evangelical church, stated that Quetzalcoatl was "a dead forgotten god who deserved to be dead because of all the lives sacrificed to him. There'll be a curse on San Jose if this statue goes up."⁵⁶ Despite threats by the fundamentalists of a strong demonstration during the dedication, only about twenty protesters turned out for the ceremony. Moreover, an attempt to prevent the installation of the statue through a lawsuit that charged the artwork "violated the U.S. Constitutions' rules against religious displays on public property" also failed. In his decision, two days before the dedication on November 16, Judge James Ware, who inspected the sculpture for about five minutes, ruled that the *Plumed Serpent* was "an artistic representation of an ancient civilization and is not a religious object."⁵⁷

Thus, some three and a half years after it was initially proposed and more than one year marked by fundamentalist opposition, the Quetzalcoatl sculpture rested in the most central location of the city. A day after its dedication, the sculpture was already drawing many San Joseans to observe a controversial piece of art.

CONCLUSION

The idea to commemorate Quetzalcoatl was a means to recognize San Jose's Mexican heritage. The Plumed Serpent statue, as it was conceived, represented positive universalist values. As the process to erect that sculpture developed, opposition evolved, initially by Chicanos who contended that those revenues targeted for the statute should be earmarked for social programs. This opposition, however, did not question the symbol chosen for commemoration, and melted away months later. The decision to rename Plaza Park in honor of César Chávez provoked a different type of opposition, one largely religiously based and with some ethnocentric overtones. Those Chicanos who initially opposed the Quetzalcoatl statue retreated from further involvement on the issue, as they recognized the potential political repercussions of associating with the fundamentalist faction. Blanca Alvarado was largely responsible for organizing the process to install the Quetzalcoatl sculpture. Without Alvarado's leadership it is unlikely that the project would have been approved by the city council and other government agencies.

Since aggregations of ethnic minorities now constitute the majority in many of California's largest cities, demands to commemorate ethnic symbols and leaders will increase. However, as happened in San Jose, these commemorations are likely to be contested by certain sectors in these communities for cultural, racial, and ideological reasons. Such controversies are also likely to be complex, with various ethno-cultural and political groups vying with one another in ever-changing coalitions. For example, last year in Fresno, center of a region dominated by large corporate farms, controversy ensued over renaming a major artery of the city César Chávez Boulevard. The city council voted in favor, four to three, to rename the artery to commemorate the labor union leader. The renaming was opposed by some non-Chicanos for racial, cultural, and political reasons, and on November 30, 1993, the city council reversed its initial pro-Chávez Boulevard vote and Chicanos are now organizing to present the proposal again to a newly elected city council.⁵⁸ More recently in San Jose, the Vietnamese community presented a proposal to the city council to name a district where a significant number of Vietnamese reside "Saigontown." The proposal ignited opposition from various ethnic groups on the grounds that the region was a multicultural community, that "Saigontown" did not reflect the district's diverse population, and that property values would decline. The mayor and



An unidentified man touches Quetzalcoatl's coils during the 1994 unveiling. Photo copyright Dana L. Grover.

the city council tabled the proposal because of the strong opposition to the project.

Events in Fresno and San Jose are indicative of future commemorations that will reflect the state's diverse population. However, with such efforts to commemorate, which involve ethnic peoples' promoting cultural identity and political empowerment, racial, cultural, and political conflict may develop. The controversy over the Quetzalcoatl sculpture should be viewed within that context. □

See notes beginning on page 364

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Mexican American dancers entertain tourists and shoppers at Olvera Street, Los Angeles, ca. 1980. Opened adjacent to the city's old Plaza in 1930, this re-creation of a Mexican outdoor marketplace features restored historic buildings from the city's Spanish, Mexican, and American past, as well as handicraft and souvenir shops and Mexican restaurants. A popular destination for Angelinos and visitors alike, the district contributed importantly to the romanticized, official "Spanish" image of Los Angeles. Their participation in the development of Olvera Street epitomized the assimilationist tendencies of some traditional Mexican Americans in California, especially prior to the rise of ethnic militance in the 1960s. The colorful shops and lively music, however, obscure the poverty, discrimination, and violence that continue to be faced by the city's growing Mexican American populace. *Photo by editorial staff.*

Edited by James J. Rauls

Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945.

By George J. Sanchez. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, 367 pp., \$35.00.)

Reviewed by Alma M. García, associate professor of sociology/ethnic studies and director of women's studies at Santa Clara University.

George Sanchez's *Becoming Mexican American* examines the complex interrelationship between history, culture, and ethnic identity within the Mexican community of Los Angeles from 1900 to 1945. Sanchez focuses on the historical development of this community and its gradual transition to a Mexican American community of second-generation American citizens. The author's study moves beyond the limitations imposed by the theoretical dichotomy of tradition and modernity used by such scholars as Daniel Lerner, Robert Redfield, Oscar Handlin, and some Chicano and Chicana scholars. Sanchez does not view culture as static or monolithic but rather as dynamic, malleable, and emergent, capable of sustaining cultural contradictions and ambiguities.

Guided by James Clifford's assertion that "cultures do not hold still for their portraits" (p. 15), Sanchez studies Mexican immigrants as they "constructed a world for themselves, shaped both by their memories of their past lives and the reality of their present situation" (p. 11). His study documents their experience with structural inequality and ethnic discrimination as they traveled along a cultural journey of becoming Americans in the United States with Mexican American children. Although the Mexican community of Los Angeles increased its participation in American society and politics, it failed to experience significant upward mobility, the American dream held by immigrants to the United States.

Sanchez examines the formation of an ethnic culture and consciousness by utilizing a multidisciplinary perspective that allows him to examine various aspects linked to a community's cultural formation. He draws a portrait of the Mexican immigrant family, discovering a multiplicity of family structures and traditions that produced distinct cultural variations within the immigrant community. Moreover, Sanchez explicitly discusses the impact of gender hierarchies on the lives of Mexican immigrant women. Sanchez also examines the relationship between religion, culture, and ethnic identity by focusing on the attempts of Catholic and Protestant clergy to "Americanize" Mexican immigrants. Sanchez skillfully argues that Mexican immigrants forged their own variation of Catholicism or Protestantism by integrating resilient strands of Mexican folk traditions and customs. Similarly, Sanchez illustrates how the Mexican community blended various elements from Mexico and the United States to develop music and dance styles that contributed to the

formation of a new Mexican culture flourishing in an urban American setting. Last, Sanchez shows how the Los Angeles community of working-class Mexican immigrants, constrained by their limited upward mobility produced by ethnic discrimination, developed class-specific cultural survival strategies.

Interestingly, Sanchez's study lacks an analysis of this community's ethnic self-identification. He uses the label "Chicano" to refer to both Mexican immigrants and their American-born children, yet he correctly points out that both groups would not have referred to themselves as Chicano, a term not used broadly until the 1960s. Sanchez overlooks the importance of studying an immigrant group's ethnic self-identification as a window into the community's development within American society.

The Mexican immigrant's historical experience of repatriation from the United States to Mexico during the Great Depression acted as final catalyst in creating an ethnic community that viewed itself as a permanent group in the United States. Sanchez argues cogently that repatriation created an ideological tension within the Mexican immigrant community. The resultant identification with the United States as a homeland produced a changed ethnic consciousness for those immigrants who remained in the United States, a decision with a far-reaching impact on their lives and, perhaps more importantly, on the lives of their American-born children. Nevertheless, Sanchez asserts, "the majority who stayed in Los Angeles became ambivalent Americans, full of contradictory feelings about their place in American society" (p. 210).

The generational and ideological shift from the foreign-born community of immigrants to that of the American-born is the concluding theme in *Becoming Mexican American*. The children of Mexican immigrants—the Mexican American generation—redefined their ethnic consciousness and thus created a changed ethnic culture. Sanchez skillfully outlines the participation of the Mexican American generation in American politics by focusing on their working-class labor activism, highlighting the major contributions of women labor activists who took center stage in the movement for workers' rights. Their agenda was a civil rights one, firmly rooted in a recognition of their rights as citizens. Unfortunately, the Mexican American generation's rise on the American political landscape prior to and after World War II was met with persistent ethnic intolerance and discrimination from the larger society. *Becoming Mexican American* stands as a historical tribute to this generation's legacy and that of their immigrant parents.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not chosen for review but pertain to the collection are catalogued in the library of the California Historical Society.



The choir loft at Mission Santa Ynez, northwest of Santa Barbara, before the building was restored. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Collection, University of Southern California.*

Entrada: The Legacy of Spain and Mexico in the United States.

By Bernard L. Fontana. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994, xii, 286 pp., \$47.50 cloth; \$19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by James A. Sandos, professor of history at the University of Redlands and author of Rebellion in the Borderlands (University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

Bernard (Bunny) L. Fontana, field historian emeritus at the University of Arizona Library, has written a valuable book for those interested in personally exploring the Spanish and Mexican imprint on American territory. While mentioning other European powers and Indians, Fontana writes that "this book is meant to direct visitors to those units of our National Park system where the story of Spain and Mexico in the United States can be better understood" (p. xii). The Spanish/Mexican theme can be examined in national properties ranging from Maine to Washington, from Alaska to the Virgin Islands, and especially in the Southwest. A portfolio of twenty-one color photographs and a good index highlighting site names enables the viewer to

place each unit in its historical context. For readers of this journal, the California material is particularly rewarding.

Informed by twenty-five years of service as editor of the Southwest Mission Research Center's *SMRC Newsletter*, a quarterly mailing containing current annotated bibliography and news to those interested in the Spanish Borderlands, Fontana brings both a depth of understanding and an easy writing style to a vast and complex subject. When writing about missions, Fontana is direct and accurate: "It was, in short, the job of the missionaries not only to make Roman Catholic Christians out of the Indians, but also to bring Indians to the vassalage of the crown, to make European-clothes-wearing, Spanish-speaking, surplus-food-producing, and tax-paying subjects out of them" (p. 37). In Fontana's words, Borderlands students will recognize Herbert Eugene Bolton plainspeak but shorn of Boltonian romanticism.

Fontana's California text is carefully informed by solid secondary scholarship and even-handed judgments. Thus Fontana agrees with historian Bernard Bobb's assessment that "few were the benefits which either Spain or New Spain derived from the settlement of California..." and Fontana adds that "even for the Church, the effort cannot be counted as a total success"

because of the high Indian mortality rates following the unintended introduction of European diseases (p. 180).

Fontana concludes the section on Spanish rule by citing historian Robert Archibald's remarks about the Franciscans at San Diego: "The principle emerges that decent peoples whose motives as judged by their own standards are excellent, have frequently violated other people who live by different standards" (p. 181). Fontana's carefulness in treating the California missions or their *asistencias* (chapels) is included in the National Park system (p. 244, n. 121).

Fontana's narrative, covering a dozen California sites, draws us to such inviting places as the Channel Islands National Park, where we can ponder California Indian, Spanish, Russian, and Aleut interaction, especially over the sea otter trade; the San Ramón (Norris) land grant, which today is the Eugene O'Neill National Historic Site in Danville; the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, which had been seen, if not visited by, Spanish explorers Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, and Juan Bautista de Anza, who passed it en route to what is now the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Rodríguez Cermeño visited other points from Redwood National Park near Rocky Point south to Point Reyes National Seashore above San Francisco.

Fontana advises that his "is a park-related volume, one that can be taken home to be read during leisure hours" (p. xii). Actually, *Entrada* ought to be in every vehicle visiting parks in California, informing visitors of each place's history while the site stirs the senses and imagination.

CHS

Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1768.

By Harry W. Crosby. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994, xvii, 544 pp., \$37.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, professor emeritus of history, University of San Francisco, and author of numerous books and articles on Baja California.

In 1952, Peter Masten Dunne, S. J., published his now classic, pioneering study of the Jesuit missions of Baja California, *Black Robes in Lower California*. With limited sources, Father Dunne successfully surveyed the peninsular mission system and brought attention to the little-studied beginnings of permanent settlement of the Californias. While this work continues to be fundamental for any collection of Californiana, *Antigua California* has eclipsed it in both research and coverage, and thus is destined to join it as a classic in the field.

Harry Crosby, long known as an important contributor to the ethnological and historical literature of Baja California, has added his unique experience as an extensive traveler-explorer in the region to decades of bibliographic research in producing

a clear picture of life on the peninsula during its formative years under the Society of Jesus. The work is divided into three sections, the first relating the settlement of California under Jesuit hegemony from 1697 to 1737, the second discussing the nature of institutions employed in this settlement, and the third treating the decline of Jesuit control, military-civil intrusion, and the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1768.

Unlike prior studies, which have concentrated almost entirely upon mission history, *Antigua California* not only greatly expands knowledge of this aspect, but also incorporates the equally important factor of military-civil occupation of the peninsula and its interaction with that of the religious. While treating all of the efforts of the relatively well-known missionaries in exploring, establishing, and maintaining their institutions and their relationships to their neophytes, Crosby introduces military commanders, soldiers, civil employees, and their families as a part of the colonization process. The role of the presidio of Loreto and the interaction of the secular and clerical population in Comondú and Loreto provide an excellent and rare insight into daily life in eighteenth-century California and into beginnings of the civilian settlement that would spread throughout the peninsula and into Alta California.

In addition to a well-organized and very readable text in twelve chapters, Crosby includes four very useful appendices with chronological assignments of Jesuits to their respective missions, biographical data on Jesuits serving in California, and similar information on the principal founding families of the region. Special terms relating to Baja California and its missions during the eighteenth century are explained in a glossary, and very extensive notes provide the reader with direct reference to sources, explanation and peripheral information, and biographical data. A bibliography of works cited includes material from the Archivo General de Indias and Archivo General de Simancas in Spain; Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Histórico de Baja California Sur, Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Guadalajara, and Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico; and the Bancroft Library, the Huntington Library, and the Archive of the Church of Latter Day Saints in the United States, as well as fundamental published sources in English and Spanish.

The volume is nicely printed and bound. It is enhanced by an analytical index, nineteen excellent photographs by the author of relevant locations in Sinaloa, Sonora, and Baja California, eighteen maps and seven figures of locations, routes, charts, and lists, and six color facsimile paintings of life in the missions of the Cabo San Lucas region, ca. 1763, following those of Ignacio Tirsch, S. J.

The first interpretive study in English of the Jesuit period in Baja California to appear in four decades and the groundbreaking study of the foundation of civil occupation of the Californias, *Antigua California* is of fundamental importance for anyone interested in the historical evolution of the region. Readers and scholars as diverse as historians, ethnohistorians, genealogists, travelers, and "Baja Buffs" will appreciate this work. Any collection even marginally known for its Californiana or sources on the history of Mexico and the Spanish Southwest must contain this volume.

Ararapikva, Creation Stories of the People: Traditional Karuk Indian Literature from Northwestern California.

By Julian Lang. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1994, 112 pp., \$10.95 paper.)

Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages.

by Leanne Hinton (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1994, 288 pp., \$18.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Annette Reed Crum (Tolowa), Ph.D. candidate in ethnic studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Heyday Books of Berkeley, California, recently published two exciting books about California native people. The first, *Ararapikva, Creation Stories of the People: Traditional Karuk Indian Literature*, introduced, edited, and translated by Julian Lang (Karuk scholar-artist-traditionalist) and the second, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages*, by Leanne Hinton, represent valuable additions to the field of California native literature.

Julian Lang's new book on Karuk native literature of northwestern California provides readers with a much-needed source containing history, culture, and the world views of Karuk people. As with most native peoples, commonly used post-contact tribal names, including Karuk, are white designations. Lang explains that the Karuk people traditionally called themselves "araar," which translates to "the People." The creation stories, he asserts, are called "pikva." Thus the title of his book combines the two words to become Ararapikva, "Creation Stories of the People."

In the introduction, Lang stresses that the Karuk (araar) have lived in northwestern California since the "beginning of time." Despite the upheaval caused by white intrusion in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, they continue to practice their culture and religion up to the present. Lang artfully writes about Karuk culture from a native perspective. He emphasizes the persistence of native identity by weaving the Karuk language into his introduction, as well as the larger text.

Lang then selects five Karuk stories (four previously unpublished) and offers three lines of text for each story: the first line in the Karuk language, the second a literal English translation, and the third a complete English adaptation. His rationale is that, "Those who have learned another language know the experience of having to think differently when translating ideas from one language to another. Ararapikva offers the reader the opportunity to see and experience an indigenous California way of thinking, and relating to the world" (p. 42). Lang's use of three lines of translations enables the reader to gain greater insight into the Karuk world view, a perspective missing from much of academic literature.

John P. Harrington, noted linguist, collected the first three stories, as well as the fifth. Hans Jorgen Uldall, linguist, recorded the fourth story. Lang takes it a step further by providing trans-




An Indian bowman from northwestern California.
Courtesy Heyday Books.

lations for each story. The stories related by Karuk people consist of "How Pishpishi Got His Stinger" and "Moon's Wives," by Phoebe Maddux, "Eel-with-a-Swollen-Belly Creates Shrines," by Fritz Hansen, "A Trip to Indian Heaven," by Margaret Harrie, and "What Will Those Who Come After Us Do?" by unknown Karuk elders. Throughout the book, Julian Lang strives to "share a cultural experience," and he successfully meets this goal. In addition, Lang creates a place for the voices of these skilled native storytellers to be heard and, in doing so, has honored them. His work demonstrates the persistence of Karuk culture and language.

Leanne Hinton's book, *Flutes of Fire: Essays On California Indian Languages*, is a collection of articles previously printed in *News from Native California*, an important quarterly journal published since 1987 and dedicated to contemporary California native issues and histories. Hinton wrote the majority of the essays, but also includes additional works by Robert Oswalt, Vera Mae Fredrickson, and a co-authored selection with Yolanda Montijo.

Hinton's book is intended for "a broad audience—for linguists, for Native Americans, and, for folks in general." She continues, "through this book I seek to bring to the reader a sense of urgency about the impending loss of our great linguistic treasure, and a sense of the priceless value the languages have, not only to the first Californians and to linguists, but to all of us" (p. 19). Hinton's message is significant because of the importance of the continuation of California native languages. Through a people's language we gain a greater insight into world view, culture, and identity.

Flutes of Fire weaves together the study of native California languages with many of the native linguists and native speakers who are working to preserve indigenous languages into the next generation. For example, in Chapter 21, entitled "Keeping the Languages Alive," Hinton writes about a gathering of the 1992 Tribal Scholars Language Conference, held at Walker Creek Ranch in Marin County. There native people came together to share ideas, concerns, and strategies in order to preserve native California languages. As a whole, Leanne Hinton's book provides good coverage on the status of native languages today, the involvement of California native people, and the importance of indigenous language preservation. 

Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840.

By Robert H. Jackson. (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1994, xii, 229 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Francis F. Guest, O. F. M., Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara.

This is a learned, competent, and sophisticated demographic analysis of the mission Indian population decline in three areas: Pimería Alta, Baja California, and Alta California. Extensively and carefully researched, clear, concise, and compact, it is a work of abundant and lasting value. The various materials in the twenty-six population graphs, the sixty-six tables, the six appendices, and the text itself make it clear, however, that the emphasis throughout is on the missions of Alta California.

Of the four chapters, the first chronicles the formation and dissolution of the three mission chains, the second focuses in close detail on the demographic collapse of each, the third takes great pains to clarify the reasons why the disastrous loss of mission population occurred, and the fourth draws comparisons with the growth and decline of inhabitants in San Antonio de Valero Mission in Texas, and with one town each in England, France, and the Philippine Islands.

For the sake of brevity, the author's theses may be reduced in number to the principal three: (a) the mission communities in all three regions, unable to maintain themselves by means of natural reproduction, increased their membership only through active recruitment (p. 54); (b) whereas the missions of Pimería Alta and Baja California were crippled primarily because of dev-

astating epidemics, those of Alta California, impaired but to a minor extent by epidemics, lost lives drastically anyway (p. 118); and (c) the severe death rate in the missions of Alta California may be ascribed mainly to an excessively demanding form of mission discipline (pp. 135-36).

Undoubtedly, all the elements associated with the rigidity of the term "discipline" had their role to play, whether in greater or lesser degree, in the more tragic aspects of mission life in Alta California, particularly in the period from 1810 to 1822. It is worth mentioning, however, that dysentery is recorded as a serious cause of death in at least seven of the Alta California missions, including three of the largest. Most probably the disease resulted from the intake of polluted water. Could not the enormous herds of longhorn cattle (numbering 143,334 in 1826, for example) and the even greater flocks of sheep (reckoned at 175,067 in the same year) have contaminated rivers and smaller streams near these missions and thus contributed a high percentage of the deaths that occurred among the missionized Indians? That the Salinas River and coastal waterways to the south tend to dry up during the summer months would have compounded a problem with contaminated water.

One further comment seems appropriate. Dr. Harry Kelsey, drawing upon the research of three archaeologists, specifies five diseases that were present among the Indians of Alta California previous to European contact: streptococcus, staphylococcus, gastro-intestinal disorders associated with the drinking of polluted water, venereal syphilis, and tuberculosis. With respect to what caused the high death rate among the Indians of the Alta California missions, archaeologists, as in so many matters touching mission history, should normally have the last word.

Peoples of Color in the American West.

By Sucheng Chan, Douglas Henry Daniels, Mario T. Garcia, and Terry P. Wilson, eds. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1994, xiv, 584 pp., paper.)

Reviewed by Nadine Ishitani Hata, professor of history and vice president of academic affairs at El Camino College.

This eclectic interdisciplinary anthology differs significantly from its more conventional predecessors by treating Native Americans, Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans as the *subjects* rather than *objects* of past actions. The college textbook origins of this recent addition to a revisionist perspective on the American West are obvious in the often pedantic discussion and study questions and recommended readings that accompany each chapter. There are, however, redeeming features that make this volume a cost-effective gap-filler.

A concise historiographical discussion of the contributions and limitations of Frederick Jackson Turner, Walter Prescott Webb, Herbert Eugene Bolton, and their critics introduces fifteen chapters organized chronologically around topics such as: Native American and Hawaiian legends and myths, internal migrations, families and women, resistance against discrimination, and different forms of cultural conflict and survival.

The emphasis is on how race and ethnicity function in everyday life, how diverse peoples of color have interacted with each other, and how "the internal stratification within each racial/ethnic community and the conflicts" have arisen "from intracommunity class divisions" (p. 10). For example, the passages in Chapter 8 ("Interactions") provide provocative insights into: "Slaves, Freedmen, and Native Americans in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), 1865-1907," Mexican and Japanese immigrant farm workers in "The 1903 Oxnard Sugar Beet Workers' Strike," and "California's Punjabi-Mexican Americans, 1910s-1970s." Many of the readings are autobiographical and biographical, such as "The Immaculate Pregnancy: Maya Angelou as Teenage Mother, 1946." The extension of the geographical definition of the American West to include Hawaii and Alaska reflects the editors' view that Native Hawaiians, Eskimos, and other Native Americans share experiences in common with peoples of color elsewhere in the American West.

By juxtaposing themes pervasive among diverse peoples of color, the selections also seek to destroy old paradigms. Race relations are infinitely more complex than the usual bilateral treatments of interactions between peoples of color and European Americans. The growth of a migratory agricultural labor force does not easily conform to simplistic Marxist concepts of work and class. Gender relations differ from those among Euro-Americans. Interracial and interethnic tensions are often the result of "the recognition that groups compete for scarce resources" (pp. 10-11).

Those who lament the continuing lack of a multiculturally

inclusive and integrated narrative history of the American West will not be satisfied with this compilation of excerpts from scholarly books and articles published over the past twenty years. Some will quibble about what should have been included and omitted, but *Peoples of Color in the American West* serves as a useful classroom tool to stimulate a re-interpretation of our collective past. For both students and general readers, it is a timely and strong addition to efforts to broaden, if not replace, the masculine and monocultural perspectives that have too long monopolized and mythologized the American West. An index would be useful.

CHS

Religion and Society in Frontier California.

By Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, x, 241 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Douglas Firth Anderson, Northwestern College Professor of History at Northwestern College, Iowa, and co-author of Pilgrim Progression: The Protestant Experience in California.

Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp has made an important addition to the small but growing number of published monographs on the history of religion in the American West with this revision of her Yale dissertation. Her book explores three themes: the transplantation of northeastern-based Protestant evangelicalism to California in the 1850s; the clash of antebellum evangelical piety with the "moral landscape" of the gold-rush period; and the beginnings of "a new type of society in the American West that exhibited new patterns of religious adherence" (p. 5).

These themes are significant, for as Maffly-Kipp aptly points out, the story of religion in California has been largely neglected by both American religious historians and by historians of the West. The author deftly underlines both the ideals and the inner contradictions of the antebellum Protestant home missionary movement as it prepared to reach out to California between 1848 and 1861. Moreover, she examines not only the male missionaries in the California field but also the missionaries' wives. For the latter, the masculine world of the mining period made the frustration of feminized evangelical mores especially painful. Finally, Maffly-Kipp draws on the anthropology and sociology of religion to illumine gold-rush society as peculiarly corrosive to Anglo-Protestant assumptions about settled moral community and obtaining wealth.

Despite such strengths, though, the book's only-partial grounding in the relevant sources is troubling. The justification for limiting her focus only to those who were official home missionaries of the New School Presbyterians, Congregationalists, northern Baptists, and northern Methodists is unclear, especially since it excludes the significant work of the Old School Pres-



Centerville Presbyterian Church (Fremont, 1984), in the modern city of Fremont, illustrates the present-day reality of California's religious history. Built in 1855 (earthquake damaged and rebuilt in 1868), this church was one of the east San Francisco Bay region's most historic structures and one of the best California examples of the influence of the New England meetinghouse architectural style on the American frontier. One of the state's first Protestant congregations, Centerville Presbyterian and its pioneer members, many of whom are buried in the historic cemetery behind the church, played an important role in the establishment of traditional American culture on the Pacific Coast. Within its walls were planned the area's first public school, the first college, and the first community organizations. With the dramatic post-World War II population increase in Fremont, however, the congregation abandoned the church in the 1950s for larger quarters, and the building deteriorated during decades of neglect. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, preservation efforts by historic-minded local citizens foundered when the congregation, which was anxious to sell the property to raise money for further expansion, the city, interested in redeveloping the entire neighborhood and largely uncommitted to preserving its artifactual history, and the Easy Bay Regional Park district, which had a potential new site for the church but no funds to preserve it, all refused to accept responsibility for moving the building. One night in early 1993, old Centerville Presbyterian Church burned to the ground. Only part of its steeple could be salvaged. *Photo by editorial staff.*

byterians and sidesteps the fact that virtually all the Anglo-Protestant clergy in 1850s California considered themselves, in effect, missionaries, official or not. The many pertinent figures, institutions, or sources that are either underutilized or absent from her analysis include Congregationalist Joseph A. Benton's novel *The California Pilgrim* (1853); the mission work with Chinese immigrants begun in 1852 by Old School Presbyterian William Speer; Methodist William Taylor's varied San Francisco ministries; the activities of controversial Old School Presbyterian pulpiteer William Anderson Scott; and the San Francisco-based religious weeklies founded in 1851, the *Pacific* (Congregationalist and New School Presbyterian in the 1850s) and the *California Christian Advocate* (northern Methodist). Unaccountably, she gives no sustained attention to Protestants—home missionary or otherwise—in relation to the vigilante movements or attempts to shape education. Also troubling are a couple of her conclusions. While she plausibly supports the suggestion that the nature of evangelical hegemony in the antebellum East may need reevaluation given Anglo-Protestantism's difficulties

in encountering 1850s California, it is hard to see how she has laid any significant basis for claiming the home mission effort was a "dress rehearsal for the national urban revivals and institutional reforms of the 1880s and 1890s" (p. 184). Again, while she is persuasive in pointing out how California posed perhaps the first significant challenge by a nakedly capitalist economy and society to Anglo-Protestant moral understanding, her concluding paragraph, which notes that religion "is only one among many tales of this era that bear repetition" (p. 185), while true, is puzzling, since it could be read as undercutting the implicit argument of the book for the significance of examining California's religious history.

What were presumably decisions by the publisher to use a less-than-full form of notation and to provide no illustrations except a single map are minor annoyances. This volume is sophisticated in interpretation and makes a notable contribution to the understanding of religion in the West, but its flaws and idiosyncrasies keep it from being a fully satisfying work.

The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California.

By Martha K. Norkunas. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993, 123 pp., \$12.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Paul Scolari, Ph. D. candidate in art history at the University of Pittsburgh, working on a dissertation entitled Collective Memory and Western Expansion: Public Commemorations of the American Frontier in the Early Twentieth Century.

In *The Politics of Public Memory* Martha K. Norkunas takes to task Monterey's historic identity as presented through tourism for serving the ideological interests of those atop the social strata. Examining the city's primary tourist landscapes, she argues that this identity is constituted primarily by artifacts that glorify ruling members of the Spanish colonial (1602-1822) and early American (1846-1890) periods—ancestors in a line of progress that manifests itself in the ruling elite of today's Monterey—while other groups and events that played a significant role in shaping the history of the city are marginalized or altogether excluded in historical representations.

Norkunas supports this critique of ruling-class ideology in her discussion of the Path of History, a series of restored Spanish colonial and early American homes along a 2.8-mile walking route winding through the downtown district. She argues convincingly in this first section of her book that the Monterey History and Art Association, an elite group with middle- and upper-middle-class members of European ancestry, serves the interests of its class by operating this public history walk that proclaims itself the "official" history of Monterey and enshrines men of European descent while representing the American presence in Monterey as the inevitable progression from the simplicity of Native American culture to the sophistication of Anglo-American culture.

Norkunas also tellingly reveals that at Cannery Row, factory buildings and worker housing—testaments to the history of labor and the ethnically diverse working classes that flourished along with the fish-canning trade from 1890-1940—stand without being noted. Norkunas goes on to tell the story of how Monterey's elite historical organizations have neglected Cannery Row, leaving it to developers who have created a "literary landscape" littered with bars, restaurants, and shops that, carrying names of places and characters from John Steinbeck's novel *Cannery Row*, make only facile reference to the author's sharp satire.

The only flaw in Norkunas's argument is its failure to sufficiently explore public memory's contested nature. In the final section of her analysis, the author contends that Fisherman's Wharf is as superficial as Cannery Row. An old anchor and weather-beaten sign proclaim the wharf a monument to the past,

but proliferating tourist concessions belie the wharf's primary function as a place of leisure. Although sculptural monuments dedicated to Sicilian fishermen counter this atmosphere by communicating the real history of the wharf, Norkunas sees these as signaling the symbolic subjugation of the local Italian American community by virtue of what she unconvincingly suggests is their physical siting at the margins of the wharf area. But considering, as we learn from the text, that Fisherman's Wharf is an Italian American enclave replete with bocce ball courts and businesses that are exclusively Italian-owned, such monuments can more properly be seen as competing for recognition with other versions of Monterey's history. A case can be made that the commemorative/tourist landscape of Fisherman's Wharf works against and not in union with the ideology of the "official" Path of History. The tourist environment of Monterey thus accommodates competing ideologies and is not simply, as Norkunas contends, an instrument of ruling-class domination.

This critique is not intended to undercut the value of *The Politics of Public Memory*. Norkunas makes sense of a complex tourist environment through the application of a wide range of contemporary cultural theory. Demonstrating how one California community has reconstructed its past in the development of tourism, her book adds to a growing body of scholarship seeking to understand the means by which public memory and culture are constructed in the United States and the role these play in the formation of the social order.

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Cannery Row, Monterey's fish-processing district, ca. 1947, about the time that the failure of Monterey Bay's sardine fishery closed the canneries and nearly depopulated the neighborhood. Like most of Monterey's extensive historic properties, the waterfront district epitomizes the tendency of historic preservation to focus on wealthy, elite groups and their accomplishments. Now mostly a concentration of tourist attractions—souvenir shops, art galleries, restaurants, and hotels, anchored by the spectacularly popular Monterey Bay Aquarium—Cannery Row, to the extent that it has any evident historic identity, is interpreted as the inspiration for the famous John Steinbeck novel of the same name (1945). Practically obscured from view is the district's more authentic past of canning factories and their ethnically diverse laborers. *Courtesy Pat Hathaway Collection of California Views Monterey, California.*

Little White Father: Redick McKee on the California Frontier.

By Ray Raphael. (Eureka: Humboldt County Historical Society, 1993, 213 pp., \$15.95 paper.)

Reviewed by William S. Simmons, professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley.

Following the election of Zachary Taylor in 1848, the Whigs intended to use California as a testing ground for a more humane Indian policy than that of the Jacksonian Democrats. Millard Fillmore, who succeeded Taylor, appointed three Indian commissioners for California (Redick McKee, George W. Barbour, and O. M. Wozencraft) who were to negotiate treaty arrangements between California Indians and the federal government. Because he was appointed disbursing agent to the commissioners, McKee became a kind of spokesperson among the three commissioners, who otherwise were equals. After a slow start in the San Joaquin Valley and in order to finish their task more quickly, the three commissioners decided to work separately: McKee would take the part of the state north of San Francisco, Wozencraft would take the middle part, and Barbour took the south. Between them they negotiated eighteen treaties with California Indians in 1851 that required Indians to cede the greater part of their land in exchange for eighteen reservations where they would be protected by law and provided with livestock, food, and other resources necessary for survival in the economy of American California. These treaties promised some 11,700 square miles, or 7.5 percent of California, for permanent Indian occupancy. Few whites in California approved of these treaties, and the governor, state Assembly, and state Senate strongly opposed the commissioner's recommendations on a variety of grounds, including the argument that Mexico had never recognized Indian claims to the land and therefore the United States had no obligation to do so either. Despite Fillmore's support, the U. S. Senate rejected the treaties on June 8, 1852, thus leaving California Indians in the position of having ceded their land while receiving nothing in return.

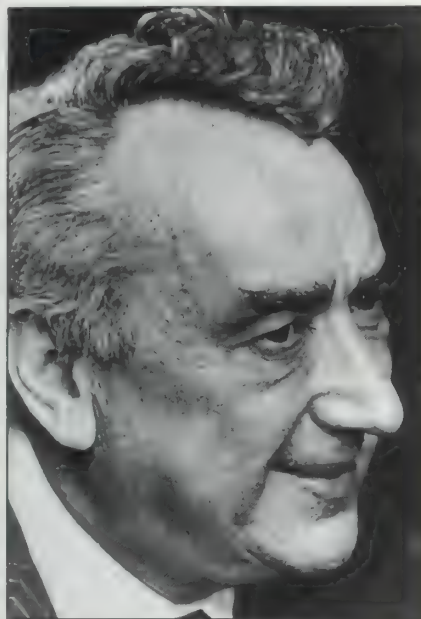
This is a complicated story that Raphael approaches at several levels. First, he dissects the actual process of treaty negotiation, McKee's diplomacy and rhetoric, and the problem of who among California Indians had authority to speak for and represent the many independent Indian tribelet populations. Although no Indian record of these proceedings exists, four members of McKee's northern expeditions kept records that present different viewpoints (Redick McKee, John McKee, his son and secretary, Major H. W. Wessels, and George Gibbs, his interpreter, who also kept an artistic record). Second, Raphael outlines the larger-scale political interests both in California and Washington that worked against the commissioners and that ended with the treaties being rejected. Raphael is also interested in McKee's character, motivations, and values and the

ways in which he might have been more effective in his negotiations with Indians and as an advocate for the treaties that he and the other commissioners negotiated. The author redeems McKee from charges by mid-nineteenth-century contemporaries who disapproved of the treaties and by Theodore Hittell and H. H. Bancroft that he was a greedy fraud, but nevertheless concludes that McKee's rigid self-centeredness, aloofness, and cross-cultural blindness prevented him from performing his charge more effectively and that he abused power by promising Indians more than he could deliver: "Perhaps he was not responsible for all the crimes of his countrymen, but he was certainly responsible for presenting himself as a savior to people whom he could not save" (p. 197).

A bit hard on McKee, perhaps, this is a well-researched, thoughtful, and detailed analysis of the legal dispossession of California Indians following the tidal wave of Americans that spread throughout California following the Gold Rush. As Raphael indicates, without the protection that the unratified treaties might have provided, California Indians were overwhelmed by homicide, kidnapping, starvation, and disease, to a very small fraction of their original population. *Little White Father* is a straightforward and well-documented account of this unfortunate exhibition of cruelty, greed, self-righteousness, missed opportunities, and wrecked good intentions in early American California.

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CALIFORNIA



Phillip Burton in election night, 1962

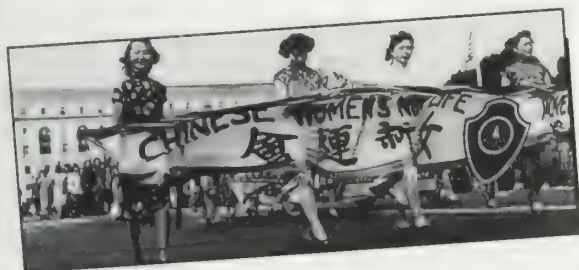
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Wilson, B.D. *The Indians of Southern California in 1852*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Edited by John Walton Caughey, introduction by Albert L. Hurtado. \$9.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-8032-9776-9. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; Post Office Box 880484; Lincoln, NE 68588-0484.

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Garcia, "Turning Points: Mexican Americans in California History," pp. 226-29.

Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez* (Boston: R. Godine, 1981), and Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory: An Argument with My Mexican Father* (New York: Viking, 1992). For another point of view, see the work of Ramon Saldivar, who argues that Rodriguez does not provide a "philosophical self-reflection."

Also see most other reviews by ethnic intellectuals, who see Rodriguez merely from a political point of view. I want to dedicate this issue to my sons, Nicholas and Kristofer, as well as to my other children, Misty and John.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Loose Canons: Notes on the Cultural Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Carlos Fuentes, *Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992).

Juan Bruce-Novoa, *Retrospace: Collected Essays on Chicano Literature* (Houston, Texas: Arte Publico Press, 1990).

Wendy Lesser (ed.), *Hiding in Plain Sight: Essays in Criticism and Autobiography* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 1993), ix.

Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 27.

Americo Paredes, *"With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958); George I. Sánchez, *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexican* (Albuquerque: C. Horn, 1940); see Carlos E. Castaneda's work on the Catholic heritage; Ernesto Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

8. Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972); Octavio Ignacio Romano (ed.), *Voices: Readings From El Grito* (Berkeley: A Quinto Sol Book, 1973); Alurista, *Florinto en Aztlan* (Los Angeles: Chicano Cultural Center, 1971).

9. See Arthur F. Corwin, *Immigrants and Migrants: Perspectives on Mexican Labor Migration to The United States* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 8-17; also see foreword by Henry C. Schmidt in Richard A. Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991), xi-xii, 318-20.

10. See A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and Jerry W. Ward, Jr., *Redefining American Literary History* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1990); Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Ramon Saldivar, *Chicano Narrative: The Dialectics of Difference* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Ramon A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, The Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); José A. Limón, *History and Influence in Mexican American Social Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Renatò Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

11. Quoted in James Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 279.

12. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 5. For information on Rupert Garcia see Rupert Garcia, *Against Resistance* (New York: Alternative Museum,

1994), a book published by the museum during one of his

Griswold del Castillo, "Mexican Women's Historical Discourse," pp. 230-43.

1. See Alfredo Mirandé and Evangelia Enríquez, *La Chicana: The Mexican American Woman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); articles by Antonia Castañeda, Deena J. González, and Angelina F. Veyna in Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds., *Building with our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1993); selections from Adelaida Del Castillo, ed., *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History* (Encino, California: Florinto Press, 1990). Themes of political agency are in Deena J. González, "The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe: Patterns of Resistance and Accommodation, 1820-1880," (Ph.D. diss., UC Berkeley, 1985); Genaro Padilla, "Yo Sola Aprendí: Mexican Women's Personal Narratives from Nineteenth-Century California," *Revealing Loss: Autobiography, Biography, and Gender*, eds. Susan Groag Bell and Marilyn Yalom (New York: State University Press of New York, 1990); "Imprisoned Narrative? Or Lies, Secrets and Silence in New Mexico Women's Autobiography," *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture and Ideology*, eds. Hector Calderón and José David Saldivar (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); and Genaro M. Padilla, *My Home Is Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went*

- Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1991); Antonia Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladores: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770-1821" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1990); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990); Sarah Deutch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
2. Castañeda, "Presidarias," iv.
 3. *Ibid.*, 266-74; see also her essay, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building with our Hands*, 15-33.
 4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-1890). For an account of how Bancroft assembled his dictations, see his *Literary Industries* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890).
 5. Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, "Memorias de Doña A. L. 'La Beata' Vieja de unos setenta y cinco años," Marzo 1878, Bancroft MSS. C-D 116, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Doña Juana Machado de Ridington, "Los Tiempos pasados de la alta californiana: recuerdos de la Sra. Doña Juana Machado de Ridington," Bancroft MSS 1878, C-D 119; translated and published by Raymond S. Brandes, trans. "Times Gone By in Alta California: Recollections of Señora Doña Juana Machado Alipaz de Ridington," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 41 (1959): 195-240; "Dictation of Mrs. Capt. Henry D. Fitch/Narracion de la Sra. Viuda del Capitan Enrique D. Fitch (Joséfa Carrillo)," Bancroft MSS 1875 CE 67; "Recuerdos de Doña Felipa Osuna de Marron: natural de San Diego donde vive actualmente con varos papeles originales ...," Bancroft MSS 1878 C-D 120; for a discussion of the Bancroft narratives and their problems see Padilla, *My History, Not Yours*, 110-13.
 6. There are other sources that can reveal more about the historical interpretations of Mexican women, but it is necessary to limit the sample. For San Diego alone, see Arcadia Bandini Brennan (Scott), "Arcadian Memories of California," Bancroft Library, MSS 1885, C-D 5206, typescript; María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, *The Squatter and the Don*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1992), originally published under the pseudonym C. Loyal in 1885 by Samuel Carson & Co. in San Francisco; Helen Elliott Bandini, *History of California* (NY: American Book Co., 1908). Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita in their introduction to the novel *The Squatter and The Don* write: "It is the story, in part, of the repercussions of the United States expansionism and the rise of corporate monopoly power...it primarily reconstructs the loss of land and power of the conquered population from the perspective of one who although acculturated, had a forceful voice and, more importantly, a clear memory. It is, interestingly, a collective memory" (p. 51, intro). For a discussion of the relationship between fiction and history, see "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in Hayden White, *Topics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 81-100.
 7. "Dictation of Mrs. Capt. Henry D. Fitch/Narracion de la Sra. Viuda del Capitan Enrique D. Fitch (Joséfa Carrillo)," Bancroft MSS 1875 CE 67; Josefa's given name was María Antonia Natalia Elifra Carrillo, but upon baptism she was given the name Josefa after her godmother, Josefa Sal de Mercado. Her mother was María Ignacia Lopez de Carrillo. "Dictation of Mrs. Capt. Henry D. Fitch/Narracion de la Sra. Viuda del Capitan Enrique D. Fitch (Josefa Carrillo)," Bancroft MSS 1875 CE 67. This narrative was written in the second person, not as a direct quote. For one of the first accounts, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, Vol. XX, *History of California*, Vol. III, 1825-1840 (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1886), 141-45.
 8. "Personas que por indole y educación estaban acostumbradas a obedecer ciegamente a todas las ordenes gubernativas," dictation, p. 150 (spelling and accent marks as in original).
 9. "Hombre que no se hace a rogar dos veces cuando se trataba de servir a una mujer," dictation, p. 151.
 10. "Adios prima, que dios te bendiga, y tu, primo Enrique, cuidado con darle motivo a Josefa de arrepentirse de haber vinculado su suerte con la tuya," dictation, p. 152.
 11. "Habia prometido martarla tan pronto como la veisa," dictation, p. 153.
 12. "Padre he vuelto a San Diego con el objeto de pedir perdon por haberme ausentado de tu casa," dictation, p. 153; "en humilde tono le vuelvo a pedir perdon, recordandole que si ella lo habia desobedecido lo habia hecho tan solo con el objeto de sustraerse a una tirania odiosa que reprobaban las leyes y las costumbres," dictation, p. 154; "ten perdono, hija pues tu no tienes la culpa si nuestros gobernantes son despotas," dictation, p. 155.
 13. Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 144.
 14. Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, "Memorias." Doña Apolinaria's story has been recounted and analyzed by Genaro Padilla in his study of Mexican women's narratives. Padilla "Ya sola aprendí," 124-25.
 15. One historian found that there were sixty-six Mexican women connected directly or indirectly to receiving land grants from the Mexican government prior to 1848. In San Diego County other Mexican women who held title to grants were María Juana de los Angeles (widow of the mayordomo of Mission San Luis Rey), Magdalena Estudillo, owner of Rancho de Otay, María del Rosario Estudillo, inheritor of Ranchô San Jacinto Sobrante; see J. N. Bowman, "Prominent Women of Provincial California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 36 (June 1957): 149-66.
 16. Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, "Memorias," 6. The reputation as a curandera is mentioned by Doña Juana Machado de Ridington, Bancroft MSS 1878, C-D 119, p. 26.
 17. "Los robos de caballada eran continuos, y los promotores de ellos por lo general eran los mismos indios de mission que iban a convidara a los gentiles para que les ayudaran," Lorenzana, 43.
 18. "Yo estaba muy trieste por a toma de pais por los Americanos, yo no queria por eso volver a San Diego," Lorenzana, 19.
 19. "Los indios amenazaban mucho— dos dias antes vinieron seis or siete de ellos a caballo que traían palitos con bandarillas coloradas, que es mala sena—no se presentaron al Padre sino se fuero a la muralla donde estaban los chorros de agua. Vino un indio y empezo a dar carreñan por el corredor como para provocar....," Lorenzana, 23.
 20. Doña Juana Machado de Ridington, "Los tiempos pasados de la alta californiana," translated and published by Raymond S. Brandes, 198. Padilla has discovered some crucial mistakes that historians have made in translating these narratives from Spanish to English. Brandes's translation appears to be accurate with respect to key quotes when compared to the original.
 21. Raymond Brandes, "Times Gone By in Alta California," 199.
 22. *Ibid.*, 69.
 23. *Ibid.*, 203; Lorenzana also recalled this event, but in a much abbreviated form.
 24. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 1840-1845 (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1886), 69. Doña Machado gives the date at 1838 or 1839.
 25. Brandes, 205-206. This same story with some different details is told by Apolinaria Lorenzana and Juana María de Marron de Osuna. Strangely, Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch did not mention it in her narrative—her household was most directly affected.
 26. Antonio: "era alto, grueso, cara grande y gorda-blanca— ojos negros y pelo muy negro." Santiago: "era bastante grueso, de regular estau, era—muy blanco—barbara y cabello negro—

ojos de mismo colore..." Echeandía: "era hombre muy blanco, alto, delgado, de bonita figura, maneras elegantes... muy aficionado a bailes, comida y otras diversiones." Doña Juana Machado de Ridington, "Los Tiempos pasados," Bancroft MSS 1978, C-D 119, 21.

Secularization: "creíamos en aquel tiempo que los Padres eran unos Santos Varones y un gran disimulo que se le hacia a la iglesia. And on the cholos: "No dejaba de haber entre ellos algunos hombres buenos, y los oficales le condiscipulos bien." Ibid., 25.

Brandes, 217. Another account of this event is in Jose Maria Estudillo, "Datos historicos sobre la alta californiá," Bancroft MSS., 1878 C-D 76, p. 54. For more on Garra, see William Edward Evans, "The Garra Uprising: Conflict Between San Diego Indians and Settlers in 1851," *California Historical Quarterly* 45 (1966): 339-49; also Millard I. Hudson, "The Last Indian Campaign in the Southwest," *Pacific Monthly* 17 (1917): 151-61.

1. "Recuerdos de Doña Felipa Osuna de Marrón." Ibid., 22; she stated that she understood the native language. This segment of the narration is not in chronological order and appears after her account of the Mexican War.

2. "Causaba dolor ver a la gente de Macdono correr tras de los indios como otros tantos perros de presa—algunos de los indios fueron sacados de las casas—otros que corrían despididos, fueron lazados. Una de ellos se metió en mi casa suplicandome que lo escondiera; pero lo vieron entrar sus perseguidores, y fue apresado. Mi aflicción era tanto mayor porque había dado el informe contra los conspiradores, y porque las demás señoras también consolidadas, me acusaban de que yo era la causa..." Ibid., 22; and "Cuando a las tribulaciones de los indios me causo mucha pena el haber dado informes contra ellos, me afligió mucho..." Ibid., 23.

3. "Vete Satanás! tu no me has deperturbas a mí—no has de poder conimigo," narration, 2.

4. Ibid., 8.

5. Ibid., 14.

6. "daban gritos y echaban amenazas y desvergüenzas," Ibid., 20.

7. "Nosotras las mujeres, todas dejamos nuestras casas, y nos reuníamos en la de los Estudillos—Venían los del país arriba del fortín que habían levantado en la loma ya querían a unirme con mi marido, y hubo de conseguir el con Alipa y Cota licencia para venir a sacarme—para eso pusieron alla una bandera blanca-Alipa y Cota dijeron a Marrón que el no sería agarrado por los Americanos porque llevaba mucha amistad con Pedrarena, Argüello y Cárillo—Les dexaron le dexaron entrar, porque los Californios me venían con una bandera blanca. Luego que entro me puso, porque salieron Pedrarena y un partido me pusieron a recibirlo—le quitaron su caballo y armas y lo llevaron al cuartel. Como

se le dio que entró en el cuartel, y como de los Californios conmigo, sospecharon aquellos que el se había pasado a los Americanos, pusieron muy enojados con el," Ibid., 15.

8. "Estaban muy enojados con el porque me traían a nosotros paisanos, porque yo les tenía mucho miedo a los Americanos, que no era tropas—los aplaudían. Al fin logramos salir bajo palabra de honor de no hacer armas contra los Estados Unidos." And: "así se acaba gran parte del nuestro, y el que me había dado el P. Zalvidia," Ibid., 16.

38. Padilla, *My History, Not Yours*, 3-41.

39. See Padilla's analysis of this function of discourse, Ibid., 34.

40. Ibid., 145.

41. For a concise description of the post-structuralist approach as applied to history, see Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), introduction. For a broader view of post-modernism, see John Grumley, *History and Ideology: Radical Historicism from Hegel to Foucault* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

42. White, *Topics of Discourse*, 91.

m. garcia, "The Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre," pp. 244-61.

1. Constance D. MacKay, *The Little Theatre in the United States*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917), 1.

2. Ibid., 1.

3. Jorge Huerta, *Chicano Theater: Themes and Forms* (Michigan: Bilingual Press, 1982); Nicolás Kanellos, *Mexican American Theatre: Legacy and Reality*. (Pittsburgh: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1987); Kanellos, ed., *Mexican American Theatre: Then and Now* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1989 reprint).

4. See N. Kanellos, "The Mexican Stage in the Southwest United States as a Sounding Board for Cultural Conflict," in *Mexican American Theatre: Legacy and Reality*, 117-25; versus John W. Brokaw, "Teatro Chicano: Some Reflections," in *Educational Theatre Journal* 29 (December 1977).

5. J. W. Brokaw, "A Mexican-American Acting Company, 1849-1939," *Educational Theatre Journal* 27 (March 1975): 23-29.

6. Kanellos, *Mexican American Theatre: Legacy and Reality*, 103.

7. "Chicanismo" here refers to the essence of being Chicano, as it was understood by many Chicano scholars and activists of the 1970s. This nationalist position articulated most clearly in Juan Gómez-Quirón's 1977 essay "On Culture," championed cultural resistance as a "negation of assimilation," and rejected any cultural act by Americans of Mexican descent that conformed to

white American and European values. George Y. Yang, *Chicano Cultural Critique: Rhetoric, Memory, and Identity*, 1993, 10. Alternatively, it constructs the origins and explains the implications of this perspective. See Thomas Z. Bergman, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Politics* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 6.

8. Roberto J. Garza, ed., *Contemporary Chicano Theatre* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 5.

9. Ben Sidran, *Black Talk*, second ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1981), 105-106.

10. For the most recent example of this phenomenon, see A. Arrízón, "Contemporizing Performance: Mexican California and the Padua Hills Theatre," in *Mester*, Special Double Issue, Chicana/o Discourse, vol. XXII and XXIII, Fall 1993/Spring 1994, no. 2 and 1, p. 5-30. Arrízón's analysis is admittedly "less historical and more deeply embedded in the context of cultural criticism" (p. 5). Devoid of historical context, her study analyzes Mexican Player-owner relations without any consideration of the social and political climate in which Padua Hills developed.

11. Naima Prevots, *Art and Democracy: A Movement for Art and Democracy* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1990), 1-4.

12. Clarence A. Perry, *The Work of the Little Theatres* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1933), 10-12.

13. Taken from "Information Regarding Plays Suitable to Padua Hills Theatre for Allied Arts Contest," year unknown, Pomona Public Library.

14. The traveling troupes, known as *carpas*, performed under tents before Mexican American communities living in rural towns throughout the Southwest. In some cities such as Los Angeles, Mexican American communities were large enough to support a *teatro popular*, which held variety performances known as *tandas*, where many of the traveling troupes also performed. See Kanellos, *Mexican American Theatre: Then and Now*; see also Rubén Martínez, "Tanda in L.A.," in catalog for *Diva L.A.*, Sunday July 2, 1995, Mark Taper Forum, Los Angeles, CA.

15. Around this same period, Claremont, with the significant help of the art departments of the Claremont Colleges, attracted sculptors and painters who would soon become some of the most accomplished American artists of the twentieth century. This included such figures as Jean and Arthur Ames, Phil Dike, Millard Sheets, Albert Stewart, and Milford Zornes, all of whom taught classes at the colleges.

16. A copy of the purchase papers exists at the

- Padua Hills Special Collection at the Pomona Public Library.
17. Herman H. Garner, "Details of Syndicate Being Formed by R. W. Purpus Inc., #875-895, Subway Terminal Building, on Evey Canyon Property," May 11, 1928.
 18. Only one Mexican Player, Casilda Amador Thoreson, was permitted to own property and live in Padua Hills. She married Harold P. Thoreson, and had one son, Eric Thoreson, who also performed at Padua Hills until its closure in 1974. I am grateful for Casilda's generosity and hospitality toward me. Her recollection and understanding of Padua Hills can be found at the Pomona Public Library, in a recently completed oral history I conducted with her on May 19, 1995.
 19. Garner, "Details of Syndicate..." May 11, 1928. Restrictions barring "undesirables" (non-whites) from owning homes in the Pomona Valley were extensive. The following restrictive covenant, taken from the original Padua Hills housing contract, was standard for many exclusive communities: "(a) No part of said property shall be sold, conveyed, rented or leased in whole or in part to any persons of African or Asiatic descent or to any person not of the white or Caucasian race." Such agreements contributed to the "barrioization" or "ghettoization" of racial minorities living in the valley.
 20. Millard Sheets, soon after arriving in Claremont to head the Scripps Art Department in 1932, established his home in Padua Hills and became a trustee of the Padua Institute, formed in 1935. Throughout Padua Hills' existence, Sheets and other artists were staunch supporters and loyal patrons of the theater.
 21. Norma Hopland Blakeslee, "History of Padua Hills Theatre," *Pomona Valley Historian* IX (Spring 1973): 49.
 22. Ibid.
 23. During the 1930s, a Paduano and Pomona College student, Juan Matute, collaborated with a local resident and employee of the Claremont Colleges, Daniel Martínez, Sr., to form "Escuela Mexicana de Claremont" in the Arbol Verde barrio, for the preservation and promotion of the Spanish language and Mexican traditions among the community's youth. The school was founded to address and correct the academically inadequate and culturally insensitive education Mexican children were receiving at segregated schools. Cheva García, interviewed by author, February 10, 1993; Christina Pérez, interviewed by author, April 26, 1993; Daniel Martínez, Jr., interviewed by author, May 16, 1995.
 24. Cheva García, interviewed by author, February 10, 1993; Candelario "Cande" Mendoza, interviewed by the author, May 6, 1994, filed as oral history at the Pomona Public Library. Many barrio residents recall Spanish-language, Mexican music programming during the early morning hours, when many Mexican citrus workers began their day working in the groves. "Cande" was one of the better-known disc jockeys on KMPO broadcasting from Pomona in the 1940s and 1950s. He replaced Eddie Rodríguez. Cheva remembers that she, her sisters, and other local artists performed at a valley radio station in the 1930s. Special thanks to Cheva (*mi abuela*) for her insights on the history of the Arbol Verde barrio.
 25. July 2, 1932, marked the date of *Serenata Mexicana* and the arrival of the Mexican Players to the Padua Hills stage; Blakeslee, 50.
 26. "Paduanas/os" is a term used by many of the Mexican Players to describe themselves.
 27. Lee Shippey, "The Lee Side o' L-A," *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 1932, Part II, p. 4.
 28. Bess Garner, undated document, Padua Hills Collection, Special Collection, Pomona City Library. Also in Marian Perales and Alicia Rodríguez, "Directing The Intercultural Experience: The Impact of World War II on Women at Padua Hills Theatre," Seminar Paper, Claremont Graduate School, May 6, 1993.
 29. "The Mission Play," performed at the nearby San Gabriel Mission, contributed significantly to the romanticization of Mexican California history. The author of the play, John Steven McGroarty, sold a "history" book at each performance that was advertised as follows: "There is no fiction more fascinating and interesting than the story of California as told by the author of 'The Mission Play.' In ten beautiful chapters you are given the key to California...It is the only complete single volume history of the state published," The Mission Play/Ramona/Padua Hills Collection, uncataloged, Photographs Department, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Thank you to Jennifer Watts for bringing this collection to my attention.
 30. Michelle Martínez, interviewed by author, March 22, 1993.
 31. Christina Pérez, interviewed by author, April 26, 1993.
 32. Pasadena Playhouse Collection, Padua Players file, Huntington Library.
 33. Bess Garner published many articles in the *Pomona Progress Bulletin*, and eventually wrote a book about her experiences; Bess Adams Garner, *Mexico: Notes in the Margin* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937).
 34. Pauline B. Deuel, *Mexican Serenade: The Story of the Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre* (Claremont, CA: Padua Institute, 1961), 55. An undated document, written by Herman Garner, instructed playwrights to avoid plays that conveyed a serious social message or dealt with controversial "love triangles." In addition, Herman Garner screened each play, and rejected many (Casilda Amador Thoreson, interviewed by author, May 19, 1995). Therefore, even when Paduanos introduced the ideas for plays, such as in the case of Miguel Vera introducing *Las Posadas*, the story lines were written by Bess Garner and Charles Dickinson and reviewed by Herman Garner.
 35. The playbills for all three plays can be found in the Padua Hills Collection, Special Collections, Pomona Public Library. Marian Perales, in an untitled public presentation, October 22, 1993, in Claremont, analyzed some of these same plays. I especially want to thank Marian for her support of, and contributions to, this project.
 36. The Huave villages near Tehuantepec today continue the matriarchy they practiced a few centuries before the invasion of Spanish troops in the Mexican isthmus. Comprised of a variety of communities living around Lagunas Superior and Inferior, men take care of most domestic affairs, while women control the economic and political operations among the villagers. Discoveries made on my own, with the helpful guidance of: Harvard Student Agencies, Inc., *Let's Go 1992: The Budget Guide To Mexico* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 407. Another matriarchal society thrives in Juchitan, Oaxaca, Mexico, also in the isthmus area. For more information, see Juanita Darling, "The women who run Juchitan," *Los Angeles Times*, sec. A, p. 1, March 31, 1995, and Graciela Iturbide, "Juchitan's Heart," *Mother Jones* 15 (Feb-March 1990): 39.
 37. The primary weaver of this illusory history of *californios*, and the California invasion was Hubert Howe Bancroft; see Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco, 1888). Among the first, if not the best-known, critics of this interpretation of California history was Carey McWilliams; see McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land*, Seventh ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988, 1946). Among the most recent historians presenting a revised vision of California history, see Lisabeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California: 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Antonia Castañeda, "Comparative Frontiers: The Migration of Women to Alta California and New Zealand," in *Western Women: Their Lands, Their Lives*, ed. by

- Lillian Schlissel, Vicki Ruiz, and Janice I. Monk. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).
48. Daniel Melnick, *Sanford*, 55.
49. Marian Perales, untitled public presentation, October 22, 1993. Claremont. Perales perceptively analyzed the subtle differences between plays produced before World War II, when Charles Dickinson wrote and directed most of the productions, and plays directed by Hilda Jara during the war. Due to the recruitment of Paduanos (men) for the war effort, Paduanas (women) took over much of the productions.
- Pilgrimage Diary of Mexican Players of Padua Hills*. Claremont, CA: Vortex Company, Printing Department, 1934).
- Flyer, Padua Hills Collection, Special Collections, Pomona City Library.
50. *Ibid*.
51. Rosa Torrez, interviewed by Alicia Rodriguez, April 8, 1993. In the late 1940s, forty cents was the minimum wage for one hour's labor. Alicia Rodriguez has conducted oral histories that have contributed significantly to this project.
52. Irene Garner, interviewed by author, June 17, 1993.
53. José O'Beso, interviewed by author, June 3, 1993.
54. Padua Institute booklet, *A Non-profit Institution Dedicated to Inter-American Friendship: The Educational Phase* (Padua Hills, Claremont, CA, 1936).
55. Rebecca Romo Wolfe, interviewed by the author, June 21, 1994; Casilda Amador Thoreson, interviewed by the author, May 19, 1995; evidence of film moguls from RKO and other film companies visiting Padua Hills is present in the guest lists. Special Collections, Pomona Public Library. Walt Disney was one of the few Hollywood figures who integrated the players into a film—"The Three Caballeros," a Latin American theme movie that combined animated characters with live actors. The Garners trusted Disney because of his regular attendance at the theater, his friendship with Herman Garner and artists of the Claremont community, namely Millard Sheets and Phil Dike, and his willingness not to violate the integrity of the Mexican Players' conception of screen. In spite of the Garners' trepidations, Padua Hills produced some of the first Mexican American film actors and radio performers, including Mauricio Jara, Natividad Vazco, Manuel Diaz, and Rebecca Romo Wolfe. For the most part, however, persistent stereotyping of, and discrimination against, ethnic minorities in film and radio, along with the Garners' interest in keeping the players away from Hollywood, denied most Paduanos advancement opportunities in the entertainment industry.
56. José Alba, Jr., interviewed by author, April 24, 1993.
57. A collection of the special commendation granted Mr. Garner from Governor Reagan, U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, and the Los Angeles County Supervisors, to name a few, exists at the Pomona Public Library.
58. Many Paduanos met and married as a result of working at Padua Hills. Some of these people include Alfonso and Conchita Gallardo, Hilda and Mauricio Jara, Porfiria and Enrique Terma, Juan and Manuela Matute, and José and Ysabel Alba, to name a few.
59. This has begun to change due largely to the efforts of Ginger Elliot and Claremont Heritage, who have recently hosted reunions that honor the contributions of the Paduanos. Claremont Heritage is currently pursuing national-landmark status for the theater facility.
60. Taken from a former Mexican Player who refused both the author and Dr. Vicki L. Ruiz an interview. Her name has not been included out of respect for the player's wish not to be identified. In addition to some former players and community members who have been cited above, Monsignor Donald Strange, formerly of Our Lady of Assumption Catholic Church and now deceased, mentioned that the Garners could have provided better housing and pay for the players and that Herman Garner was thrifty when it came to investing money for the improvement of the theater. Monsignor Donald Strange, interviewed by the author, July 2, 1993.
61. I want to thank the countless Paduanos, Claremont barrio residents, *y mi familia*, who shared their stories with me. Thank you David Streeter and Susan Hutchinson of the Pomona Public Library for trusting me with the Padua Hills Collection, and Gina Castillo, Mike Davis, Robert Dawidoff, Miroslava Chavez, Laurie Glover, Anthea Hartig, and Margo McBane for their editorial remarks and support. Last, special thanks to Vicki Ruiz, who helped me through some very dark periods of this project, and continues to be a guiding light in my academic career. Thanks also to Ada Arensdorf for transcribing some oral histories.
- A. García, "I Work For My Daughter's Future," pp. 262-79.**
1. Respondents in this study used the term Mexican or Mexican American to refer specifically to individuals born in the United States of Mexican heritage. Chicana/o is used interchangeably with the term Mexi-
- can American. Hispanics in Latin America, to a degree, of Latin American or Spanish heritage, either born in the United States or abroad. In American studies, the term is used primarily by the U.S. Census Bureau as an umbrella term to identify all individuals who have immigrated from Spanish-speaking countries. This research project was funded by Santa Clara University Irvine Grant Term Professorship.
2. Ivan Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Ethnic Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Ivan Light, "Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in North America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7 (1984): 195-216; Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review* 38 (1973): 583-94; Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
3. Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America*.
4. John Sibley Butler, *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans: A Reconsideration of Race and Economics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).
5. Gilberto Cardenas, Rodolfo O. de la Garza, and Niles Hansen, "Mexican Immigrants and the Chicano Ethnic Enterprise: Reconceptualizing an Old Problem," in *Mexican Immigrants and Mexican Americans*, ed. Harley L. Browning and Rodolfo O. de la Garza (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, 1986), 157-74.
6. David L. Torres, "Entrepreneurship and Business Development: The Case of Mexican Americans," in *Working Paper Series of Mexican American Studies & Research Center* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1986), 1-21.
7. *Ibid.*, 10.
8. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Economic Census: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises—Summary, 1987* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991); U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Economic Census: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises—Summary, 1987* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).
9. Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1942); David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1961).
10. McClelland, *The Achieving Society*; H. Hartman, "Managers and Entrepreneurs: A Social Destination," *Personnel Psychology* 3 (March 1959): 429-51; John Hornaday and John Aboud, "Characteristics of Successful Entrepreneurs," *Personnel Psychology* 24 (Summer 1971): 55-60; James Schreier, *The Female Entrepreneur: A Pilot Study* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971).

- kee: Center for Venture Management, 1975).
11. Eleanor Schwartz, "Entrepreneurship: A New Female Frontier," *Journal of Contemporary Business* (Winter 1976): 47-76; Donald Sexton and Calvin Kent, *Female Executives and Entrepreneurs: A Preliminary Comparison* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University, 1981); Harold Welch and Earl Young, "Comparative Analysis of Male and Female Entrepreneurs with Respect to Personality Characteristics, Small Business Problems, and Information Source Preferences," in *Proceedings—International Council for Small Business* (1982), 2-10; Robert D. Hisrich and Candida Brush, "The Woman Entrepreneur: Implications of Family, Educational and Occupational Experience," in *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research Proceedings* (Wellesley, MA: Babson College, 1983), 255-70; Donald L. Sexton and N. Bowman-Upton, "Female and Male Entrepreneurs: Psychological Characteristics and Their Role in Gender Related Discrimination," *Journal of Business Ventures* 5 (1990): 29-36; R. Chaganti, "Management in Women-Owned Enterprises," *Journal of Small Business Management* 24 (1986): 18-29.
12. Candida G. Brush, "Research on Women Business Owners: Past Trends, A New Perspective and Future Directions," *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 16 (Summer 1992): 5-30.
13. Robert Goffee and Richard Scase, *Women in Charge: The Experience of Female Entrepreneurs* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985).
14. N.R. Smith, G. McCain, and A. Warren, "Women Entrepreneurs Really are Different: A Comparison of Constructed Ideal Types of Male and Female Entrepreneurs," in *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research* (Wellesley, MA: Babson College, 1982), 68-77; Robert D. Hisrich, "The Woman Entrepreneur: Characteristics, Skills, Problems and Prescriptions for Success," in *The Encyclopedia of Entrepreneurship* (New York: Ballinger Publishing, 1986); Brush, "Research on Women Business Owners."
15. Brush, "Research on Women Business Owners," 13.
16. *Ibid.*, 16.
17. Statistical data in this and the following passages is taken from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Economic Census: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises—Hispanic, 1987* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991); U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Economic Census: Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises—Summary, 1987* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).
18. Brush, "Research on Women Business Owners."
19. ASPIRA Institute for Policy Research, *Facing the Facts: Hispanics in the United States 1990* (ASPIRA Association, Inc., 1990).
20. B.R. Bergmann, "The Economic Risks of Being a Housewife," *American Economic Review* (May 1981): 81-86; Hartman, "Managers and Entrepreneurs."
21. Denise Segura, "Labor Market Stratification: The Chicana Experience," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 29 (1984): 57-91; Denise Segura, "Chicanas and Triple Oppression in the Labor Force," in *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender*, ed. Teresa Cordova (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, 1986), 47-65; Denise Segura, "Chicana and Mexican Immigrant Women at Work: The Impact of Class, Race, and Gender on Occupational Mobility," *Gender & Society* 37 (1989): 37-52; Mary Romero, *Maid in the USA* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Beatriz M. Pesquera, "In the Beginning He Wouldn't Lift Even a Spoon: The Division of Household Labor," in *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 181-95; Patricia Zavella, *Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
22. Margarita B. Melville, "Selective Acculturation of Female Mexican Migrants," in *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women* ed. Margarita Melville (St. Louis: Mosby, 1980); Romero, *Maid in the USA*; Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Zavella, *Work and Chicano Families*.
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24. Segura, "Chicanas and Triple Oppression in the Labor Force"; Segura, "Chicana and Mexican Immigrant Women at Work."
25. Teresa Amott and Julie A. Matthaei, eds., *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States* (Boston: South End Press, 1991).
26. Schwartz, "Entrepreneurship"; Schreier, *The Female Entrepreneur*; Charlotte Taylor, *Women and the Business Game: Strategies for Successful Ownership* (New York: Cornerstone Library, 1980); Claudia Jessup and Genie Chippis, *The Woman's Guide to Starting a Business* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1980); S. Cromie and J. Hayes, "Towards a Typology of Female Entrepreneurs," *The Sociological Review* 36 (1988): 87-113; Robert Goffee and Richard Scase, "Business Ownership and Women's Subordination: A Preliminary Study of Female Proprietors," *Sociological Review* 31 (November 1983): 625-44; Goffee and Scase, *Women in Charge*.
27. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Selected Characteristics of Women-Owned Businesses, 1987* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990).
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30. National Business League, *Minority Women in Business. A Report prepared for the U.S. Small Business Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Women Business Owners, 1981).
31. Amott and Matthaei, eds., *Race, Gender, and Work*.
32. Goffee and Scase, "Business Ownership and Women's Subordination," 633.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 632.
35. Robert D. Hisrich and Candida Brush, "The Woman Entrepreneur: Implications of Family, Educational and Occupational Experience," in *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research* (Wellesley, Mass.: Babson College, 1983), 255-70.
36. Goffee and Scase, "Business Ownership and Women's Subordination."
37. *Ibid.*
38. Robert D. Hisrich and Candida Brush, "Women Entrepreneurs: A Longitudinal Study," in *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research* (Wellesley, MA: Babson College, 1987), 187-89.
39. Goffee and Scase, "Business Ownership and Women's Subordination," 635.
40. *Ibid.*
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42. Hisrich and Brush, "Women Entrepreneurs."
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Richard A. Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1924-1941* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991), 106.

On Memo Luna, see Samuel O. Regalado, "Baseball in the Barrios: The Case of East Los Angeles following World War II," *Baseball History* (1986).

Ibid.

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Ibid.

Sullivan, *The Dodgers Move West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 18.

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Kevin Baxter, "Wins and Losses," *Los Angeles Times*, June 18, 1995.

Rene Cardenas interview.

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Louis Weisberg, "In Any Language, They're Still the Dodgers," *Advertising Age* (March 19, 1984): 16-18.

Mark Heisler, "Fernando's Path of Glory

Inside Sports (July 1981): 13-14.

31. Jarrín interview.

32. Johnson, "Cardenas," *Dodgers Magazine* (August 1989): 55.

R. Garcia, "The Origins of Chicano Cultural Thought," pp. 290-305.

1. For an analysis of the predominance and character of the Mexican American generation that suggests the crisis with the Chicano generation, see the following: Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Let All of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Mario T. Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Identity, Ideology, and Leadership* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Arnoldo De Leon, *Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: Mexican Americans in Houston* (Houston: Mexican American Studies, 1988); Richard A. Garcia, *The Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991); Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (London: Verso Press, 1989).

2. See James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), and Muñoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*. For a discussion on the role of intellectuals, see Ronald Berman, *America in the Sixties: An Intellectual History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

3. Stan Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 239-41.

4. Ibid., 241. For the issues of the sixties, see Judith Clavier Albert and Steward Edward Albert, *The Sixties Papers: Documents of a Rebellious Decade* (New York: Praeger, 1984).

5. See Mario T. Garcia, *Mexican Americans*; Richard A. Garcia, *The Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class*; San Miguel, "Let Them Take Heed"; Elui Carranza, *Pensamientos en Los Chicanos* (San Jose: Spartan Bookstore, 1968); Armando Rendon, *Chicano Manifesto* (New York: Collier Books, 1971); Ralph Guzman, "Chicanos in the United States," in *Hispanics and Grantmakers: A Special Report of Foundation News* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foundations, Inc., 1981); Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972); Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); Alex M. Saragoza, "The Significance of Recent Chicano-related Historical Writings: An Appraisal," *Hispanic Affairs* 1 (1987): 24-62; Thomas Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism," *Aztlan* 2 (Spring 1971): 7-21; Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio as Internal

Colon," *Urban Affairs Annual Review* 16 (1972): 467-9; Alexander Nehamas, *Voluntarism: An Inquiry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1965); David Conte, *Frantz Fanon* (New York: The Viking Press, 1970); and Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965).

6. See Pierre Bourdieu, "The Role of Intellectuals in The Modern World," *1971-1980*, 109; for an interesting discussion on reality, see Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Michael Irwin (eds.), *Exploring Reality* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

7. This section on Romano is a slightly altered section of an article published in the 1991 proceedings of the National Association of Chicano Studies. These themes are evident in all of Romano's major articles; Romano, "Book Review: North from Mexico," *El Grito* II (Summer 1969); Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans," in *Voices: Readings from El Grito* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Books, 1973), 30-42; Romano, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans," in *Voices*, 164-78; Romano, "Social Science Objectively, and the Chicanos," *Voices*, 30-42; Romano, "Minorities, History, and the Cultural Mystique," *El Grito* I (Fall 1967); Romano (ed.), "Goodbye Revolution, Hello Slum," in *El Espejo—The Mirror: Selected Mexican-American Literature* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1969); Romano, "Notes on the Modern State," in *Voices*, 532-42; interview with Professor Guillermo Hernandez, Spanish Department, UCLA, Spring 1987.

8. His theoretical concepts are evident from his M.A. thesis, "Aspects of Rio Grande Pueblo Cultural Stability" (University of New Mexico, 1954); and his Ph.D. dissertation, "Don Pedrito Jaramillo: The Emergence of a Mexican-American Folk-Saint" (University of California, Berkeley, 1963). Also, his theoretical background is evident from the theory courses he teaches at U.C. Berkeley.

9. Telephone interview with Romano, 20 March 1987.

10. Ibid.; Romano, "Book Review: North from Mexico," *Stanford Notes*, 1970; see the work of Jacques Barzun, *A Stroll with William James* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); George Herbert Mead (trns.), Anselm Strauss, *George Herbert Mead and Social Psychology: Selected Papers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 228-33; John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York: Peregrine Books, 1980); John Dewey, *Philosophy, Psychology, and Social Practice* (New York: Capricorn Books, n.d.).

11. Romano, "Book Review: North from Mexico."

12. Romano, "Book Review: North from Mexico."

- for a conceptualization that perceives "time" as being present-oriented, but not in a negative fashion, see Mead, *Selected Papers*, Chapter on "Time," 328-41.
13. See Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); telephone interview with Romano, 20 March 1987; Romano, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans," *Voices*, 164.
 14. Romano, "Social Science and Objectivity" in *Voices*, 33, 38-40; Gerald Berreman, "Caste in India and The United States," in James P. Spradley, et al., *The Nacireme Readings on American Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 164-72; see Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966); and Robert Wuthnow, et al., *Cultural Analysis: The Work of Peter L. Berger, Mary Douglas, Michel Foucault and Jurgen Habermas* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); see the works of Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict, especially Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), with prologue by Margaret Mead.
 15. Romano, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans," *Voices*, 164-78; Romano, "Introductory Comments," *El Grito V* (Fall 1971); for a discussion of "intersubjectivity," see Peter Berger, 21-76, in Wuthnow's *Cultural Analysis*; Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (New York: The Free Press, 1951), 15 (Emile Durkheim's actual term was "collective consciousness"). For Durkheim each individual drew sustenance from the community. See the excellent analysis by Dominick LaCapra, *Emile Durkheim: Sociologist and Philosopher* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).
 16. Romano, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence" in *Voices*, 172, 169-77. In this article, Romano cites Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales's poem, "I Am Joaquín," which ironically incorporates some of the same conceptualizations of "collective representations," but Romano claims that his ideas and original drafts were composed prior to Gonzales's poem; telephone interview with Romano, 20 March 1987.
 17. Romano, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence," *Voices*, 168, 166, 172.
 18. *Ibid.*, 176-77.
 19. See Juan Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors: Inquiry by Interview* (Austin: University of Texas, 1980), 265-87; Alurista, *Floriciento en Aztlan* (Los Angeles: University of California, Chicano Cultural Center, 1971); Alurista, *Nationchild Plumanaja* (San Diego: Toltecac en Aztlan, 1971); Alurista, *Timespace Huracan* (Albuquerque: Pajarito Publications, 1976); José Ortega y Gasset, *The Origin of Philosophy* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1967).
 20. All of Alurista's statements for this section are quoted in Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, "Alurista's Poetics: The Oral, The Bilingual, The Pre-Columbian," in Joseph Sommers and Tomas Ybarra Frausto (eds.), *Modern Chicano Writers* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1979), 117-32; and in Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors*.
 21. See a discussion of the Denver Youth Conference in Richard A. Garcia, *Political Ideology: A Study of Three Chicano Youth Groups* (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1976), and in Carlos Muñoz, Jr., a copy of the Plan de Aztlan (Muñoz, 77).
 22. See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).
 23. Alurista, *Floriciento*, 40.
 24. See Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1962). Alurista uses the same perspectives and categories of analysis as suggested by Octavio Paz. See Octavio Paz (translated by Ruth L.C. Simms), *The Bow and the Lyre; The Poem; The Poetic Revolution; Poetry and History* (Austin: University of Texas, 1987), first published in Mexico in 1956. For a discussion of scholastic thought, see Etienne Gilson, *The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas* (New York: Dorset Press, n.d.).
 25. I shared an office with Alurista at San Diego University where we both were assistant professors in the Chicano Studies Department in the turbulent years of 1969 and 1970. During this time, I had many conversations with him and with other Chicano professors, nationalists, Marxists, and students about Alurista's writings. With Alurista, I discussed *aztlan*, nationalism, politics, etc.
 26. Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors*, 273.
 27. *Ibid.*, 275.
 28. *Ibid.*, 276.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicanos' Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972); Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, Second Edition (New York: Harper & Row, 1981); Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, Third Edition (New York: Harper & Row, 1988). See Acuña's comments on the intention of having his texts capture the times, in Tatcho Mindiola, et al., *A Chicano History Symposium* (Houston: Mexican American Studies, No. 3., 1982), 20-21.
 31. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1955). See Acuña's three texts; each introduction directly and indirectly makes mention of this sense of colonization being almost endemic to the impoverished Mexican American communities. It is this nuance that I translate into the "colonized communal will." Also, see Rudolfo Acuña, "The Making of Occupied America," in Mindiola, et al., *A Chicano History Symposium*, 14-27; also see Arnoldo De Leon's remarks about the continuation of the "colonized will" in the *Symposium* text 31-32. Acuña sees it more as a combination of *Amor Propio* (self-esteem), along with a feeling of "collective responsibility to our fellow workers," *Occupied America* (2nd ed.).
 32. The colonized will is intended to present what Acuña calls the community that is "inner directed" (the "colonial colonized will"); rather than "being directed from without" (this is the "liberal will"); *Occupied America* (1st ed.), 277.
 33. Philip Wheelwright, *Metaphor and Reality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 155.
 34. *Ibid.*, 154-57.
 35. Acuña, "Making of Occupied America," 17.
 36. *Ibid.* Also, Max Martinez mentions these influences on Acuña; see Max Martinez, "Rodolfo Acuña: Scholar/Activist" in Mindiola, *Symposium*, 12. Also see Ricardo Romo's references to these influences in "Reconstruction of Chicano History: Acuña's *Occupied America*," in *Symposium*, 35-36.
 37. Martinez, "Acuña," 9-13. (Also see the whole *Symposium* issue. It includes an analysis of Acuña's work by professors Arnoldo De Leon, Max Martinez, Tatcho Mindiola, Ricardo Romo, and Emilio Zamora.) For the basis of my connections of Acuña to Rousseau, see Alan Ritter and Julia Conaway Bondanella (eds.), *Rousseau's Political Writings* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Of The Social Contract* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984); Christopher Norris, *Derrida* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 97-141.
 38. Acuña, "The Making of Occupied America," 17-18. Acuña has acknowledged his intellectual debt to progressive historians Becker and Beard. Also, Max Martinez and Ricardo Romo have made references to them as being influential on Acuña. See these comments in Mindiola's *Symposium*. Also see J. H. Hexter's excellent analysis of Beard and Becker in J.H. Hexter, *On Historians: Reappraisals of Some of the Masters of Modern History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 13-41. Interestingly, a *symposium*

and a publication were completely devoted to a text that has been constantly criticized by Chicano intellectuals. It has been a "hate-love" relationship between Acuña and the Chicano intelligentsia. Ironically, Acuña was given the Outstanding NACS Scholar Award at the 1989 National Association for Chicano Studies Meetings.

Norris, *Derrida*, 98.
Acuña, "The Making of Occupied America," 14-27.

Ibid., 20-21.

Ibid., 20; Saragoza, *Historical Writings*, 30. Saragoza, *Historical Writings*, 24-62.

See the changes in Acuña's subtitles in the different editions.

Acuña, *A Community Under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River, 1945-1975* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies, 1984), preface.

Acuña, *Occupied America* (3rd ed.), 320-21. John R. Chavez, *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 1-2.

Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950); Acuña, *Making of Occupied America*, 21, 26. Here, Acuña states it quite succinctly: "I wanted to do just one thing in *Occupied America*, just show the feelings of the people. I think that in history, you have to show feelings. Life cannot be reduced to paradigms; we feel, we hurt and we are human. Unfortunately, many historians forget that to understand history, we must feel it. From the reaction to *Occupied America*, I achieved my purpose. The lay public loved it, it moved many to begin to question the compromised history taught in the schools. It was never accepted by the Chicano intellectual class. Acuña hoped that his work would 'evoke a feeling of indignation.'"

Acuña, "The Making of Occupied America," 19-20.

Acuña, *Occupied America* (1st ed.), 275.

Acuña, *Occupied America* (2nd ed.), Chapter 11; (3rd ed.), Chapter 9, Chapter 11; (1st ed.), 277. (3rd ed.), xi.

Rodolfo Acuña, "'La Generación De '68': Unfulfilled Dreams," *Concepción de Aztlan* 1 (November 1981): 6-7. (This "premier issue" is in the UCLA Chicano Studies Library.)

Ibid., Acuña, *Occupied America* (3rd ed.), ix-xii, 448-51.

Norris, *Derrida*, 97.

Acuña, *La Generación De '68*, 6.

Acuña, *Occupied America* (2nd ed.), ix. Acuña, *La Generación De '68*, 6-7. Acuña, "Making of Occupied America," 19.

Paz, *The Book*, 170.

Ritter, *Reussens Writings*, 228.

For citations see footnotes 1 and 2.

59. I presented sections of this paper at the Santa Barbara Conference, and this paragraph is from the conference program. See Ramon Saldivar, *Chicano Narratives: The Dynamics of Difference* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); José David Saldivar, "The Limits of Cultural Studies," *American Literary History* 2 (1990): 251-66; Hector Calderon and José David Saldivar (eds.), *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Juan Bruce-Novoa, *Retrospace: Collected Essays on Chicano Literature* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1990); Ramon Saldivar, "Narrative, Ideology, and the Reconstruction of American Literary History," 11-20, in Calderon and Saldivar. See the article by Angie Chabram, "Conceptualizing Chicano Critical Discourse," 127-48, in Calderon and Saldivar. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); especially see Stuart Hall's discussion, 35-73. See the discussion with Jameson and Eagleton in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, 347-60, 619-32; see J. Saldivar, 19, for R. Saldivar's use of Williams. Throughout *Chicano Narrative*, Saldivar accepts the historical perspectives of Acuña, Romo, Barrera, and others without deconstructing them. He accepts, in addition, Acuña's Chicano "sense of presence." This sense of presence is an inner tracing that is at the core of the text. For example, see his comments on Richard Rodriguez, 169, although they are within Adorno's perspective. For a slightly different discussion, see Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Also see Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands, La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinster/Aunt Lute, 1987); Paul Tillich, *On the Boundary: An Autobiographical Sketch* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1966).

Fregoso, "Homegirls, Cholas, and Pachucas in Cinema," pp. 316-27.

1. The exception to this neglect by feminists is a new body of work by a recent generation of Chicana graduate students, including Keta Miranda of UCSC, whose research on Oakland's Da Crew girls' gang treats these adolescent girls as producers of meaning. Discussion of Chicana *cholas* and *homegirls* is also found in Mary G. Harris, "Cholas, Mexican-American Girls, and Gangs," *Sex Roles* 30 (nos. 3/4, 1994), and Joan W. Moore, *Coming Down to the Barrio: Homeboys and Homegirls in Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

2. Taken from the introduction to *Chicana Women: The Home and the Market: Words to Live About*, Carla Trujillo, editor (Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1991).

3. Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," *Social Text* 25/26 (1994): 7-90, 81.

4. Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2nd printing, 1991), 122.

5. *Ibid.*, 122-24.

6. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 75.

7. Fraser, *Unruly Practices*, 122-29.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Jean Franco, "Beyond Ethnocentrism: Gender, Power and the Third-World Intelligentsia," *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 503-515, 507.

10. Laura del Fuego, *Maravilla* (Encino, California: Floricanto Press, 1989). See also, Mary Helen Ponce, *The Wedding* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1989).

11. Rosa Linda Fregoso, *The Bronze Screen: Chicana and Chicano Film Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

12. The main political difference between the films is that of point of view. *Colors* is told from the perspective of law enforcement officers, whereas *Zoot Suit* is told from the point of view of Chicano *pachucos*.

13. Fregoso, *The Bronze Screen*, 133-34.

14. Fregoso, "Hanging the Homegirls in Allison Anders' *Mi Vida Loca*," *Cineaste* 21 (forthcoming).

15. I initially wrote a positive review that aired on National Public Radio's "Latino USA," during the summer of 1994. Favorable reviews were published in the May/June 1994 issue of *Ms.* (Michele Kort, "Filmmaker Allison Anders: Her Crazy Life"); in the August 1994 issue of *Latin Style* (Abel Salas, "Allison Anders Discusses *Mi Vida Loca*"); and in *Elle* (B. Ruby Rich, "Babes in Gangland"). See also, B. Ruby Rich, "Slugging it Out for Survival," *Sight and Sound* (London), April 1995, 14-17.

16. Kevin Thomas, "The Road to 'Mi Vida Loca' Paved with Good Intentions," *Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 1994; Pat Dowell, "Poor Creatures," *In These Times*, August 8, 1994; Rose Arrieta, "Outside Looking In," and Susan Gerhard, "True Colors," both in *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, August 3, 1994.

17. See the negative reviews cited above.

18. See Jill Sharer, "Gang Girls on Attitude, Reality and *Mi Vida Loca*," *TV World*, July 22, 28, 1994; Liela Cobo-Hanlon, "Another Side of the Crazy Life," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1994.

19. See Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," *Frame*, 36 (1989): 68-81.

Chacón, "Quetzalcoatl in San Jose," pp. 328-39.

1. *San Jose Mercury News*, February 26, 1991.
2. Gregorio Mora Torres, "Los Mexicanos de San Jose, California: Life in a Mexican Pueblo, 1777-1846," 1-8, paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, California State University, Fullerton, August 11, 1994; Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 20-42, 137-38, 195-200.
3. Blanca Alvarado to Roger Cryer, chair, Parks and Recreation Commission, August 18, 1992, Blanca Alvarado records. The letters, memorandums, and documents that are cited are located in Alvarado's office, hereinafter cited BAR. I would like to thank Vice Mayor Alvarado and especially her aide, Eddie García, for providing access to these documents and letters.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Frank M. Taylor, executive director, Redevelopment Agency of San Jose, to Redevelopment Agency Board, November 3, 1992, BAR.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Ellen Oppenheim, director, Convention and Cultural Affairs Department, to the Mayor and City Council, October 21, 1992, BAR. For artistic reasons, the city council accepted Graham's request to use cast stone instead of bronze and to downsize the sculpture to thirteen feet at the base and ten feet in height. See Dorothy Burkhart, "Cast in Stone," *San Jose Mercury News*, West section, November 6, 1994.
8. "Plumed Serpent: Questions & Answers," Info for Plumed Serpent Hearing, December 3, 1992, San Jose Redevelopment Agency, Item 7a, BAR.
9. Burkhart, "Cast in Stone," 16.
10. *Ibid.*, 11; Ellen Oppenheim to the Mayor and City Council, October 21, 1992, BAR.
11. *Ibid.*; "Plumed Serpent: Questions and Answers," December 3, 1992, BAR.
12. "Amended Order of Business, San Jose Redevelopment Council Chambers," December 3, 1992, BAR. In a memorandum to the Redevelopment Agency Board, a month earlier, Frank M. Taylor, executive director of the Redevelopment Agency, had recommended that the Redevelopment Agency Board adopt a resolution approving funding of the Quetzalcoatl project. See Taylor to Redevelopment Agency Board, November 3, 1992, BAR.
13. *San Jose Mercury News*, "Serpent Wars", editorial by Joe Rodriguez, September 19, 1993.
14. Executive Summary, Redevelopment

Agency Board Meeting, "December 3, 1992, BAR.

15. Anonymous letter to Mayor Susan Hammer and the San Jose City Council, December 3, 1992, BAR. The letters to Mayor Hammer and the city council include views that are different from those published in the *San Jose Mercury News*, in the section of letters to the editor. The letter cited and others that will follow are less restrained in content and express views that otherwise would not be stated in the press. The authors perhaps assumed that the readership of these letters was limited to council members and their staffs and not for public consumption. I had access to these letters on the condition that I not cite the authors' names. These letters are housed in Alvarado's office. In 1990, former Mayor Tom McEnery spearheaded a drive to install a statue of Thomas Fallon at Plaza Park. The statue of Fallon, seated on his horse and raising the American flag, represented U.S. control over San Jose during the Mexican War. Chicanos strongly opposed the statue, which they maintained was a symbol of American imperialism in the West, and as a compromise, the Fallon statue will be installed at another centrally located park only after four pieces of art commemorating people of color are in place. The Quetzalcoatl sculpture was to be the first of such artworks.
16. Wayne K. Tanda, director, Streets and Parks, to the Mayor and City Council, September 17, 1993, BAR.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Ellen Oppenheim to the Mayor and City Council, August 20, 1993, BAR.
19. Mayor Hammer and Vice Mayor Alvarado to Rules Committee, September 14, 1993, BAR.
20. Ellen Oppenheim to the Mayor and City Council, August 1993, BAR.
21. Of the thirty-four letters that I read at City Hall, only 3 were written by Chicanos/Latinos.
22. Anonymous letter to City Council, September 7, 1993, BAR.
23. Anonymous letter to City Council, September 13, 1993, BAR.
24. Anonymous letter to Mayor Hammer, September 17, 1993, BAR.
25. Anonymous letter to Blanca Alvarado, September 7, 1993, BAR.
26. *Chicago Tribune*, October 10, 1993.
27. Thomas R. Aidala, secretary of Urban Design Review Board, to Frank M. Taylor, executive director, Redevelopment Agency, September 17, 1992, BAR.
28. *Chicago Tribune*, October 10, 1993.
29. *San Jose Mercury News*, September 17, 1993.
30. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1993.
31. *Ibid.*, September 17, 1993.

32. Roger Litwin to Rev. E. Cannistraci, no date, BAR.
33. *San Jose Mercury News*, December 26, 1993.
34. Interview with Eddie García, assistant to Blanca Alvarado, October 5, 1994.
35. Vicki Larson, "The Flight of the Faithful," *Hispanic* (November 1990): 18.
36. *Ibid.*, 18-20; Richard Rodriguez, "Evangelicos, Changes of Habit, Changes of Heart: The Crusade for the Soul of the Mission," *Image* (October 26, 1986) 27-29; Demetrio Martinez, "Hispanics and the Church: A Minority No More," *National Catholic Reporter* (November 2, 1990): 1, 13-14.
37. Larson, "The Flight," 22; Martinez, "Hispanics and the Church," 1.
38. Martinez, "Hispanics and the Church," 1.
39. Larson, "The Flight," 20.
40. Joe Maxwell, "Pentecostals Aid Mexican Immigrants," *Charisma* (April 1994): 72.
41. Larson, "The Flight," 19; Rodriguez, "Evangelicos," 37.
42. Larson, "The Flight," 19.
43. Rodriguez, "Evangelicos," 37.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Susan D. Rose and Steve Brouwer, "The Export of Fundamentalist Americanism: U.S. Evangelical Education in Guatemala," *Latin American Perspectives* 17 (Fall 1990): 43.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, 44.
48. *Ibid.*, 47. See also Margaret E. Crahan, "A Multitude of Voices: Religion and the Central American Crisis," in Nora Hamilton, et al., *Crisis in Central America: Regional Dynamics and U.S. Policy in the 1980s* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 229-30.
49. Anonymous letter to Blanca Alvarado, September 17, 1993, BAR.
50. "Free Speech Message by Vice Mayor Blanca Alvarado Aired on Radio KBAY," August 13, 1993, BAR.
51. Interview with Eddie García, April 20, 1994, BAR.
52. Anonymous testimony at public hearing of San Jose City Council, September 21, 1993, BAR. The statement is in the possession of the author.
53. *San Jose Mercury News*, October 6, 1993.
54. Notes taken of committee meeting, October 17, 1994. The author was a member of a committee established to organize the lecture and the dedication ceremonies.
55. *San Jose Mercury News*, November 19, 1994.
56. Burkhart, "Cast in Stone," 12.
57. *San Jose Mercury News*, November 17, 1994.
58. Ramón D. Chacón, "César Chávez Boulevard: Efforts to Suppress A Commemoration and Chicano Political Empowerment in Fresno, CA," *Latino Studies Journal* 6 (May 1995): 100-120.
59. *San Jose Mercury News*, September 17, 1994.



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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

WINTER 1995/96



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Milestones in California History—

“A Century of Good Roads”: The Centennial of the State Highway System

On April 11, 1895, a meeting was held in Sacramento at the office of the state surveyor to outline a strategy for planning a state highway system. Attending this meeting were the three newly appointed state highway commissioners, Marsden Manson of San Francisco, R.C. Irvine of Sacramento, and J.L. Maude from Riverside. They had been selected by the Legislature under a special authorization creating the State Bureau of Highways and mandating it to map out a state-built and state-maintained highways system. The task of the three commissioners, who were the entire staff of the new bureau, was to identify the best routes for an integrated network of improved roads, to study modern road building techniques, to recommend funding for the system, and to report to the Legislature by the end of 1896. During the next eighteen months the commissioners, riding a buckboard, traveled over 16,000 miles locating potential routes. In November 1896 their report proposed a 14,000-mile network of twenty-eight major arteries and lateral roads “traversing the great belts of timber, fruit, agricultural, and mineral wealth within our State, connecting all the large centers of population..., reaching the county seat of every county and tap[ping] the lines of the county roads...to the fullest extent.” The work of the State Bureau of Highways, indeed, laid a solid foundation for our present state highway system.

For several years prior to 1895, county governments were the only public agencies responsible for building and maintaining public roads. However, most local funds went into bridge construction and upkeep, so little was left for road improvements. By the 1890s the problems had become so prevalent that a wide array of “good-roads” groups, led by well-organized and vocal bicycle clubs, lobbied state government for relief. This resulted in the creation of the State Bureau of Highways. Although the 1896 report was well received, the nation was in the worst economic depression of the century, and state officials were reluctant to make a long-term commitment to good roads. In 1899 and 1901, however, the Placerville-Tahoe Wagon Road and the Sonora-Mono Road (both former toll roads) were acquired by the newly organized state Department of Highways. Still, the highway system could not hope to become a modern network of roads without adequate funding.

As the automobile became a forceful reality by the 1910s, voters were becoming more supportive of good roads. Between 1910 and 1920 they approved \$73 million for highway construction. In 1913 motor vehicle registration became a state mandate, and registration fees provided badly needed funds for road construction. A gasoline tax in 1923 added another reliable source of revenue for road projects. In 1918 a breakthrough in transportation engineering produced the multiple concrete-arch bridge at Arroyo Hondo in Santa Barbara County, the first bridge designed by state engineers and the beginning of the state’s tradition of concrete-arch bridge construction, which won for California a national reputation for innovation and aesthetics in bridge design.



One of the highway commissioners poses in the buckboard, ca. 1896, over a wooden culvert under the roadbed. The commissioners recommended replacing such culverts with the more modern salt-glazed sewer pipe. Courtesy California Department of Transportation.

Other states in the 1930s had constructed a few limited-access, highspeed turnpikes in mostly rural areas, but in California this type of highway was fully integrated into urban and suburban roadways. In 1940 the Division of Highways, created in 1927, opened the Arroyo Seco Freeway, the state’s first freeway, in Los Angeles County. In 1947 the Legislature passed the Collier-Burns Act, which raised the tax on gasoline to fund an extensive freeway program. This, and an infusion of federal funds, helped launch California’s age of freeways (or as critics called it, the age of “freeway mania”) that lasted into the 1970s.

However, the adverse byproducts of freeway building (e.g., smog, suburban sprawl, compounded traffic congestion, and urban blight) had also become apparent by 1970. Problems produced by freeways were among the major reasons for the passage of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), as well as Federal environmental protection laws. The newly created California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) responded to these developments by adding a new division of mass transit and by including a number of environmental specialists in its planning staff.

What the future holds for the state highway system is unclear. However regrettable its bad effects, the system still provides a vital public service. Those who built the first system showed a pioneering spirit that won national acclaim for innovation and professionalism in highway transportation.

FRANK LORTIE, Architectural Historian,
California Department of Transportation

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SOUTH OF MARKET AND BUNKER HILL:

An Introduction to Neighborhood Histories

by Anne B. Bloomfield and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Gail Sansbury

by Kevin Starr

As the following articles suggest, South of Market, San Francisco, and Bunker Hill, Los Angeles, have much in common. If, indeed, the two dominant metropolitan regions of California can be said to exist in necessary symbiosis—reflecting the comparable relationship between Boston and New York, Florence and Rome, Kyoto and Tokyo, Melbourne and Sydney—then South of Market and Bunker Hill are the places in which disaffinities become affinities and contrasts become comparisons. In each city nineteenth-century urbanism left its most enduring legacy in these districts, and twentieth-century redevelopment embarked upon its most controversial programs.

Anne B. Bloomfield has researched and written a masterful essay; indeed, this essay now becomes the best single history of South of Market ever written. With the power of exacting research, Bloomfield has proven what most urbanists have merely accepted regarding South of Market: namely, this district represents the most comprehensive paradigm of San Francisco. More than any other neighborhood in the city, South of Market is the part that contains the whole: the one matrix that subsumes unto itself every successive layer of urban identity in the history of the city. Here indeed is the anchor district of San Francisco: the site of all of its early institutional life—churches, orphanages, schools, unions, hotels, and public institutions. Here is the residential district of its most diverse population, which Bloomfield traces with exacting scholarship, documenting not only its ethnic diversity but its surprising literacy and social resilience. Here in South of Market the newly emergent city of nineteenth-century San Francisco most completely and comprehensively realized itself as an

urban civilization valid on its own terms. The other neighborhoods of the city, in fact, seem practically empty—or at the least mere occasions for residence—in comparison to the rich life of hotel, union hall, shipping, industrial manufacture, government office, newspaper room, church, school and orphanage, and residential life that Bloomfield has uncovered.

Bunker Hill, by contrast, as chronicled by Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Gail Sansbury, did not possess the demographic or institutional inclusiveness of its San Francisco counterpart. It began more uniformly as a residential district of some ambition, comparable to the South Park dimension of the South of Market experience. Whereas the South of Market was uniform and level (at least after the removal of the Rincon Hill) and laid out in a very rational manner, Bunker Hill was huddled and montane, although it did show the same propensity to subdivide its city blocks with internally intersecting streets. In Los Angeles these streets eventually disappeared. In San Francisco they remain well-known city blocks and addresses. From this perspective, Bunker Hill was more truly a residential neighborhood in its first important phase, whereas South of Market was an urban district containing the full formula of the city. People lived and worked in South of Market. In the case of Bunker Hill, the emphasis was on living, with work being done on Broadway or in downtown on the other side of the hill. Primarily residential in nature, Bunker Hill went from Tory to bohemian in little more than a generation. South of Market, by contrast, never completely lost its industrial or its retail dimension. It began as a people's neighborhood and remained such for nearly a century.

In aesthetic terms, Bunker Hill spoke more directly to the needs of Los Angeles for a Greenwich Village or Montmartre of its own. Bunker Hill became the bohemia of Los Angeles, celebrated as such by novelists Don Ryan and John Fante and painters Millard Sheets and Leo Politi: an identity fulfilled in San Francisco not by South of Market but by the more picturesque Italian quarter of North Beach. Like North Beach, Bunker Hill emerges in the collective imagination of Los Angeles as its magical Left Bank. Although Jack London was born in South of Market, he found little charm there. When this district appears in London's fiction, as it frequently does, it is as the essence of industrial overcrowding and tumultuous proletarian use.

Each district, however, eventually emerged as the refuge of choice for single males and the elderly, who found in the inexpensive hotels of these regions the economic and psychological wherewithal with which to make a life. Each district became the object of "Redevelopment" at approximately the same time, with disastrous results—after long controversy—for those who had found home and community in districts City Hall and the planning establishment had declared to be marginal neighborhoods.

In this process of Redevelopment, Bunker Hill lost its identity almost completely. Even Angel's Flight, its picturesque funicular, was dismantled. South of Market, by contrast—because it was from the very start more of a comprehensive urban achievement—kept most of its essential formula intact. Today, post-redevelopment, Bunker Hill abounds in high-rises and corporate-style apartment buildings. South of Market, for all its transformations, still sustains a complex mix of residential, retail, hotel, government, small business, and light industrial uses in direct dialogue with its nineteenth-century formula.

If South of Market is the part of San Francisco that best embodies the whole, then the 1922 commercial structure known as the Builders' Exchange Building at the northwest corner of Mission and Annie streets, now the headquarters of the California Historical Society, perhaps best embodies the South of Market. Astertully, Bloomfield traces this site and its eventual building across a century of transformation and development. Today, the California Historical Society has become part and parcel of the renewal of the

South of Market area. To all previous aspects of the urban formula, a new and powerful element of identity has been added: culture and museums. Indeed, even as this issue goes to press, plans are underway possibly to bring the de Young Museum from Golden Gate Park to this region where now flourishes the Museum of Modern Art and the Yerba Buena Center, and where the Jewish and Mexican communities are planning museum developments. The Bunker Hill region, meanwhile, will soon be experiencing the renewal of the Angel's Flight Funicular, thanks to the efforts of Los Angeles attorney John Welborne. One suspects that the story of each of these urban areas, so comparable to each other and yet so different, has future chapters awaiting development. In the case of South of Market that future now includes the California Historical Society.



Dr. Kevin Starr, State Librarian of California

State Librarian of California Kevin Starr is the author of the distinguished California cultural history series published by Oxford University Press—*Americans and the California Dream*. The latest volume in the series, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California*, appeared in 1995. Dr. Starr is also a professor of urban studies at the University of Southern California and a member of the Board of Trustees of the California Historical Society.

A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood

by Anne B. Bloomfield

The new headquarters the California Historical Society occupied in the summer of 1995 is located at the northwest corner of Mission and Annie streets in the Yerba Buena Center area south of Market Street in San Francisco.¹ The 1922 commercial structure is known historically as the Builders' Exchange Building. It fills its 56x119-foot lot, and the façade reads as two stories. It is symmetrical, an entrance flanked by large display windows, with six "Chicago" windows above. This window wall is framed with Renaissance-Baroque ornament.

Here, the California Historical Society is in the midst of San Francisco's new cultural center. The main attractions opened recently around the corner on Third Street are the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Center for the Arts Galleries and Theater, and Yerba Buena Gardens. Moscone Convention Center, two major highrise hotels on Third and Fourth streets, half a dozen modern apartment complexes, and some office towers were built earlier. Still on paper are an office complex next door to the historical society, another new structure across the street, and the Jewish and Mexican museums nearby.

All this recent construction is born of the Yerba Buena Center Redevelopment Project, conceived in the 1950s, when redevelopment meant total destruction of "blighted" areas. Although the wholesale removal of people and neighborhoods no longer seems sociologically or politically wise, old holes like Yerba Buena Center still must be filled.

The California Historical Society's 1922 building is old enough to qualify as "historic," but the land it stands on has an urban history that stretches back 145 years to the beginnings of San Francisco as a city. The newly created neighborhood is actually the fourth significant change for the area. This article will tell of these historic changes.

EARLY SETTLEMENT

In its aboriginal state, the South-of-Market district was a sandy peninsula on San Francisco Bay. Its valleys and sand dunes extended barely east of First Street. The full eight blocks south from Market to Townsend were dry land only from Second to Third. Rincon Hill had two 100-foot-high crests, near Second and Townsend, and along Harrison Street between First and Second. Hills eighty feet high stood at Second and Howard, Third and Market, and Second and Market. Salt marsh interrupted Fourth and Fifth streets near Folsom and continued northwest almost to Market. The south end of the main shipping cove was at Rincon Point, located about Spear and Harrison. Half of today's South of Market lay under water. The historical society's new site, however, was forty to sixty feet above sea level.²

The initial Mexican and American settlement at the cove lay several blocks to the north of what is now Market Street. Settlers did not come south of Market until the Gold Rush. Beginning in 1846, the area was gradually surveyed and mapped in a street grid diagonal to that surrounding the original plaza, with large square lots, 275 feet (100 Spanish/Mexican varas) on a side, six of them to each "square" block. First Street received that name because it originally ran alongside San Francisco Bay, but now six blocks of landfill separate it from the water. Much of the fill material came from leveling the sand dunes.³

In 1849 the first known settlement of the future historical society area extended along Mission Street from First Street to Third. A tent city sheltering perhaps a thousand would-be gold miners, it was called Happy Valley for its sunshine, shelter from prevailing winds, scrub oaks, spring water, and carefree inhabitants. One residential "hotel," Isthmus House, is said to have sheltered James and Peter Donahue,



California Historical Society's new headquarters in the Builders' Exchange Building was occupied from 1957 to 1985 by Hundley Hardware. *Courtesy San Francisco Redevelopment Agency.*

founders of Union Iron Works, and the future Comstock Lode silver kings Flood, Fair, Mackay, and O'Brien. Merchant and city benefactor William Davis Merry Howard and his brother George also lived in Happy Valley in 1849. By the winter of 1849-1850 the name had become ironic. Happy Valley was then a deadly place, scourged by dysentery and cholera.

At first Happy Valley was isolated. The route between infant San Francisco and the old Franciscan Mission Dolores several miles to the southwest was so sandy that even a load of hay from the mission's fields required much time and money to deliver into the town. When Col. Charles L. Wilson constructed a plank toll road in 1850 from Kearny Street to Third Street, and out Mission Street to Mission Dolores, it increased adjacent property values. One was the 100-vara lot on which the historical society's building now stands, purchased on January 16, 1847, by Alcalde-on-leave Washington A. Bartlett for

the statutory fixed price of \$25. This city's first public transit opened in 1852 along the plank road. The service was the Yellow Line's "omnibuses," an eighteen-passenger variant of the stagecoach.

Real buildings began to be constructed, some of them prefabricated in the East and shipped around the Horn. W.D.M. Howard erected in the South-of-Market area some of the twenty-five houses he imported from Boston in 1849. The U.S. Coast Survey map researched in 1852 shows quite a few buildings along Mission Street west from First, near Second Street, and along Jessie Street from Second to Third. A large structure existed on the California Historical Society site. Yet Charles P. Kimball's 1850 San Francisco directory did not document South of Market's businesses and inhabitants.

In the early 1850s, while the sand hills in the vicinity of Market, Mission, and Howard streets were being leveled in order to fill the tidelands, the hills

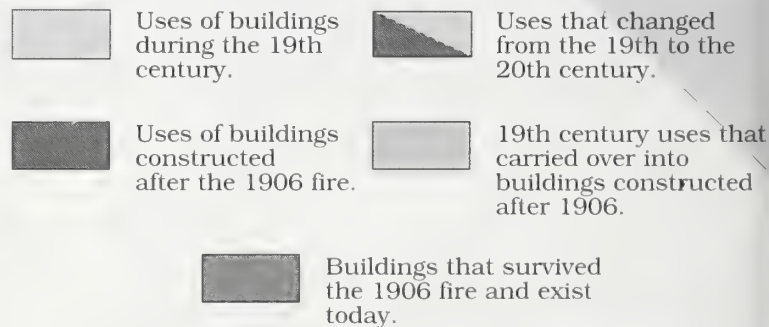
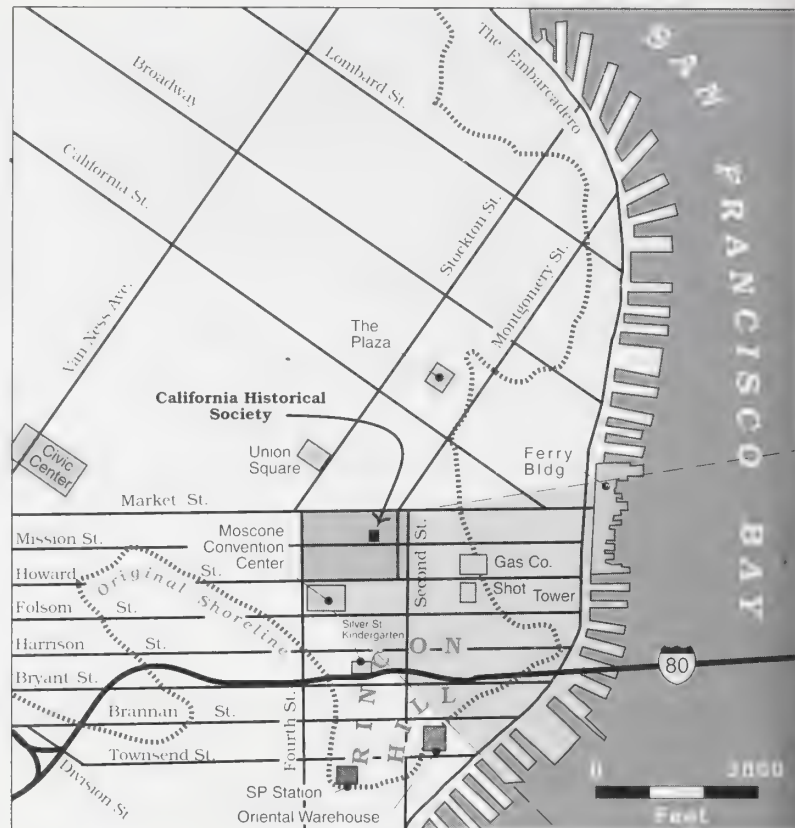
south from about Folsom Street remained in place and became a fashionable suburb, well documented by Dr. Albert Shumate in *Rincon Hill and South Park*. Early photos show hilly areas there, with widely scattered houses of some size, but smaller houses densely crowded in the flatter blocks on either side of Mission Street. Working-class families lived in them.

East of First Street, the area being reclaimed from the bay became industrial, beginning in 1850 with James and Peter Donahue's blacksmith shop and foundry, later named the Union Iron Works. More iron foundries followed, along with machine shops, boiler works, and other heavy industries. This activity was symbolized by the 200-foot-high shot tower raised in 1864 for the manufacture of bullets and shot by the Selby Smelting and Lead Company at the corner of Howard and First streets. It continued in operation until the earthquake of 1906.⁷

Two of the earliest institutions South of Market were orphanages, one Protestant and one Catholic. The former opened in Happy Valley in 1851, but in 1854 moved out in the country to a two-square-block site northwest of Market and Laguna streets, now the University of California Extension campus. The Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum was organized in 1851, two months after the other. In 1854 it moved into a fine brick building located on Market Street, southeast of the corner of Annie. It moved again in 1872 to a large site in the Bayview district.⁸

The earliest church south of Market was Howard Presbyterian, which opened a white wooden chapel in 1851 on a Howard Street site donated by W.D.M. Howard. In 1867 the Presbyterians sold the building to the African-American Third Baptist Church, and moved to the south side of Mission between Third and Fourth, where they had a 115-foot frontage. At one time the largest Presbyterian congregation in the city, Howard Presbyterian moved in 1896 to a third building on Oak Street opposite the Golden Gate Park Panhandle.⁹

The second church in Happy Valley, founded in 1851, was St. Patrick's, the third Catholic church in town after Mission Dolores and St. Francis of Assisi. Its 1854 building was a small wooden one on the



Features that existed only in the 19th century

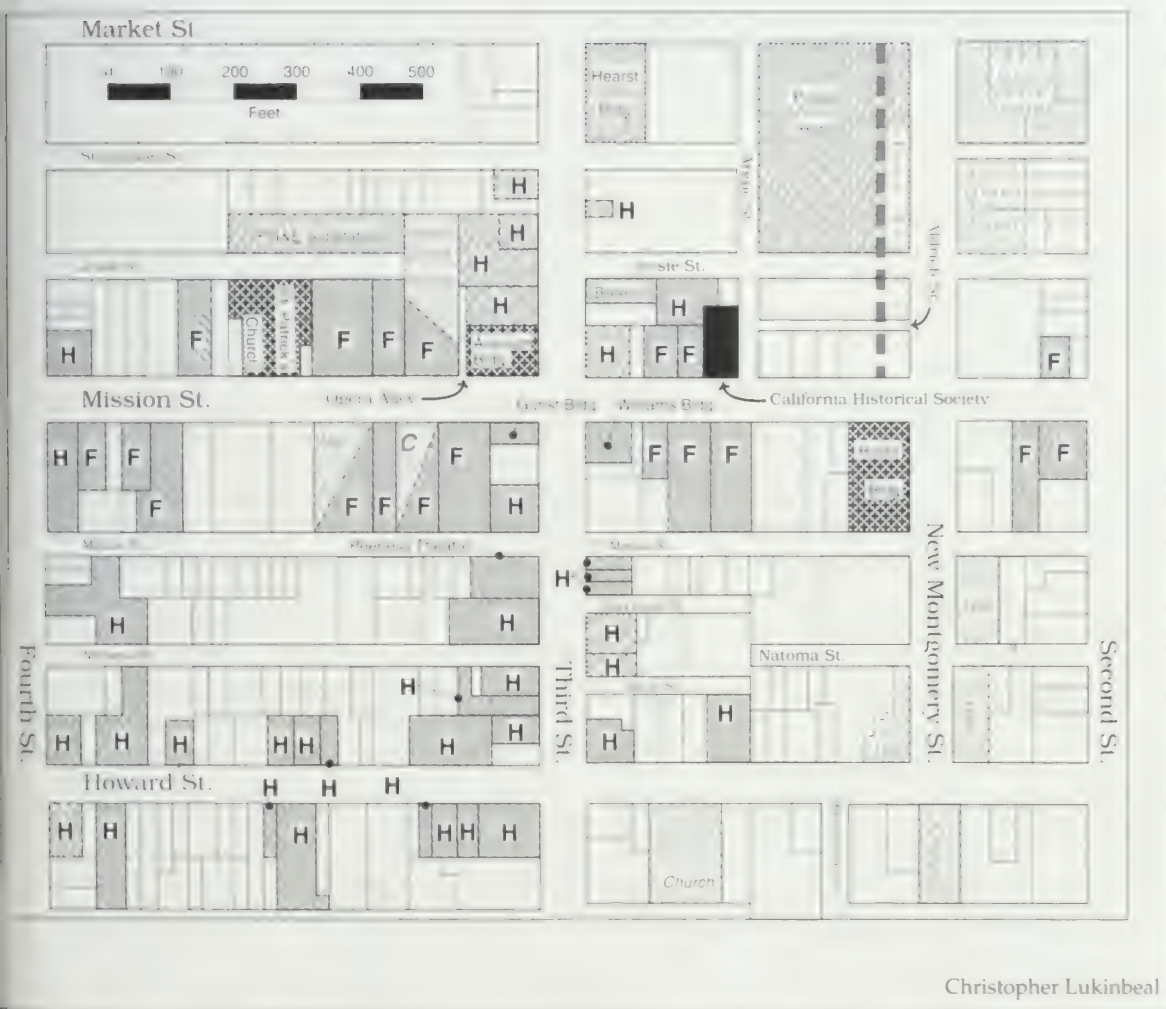
C = Church
Hall = Meetings, Drill, Dancing

Features that existed during the 20th century

F = Furniture Stores
H = Hotel, Residential

southeast corner of Market and Annie, next to the Catholic Orphan Asylum. The simple Greek Revival structure was moved for other uses in 1873 and 1891, and it still stands on Eddy Street. In 1872 St. Patrick's dedicated the new brick church building opposite Howard Presbyterian on Mission Street. This building also survives, serving the people of its neighborhood as it has for more than 140 years.¹⁰

Historical Map of the California Historical Society's New Neighborhood



TAR FLAT

Most workers for the industries lived west of First Street, in the three blocks south of Market. To provide more houses, the 100-vara blocks were subdivided by inner streets. Annie, Jane, Jessie, and Stevenson streets divided the California Historical Society block into nine sub-blocks. Along these inner streets, small houses sheltered the families of the

workmen, often with lodgers and/or backyard dwellings, flats, and outhouses.

A dominating force in the lives of neighborhood people was the Donahues' gas works. At the north-east corner of First and Howard the plant distilled coal to manufacture illuminating gas. It successfully introduced gas lighting to San Francisco early in 1854, over the years absorbing all competition and

re-incorporating in 1905 as the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E). At first, coal gas technology, less than forty years old, was quite primitive; distillation temperatures were too low to separate by-products. The sludge waste was dumped into still-open water at Fremont Street on the eastern edge of the plant's compound.¹¹

This sludge killed the shellfish and the industry that harvested them, and it spread such an odor that the neighborhood was nicknamed "Tar Flat." Workers living near Mission Street were in the thick of it. Mothers brought sick children into the plant compound, believing the fumes would cure whooping cough. The sludge reappeared a century and a quarter later, a three-to-five-foot layer of it, in the excavation for a new building in the former tidewater. Construction had to stop while special workers removed the still hazardous waste. Without environmental controls, the gas company continued producing the dreadful stuff until better technology recovered by-products and more gas. Also, by about 1867 the dumping had become complicated because the nearby tidewater had been filled.¹²

In this neighborhood of tarry smells and metal-working noise, worker housing filled every nook and cranny, and those who could afford to lived elsewhere. This pattern became evident about 1860, according to a census sampling from the blocks on both sides of Mission Street between Second and Third. Families lived there. Of the 75 households, 63 were headed by husband and wife, and two more by widows. There were only 34 children. Six families had live-in servants, but 25 households included boarders. Seventeen owned some real estate, usually their homes.¹³

Only three names in this 1860 census sample are familiar. Simon Koshland was a wool merchant whose grandson became president of Levi Strauss. Dr. R. Beverly Cole, member of the city's Board of Supervisors, later served as president of the local medical association and as head of the University of California medical school. Neither Koshland nor Cole owned real estate. Michael Skelly was an energetic proprietor of the Omnibus transit line and later superintendent of the North Beach and Mission line. None of these families stayed here very long.¹⁴

Others found in this area of Mission and Third streets in 1860 might be classified as lesser entrepreneurs. William Adams and George Prescott were lumber merchants. John Piper ran a grocery and liquor store, James Robertson, a bakery. John Gunn was captain of the schooner *Eagle*, and on the rear of his lot lived baker James Rowan. D.W. Patterson, sixty-four-year-old lawyer, boarded with Nancy Pat-

terson, an African American laundress who owned five hundred dollars worth of personal property. Lucy Burnham owned land, and William McKibbin owned the Eureka Iron Works. Skilled laborers included plasterer James Kearny, machinist George Coffee, caulker Warren Osgood, boilermaker Daniel Foley, master carpenter John Murdock, and drayman Eaton Morse.¹⁵

Many more residents were found on Jessie Street behind the California Historical Society site. Their economic status averaged lower than those of the families on Mission and Third. There were laborers Thomas Graham, Daniel Leonard, and Michael Hanna. David Roy was a carpenter and his fourteen-year-old son, a printer. John Clough was a blacksmith; Michael McCourt, a plasterer; Thomas Thomson, an artesian well borer; John Nelson, an upholsterer; Horatio Cross, a miner; William Quick, a machinist; Herman Ickelheimer, a special policeman and painter; and widow Elizabeth Denoe was a dressmaker. Two residents were part-owners of bottling factories. Patrick McCarty had no work.¹⁶

"Waterman" Thomas Clary lived at the corner of two inner streets. His occupation, long obsolete in this country, probably consisted of selling water from a cart to households unconnected to any central water supply or well. The need for such a service is demonstrated by the dates when water company records show their pipes were first connected to households on the east side of Third Street between Mission and Howard. The earliest connection was not made until September 1861. Two households were connected in 1862, one in 1863, four in 1864, and two more in the rest of the 1860s. In the 1870s four new connections were made, and eight in the 1880s. Of the thirty households, eight were connected to the water company as late as the 1890s, although some buildings had been constructed on this block before 1852.¹⁷

Commercial services to the residents concentrated at corners and on Third Street. Most shopkeepers lived in, behind, or over their establishments, and the 1860 census records give a clue to the kinds of stores to be found. Michael Doyle's saloon was at Third and Mission, and in the same building his landlord Thomas Vizard, a shoemaker, crafted new footwear and repaired old. Opposite was Lottie Popper's dry goods store. There were Frank Uhle's Queen City Market, John Cammett's New York Bakery and Restaurant, Michael Fagan's Empire Soda Works, A.T. Ladd's feed store, Mrs. Jeannette Harding's boardinghouse, and Binnis Marks's clothing store. Combined grocery and liquor stores were at the corners of Third and Jessie, and Mission and



From 1854, the San Francisco Gas Company distilled illuminating gas from coal in this plant at the northeast corner of Howard and Fremont streets. *California Historical Society, San Francisco*

Annie. Typically of nineteenth-century cities, residential, commercial, and industrial uses were all mixed together.

By 1866 Dr. Levi C. Lane, who was to found Cooper Medical College, the parent of Stanford Medical School, had established his office and residence a few doors west of the California Historical Society site. His office moved to the site itself in 1876, sharing with Dr. Richard H. Plummer, the school's anatomy professor, until 1899.

By the mid-1860s, South-of-Market institutions included the U. S. Marine Hospital on Rincon Point and St. Mary's Hospital on the south side of Rincon Hill. Smaller hospitals belonged to mutual benevolent societies, which collected dues to fund members' illness and burial expenses and to help their survivors. Usually centered around ethnic, fraternal, or military loyalties, these societies conducted weekly or monthly meetings that catered to the members' social needs and gave them a support group. German Hospital operated on the historical society's Mission Street block from 1854 to 1858 and at Third and Brannan between 1858 and 1876. British Government Hospital was east of First Street from 1852 to 1860. Italian Hospital was at Third and Folsom from 1861 to 1865. French Hospital on Bryant was operated by and for the long-lived *Société Française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle*, a pioneer health maintenance organization.

Church spires created the South-of-Market skyline. The Methodists began with Howard Street Methodist Church. German Methodists built on Folsom Street beyond Fourth. St. Paul's Southern Methodist started on Minna Street and about 1876

moved to a former Baptist church building opposite Columbia Square, the South of Market's only public park at the time. Central Methodist stood on Mission beyond Sixth, and Scandinavian Methodist on Harrison.

After St. Patrick's, the Catholics added St. Ignatius Church as part of what is now the University of San Francisco, on the south side of Market Street beyond Fourth. They also built St. Joseph's on Tenth Street, St. Rose's on Brannan, and a chapel for St. Mary's Hospital on the site of the western anchorage of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge.

Other denominations included Columbia Square (later the Metropolitan) Baptist Church at Fifth and Jessie. Episcopalians opened Church of the Advent on Howard Street opposite New Montgomery. St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran Church was on Mission Street beyond Fifth. Later came Congregation Shaare-Tefilah, Emanuel Presbyterian, First Universalist, the Disciples of Christ, the Mormons, and the San Francisco Spiritualists Union.

This variety of names, denominations, and ethnic affiliations belies the notion that Tar Flat was an Irish area. It was not unusual to find a single household with members from Scotland, Ireland, and Saxony. A given blockfront would have residents of several different national origins. In one 1880 census tract near the historical society site, for example, 330 inhabitants of all ages included over one-third born in California, most of them children; 23 percent were born elsewhere in the United States, 37 percent in foreign countries. At 18 percent of the total, Irish were the most dominant ethnic group in this census tract, but the German-Austrian group and the Eng-

lish-Scotch accounted for 6 percent each. There were also ten Scandinavians, six Canadians, one Italian, one Mexican, and six Chinese.²³

The Irish label mistakenly attached to the nineteenth-century South-of-Market district resulted, first, from sheer numbers; the area had no majority ethnic group, but the Irish were the most numerous minority. They dominated the bars and many labor organizations and ran the politics of the area. Most of San Francisco's nineteenth-century political bosses were of Irish extraction: David Broderick in the 1850s, and Bill Higgins, Sam Rainey, Christopher "Blind Boss" Buckley, and Martin Kelly in subsequent decades. Their henchmen were experts at stuffing ballot boxes and frightening voters.²⁴

Another force behind the Tar Flat Irish mythology was the anti-Catholicism deeply rooted in United States history. This prejudice widened the split between haves and have-nots, natives and immigrants, capital and labor, elite and uneducated, reformers and political bosses. Ethnic and religious intolerance played a part in the vigilante actions led by a wealthy Protestant merchant from Kentucky, William T. Coleman, in 1851 against Broderick and

others, in 1856 against Broderick's lieutenant, James P. Casey, and others, and in 1877 against Denis Kearney and the sandlotters.²⁵

Finally, after the 1906 earthquake and fire had destroyed the neighborhood, nostalgia writings concentrated on its Irish heritage. *The South of Market Journal*, a monthly published from 1925 to 1941 for the South of Market Boys political club, catered to those who had grown up there, especially Irish community politicians. *San Francisco Chronicle* columnists Edward A. Morphy (1916-1920) and E.G. Fitzhamon (ca. 1928) concentrated on the recollections of fellow members of the Irish community. What was chronicled became popular history.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1869 two major changes in the streets south of Market greatly changed the nature of the district. First was the Second Street Cut, which nearly leveled Rincon Hill's one-hundred-foot elevation of sand. The stated goal was to facilitate heavy goods traffic to and from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's docks and warehouses on the waterfront between First and Second streets (sole survivor of



Gray & Gifford's lithograph shows a bird's-eye view of San Francisco in 1868 with the passage to the ocean on the right. The opposing street grids can be seen on either side of Market Street. Along Howard Street, parallel to Market and two blocks south (left) of it, are smokestacks, then the Selby Shot tower at First Street. Between Second and Third are two churches; CHS's site is opposite the twin-spired church, one block closer to Market Street. Courtesy Society of California Pioneers.

the complex is the 1867 Oriental Warehouse near First and Brannan). The hidden agenda was real estate speculation. In spite of granite facing, stairs, and a bridge at the Harrison Street crest, the cut proved brutal surgery on the hill. The sand kept slipping and caving, endangering workmen and wrecking noble houses. Then the wealthy fled from Rincon Hill, leaving the whole South-of-Market area to working-class residents.

The other change in street pattern was the creation of New Montgomery Street. The block of Mission Street from Second to Third had been subdivided by two inner streets, Annie, next to the new California Historical Society headquarters; and Jane, almost equidistant between Second and Annie. The east side of Jane Street became the west side of New Montgomery, and the Palace Hotel occupies the former Jane Street right-of-way.

The developers' intention for the new street was to break through the barrier of the opposing street grids at Market Street and provide a southern outlet for Montgomery Street, the crowded financial center, which had ended at Market. One of the more responsible real estate speculations, this private project bought up all the properties in the vicinity from Market to Howard, opened the new street, and planned a uniform façade for all its buildings. The developers, adventurer-speculator Asbury Harpending and banker and community leader William Chapman Ralston, projected fashionable retail shops (diverted from Second Street) and a continuation of the Montgomery Street type of businesses. They also wanted the street to continue south from Howard to the water, but other property owners blocked it, and money did not buy legislative approval. The two blocks of New Montgomery could be cut because Ralston and Harpending's New Montgomery Street Real Estate Company owned all the land in question.

Much of this land had been vacant or held old houses. Harpending's memoirs called them "wretched buildings" and "so many backyards," renting at "a very poor return." Except for one parcel, he claimed to have bought eight hundred feet of Market Street frontage, two blocks deep, for less than \$500,000. At this time, the Catholic Church sold Harpending and Ralston its large parcel with the Orphan Asylum and St. Patrick's Church.

Important structures soon arose on New Montgomery Street. The Grand Hotel, at the corner of Market Street, dominated the vista from Montgomery Street. Its architect, John P. Gaynor, responded to the earthquake of 1868 by creating brick curtain walls around a heavy timber structural

frame, with iron strapping and all parts fastened together. Four stories tall and heavily ornamented, it contained fine shops and four hundred rooms. True to its name, the Grand ranked among San Francisco's top six hotels, along with the Palace, the Baldwin, the Lick, the Occidental, and the Cosmopolitan.

The southern end of New Montgomery Street was lined with three elegant brick buildings containing ground-floor retail stores and, on their mansard-roofed top floors, armory-drill halls for militia units. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Hall also had a second-floor space called Sanders Hall, for meetings of organizations like Swedish Society, Austrian Benevolent Society, Golden Gate Chapter No. 10 of Eastern Star, Lumbermen's Union, Shipwrights' Association, and Germania Club. The Olympic Club shared one building with the Commercial Yacht Club, rented the middle story to commercial and industrial tenants, and then sold it to the Third Regiment. The Armory Block had only two stories. These three buildings were the only ones designed according to the uniform-façade scheme that Ralston and Harpending had envisioned for all of New Montgomery.

The next important construction project was Ralston's Palace Hotel, occupying the same site as the Sheraton Palace today and including the previous sites of the Catholic Orphan Asylum and St. Patrick's Church. Ralston wanted the largest and most luxurious hotel in the world, and he spent five million dollars to build and furnish it. Its bay-windowed seven stories dominated the South-of-Market vista. Its open center courtyard, ancestor of the present Garden Court, and its fine public rooms and shops established a lasting attraction for first-class traffic in the neighborhood.

The middle section of New Montgomery filled up with auxiliaries to the hotels: livery and boarding stables, a blacksmith shop, carriage repositories, a horse market, gas works for the hotels, and a pedestrian bridge over New Montgomery. The U.S. Army Subsistence, or Quartermaster's, Depot, was on Jessie Street directly behind the Palace. At the corner of Mission Street, the New Metropolitan Market rented stalls to grocers, a dairy, and a sausage maker. Four of San Francisco's ten mineral water suppliers located on New Montgomery, as did two piano dealers.

On Mission Street between Third and Fourth, the new building for St. Patrick's Church was dedicated in March 1872. It was designed by Gordon Parker Cummings, one of the State Capitol architects and responsible for the 1853 Montgomery Block. After

the 1906 earthquake and fire, its walls were repaired under the direction of Shea and Lofquist, a new steel frame supported the roof, and the original 240-foot spire was cut down to the square-topped tower that is now the northern focus from Yerba Buena Gardens.³⁴

Between St. Patrick's and Third Street, another draw for the carriage trade was the Grand Opera House, seating 2,400 and claiming the largest stage in the nation. Although constructed for opera, the house often played vaudeville and was often dark. Even the elegant opening night on January 17, 1876, featured a combination drama and ballet called "Snowflake," performed by the Fabbri Company. However, the Grand Opera House went out in a blaze of glory, with San Francisco's second visit by New York's Metropolitan Opera Company presenting a wildly cheered performance of "Carmen," starring Enrico Caruso and Olive Fremstad. That was the night of April 17, 1906, and the blaze caused by the next morning's earthquake destroyed the Grand Opera House forever.³⁵

The opera house and luxury hotels created a market for some specialty shops in the first block of Third Street in the 1880s and 1890s. There were tailors, photographers, a glove maker, a jeweler, a silver plater, a costumer, a carpet dealer, and several milliners.

Mission Street had a dance hall, another costumer, a sculptor, two mirror and picture dealers, the Grand Floral Market, carriage supply businesses, and two undertakers.³⁶

In the 1870s, bedding and furniture businesses began to locate on Mission Street around Third and New Montgomery. Rents and spaces must have been suitable for selling bulky objects. The trend lasted through most of the twentieth century. City directories listed four furniture businesses in the neighborhood in 1871, five in 1875, fifteen from 1877 to 1879, sixteen in 1882, eighteen in 1886, thirteen in 1894, and fourteen in 1901. Other establishments offered mattresses and bed springs, lamps, mirrors, gilding, and curled hair for mattresses and upholstery.

The rise and fall of one business may be typical. The Indianapolis Chair Manufacturing Company was founded north of Market about 1876 by Frederick Rentschler, Charles Wollpert, and Jacob Schwerdt. By 1879 they had moved to the second block of New Montgomery Street and were growing. In 1885 the partners split up, Rentschler operating the short-lived Indianapolis *Manufacturing Company* on Mission east of Annie. Wollpert and Schwerdt became the Indianapolis *Furniture Company*, in a five-story building just beyond St. Patrick's and employing



Mission Street about 1903, looking east from Third, was acquiring solid business buildings. The six-story one beyond "J. Seidl Confections" is on the CHS site; its foundations may have been used for the present building. *Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*



Before the 1906 disaster, inner streets south of Market—here Natoma and Minna—were densely crowded with worker housing. This 1892 view looks northwest to the bulky Palace Hotel. Howard Street is off the photo to the lower left. At upper left is PG&E's smokestack on Jessie Street. A little below the halfway point between the smokestack and the Palace, two four- or five-story buildings face Mission Street. A lower building is left of them, then the space of Annie Street, then two small houses on the CHS site. *Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

about sixty-five people. A discount house that specialized in outfitting hotels and rooming houses, they claimed customers all over the West, and in Hawaii, Central America, and Australia. By 1894 Wollpert had incorporated the firm, and Schwerdt operated separately. After the 1906 earthquake and fire, the company continued in the 800 block of Mission Street until World War I.

TAR FLAT CONTINUED

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the tarry smell had dissipated through better technology, but the nickname "Tar Flat" persisted. It indicated an area of increasingly dense housing for manual workers, recent immigrants, and out-of-season migratory laborers. Roomers, backyard buildings, boarding houses, and residential hotels crowded all the spaces around, behind, and above the commercial uses. Nowhere could any of the former professional or middle-class inhabitants be found. One observer described the Third Street neighborhood in the depression year of 1878:

The scene is a long busy street in San Francisco. Innumerable small shops lined it from north to south; horsecars, always crowded with passengers, hurried to and fro; narrow streets intersected the broader one, these built up with small dwellings, most of them rather neglected by their owners. In the middle distance were other narrow streets and alleys where taller houses stood, and the windows, fire-escapes, and balconies of these added great variety to the landscape, as the families housed there kept most of their effects on the outside during the long dry season.

[The observation post]—was the highest of the tin-shop steps at the corner of Silver and Third Streets commanding a fine view of the inhabitants, their dwellings, and their business pursuits. The activities in plain sight were somewhat limited in variety, but the signs sported the names of nearly every nation upon the earth.

The Schubeners, Levis, Ezekiels, and Appels were generally in tailoring or second-hand furniture and clothing, while the Raffertys, O'Flanagans, and McDougalls dispensed liquor. All the most desirable sites were occupied by saloons, for it was practically impossible to quench the thirst of the neighbor-



The Silver Street Free Kindergarten stood on an inner street east of Third, between Harrison and Bryant, four and one-half blocks south of Market Street. Here Kate Douglas Wiggin viewed the neighborhood's activities and founded her own kindergarten. *California Historical Society, San Francisco.*

hood. There were also in evidence barbers, joiners, plumbers, grocers, fruit-sellers, bakers, and vendors of small wares, and there was the largest and most splendidly recruited army of do-nothings. . . . [I]n many cases the shops and homes . . . were under one roof, and children scuttled in and out, behind and under the counters and over the thresholds into the street.³⁸

The observer was Kate Douglas Wiggin, author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*. At the age of twenty-one, with a new kindergarten teaching diploma in her pocket, she "had a vision of how wonderful it would be to plant a child-garden in some dreary, poverty-stricken place in a large city, a place swarming with unmothered, undefended, under-nourished child-life." In September 1878 she became the founding teacher of her vision, the first free kindergarten in the West. Her Silver Street Free Kindergarten was located on an inner street off Third, five and a half blocks south of Market Street. Though a stranger to the neighborhood and culture, she soon enrolled fifty children under the age of six, and her success quickly became legendary.³⁹

Wiggin was not alone in seeing need among the multitudes south of Market. In 1870 the city government began to contribute half of the fines imposed for offenses, up to \$5,000 a year, to a charitable fund. Administered by the San Francisco Benevolent Association and augmented by private

donations, the fund provided such supports as groceries, meal tickets, lodging, and transportation to persons in want.⁴⁰

By 1880 the locations of public schools south of Market indicated that families with children had been moving away from the immediate neighborhood of the California Historical Society site, and to the southern and western parts of the district. Primary schools were found on Fifth, Howard, Silver, and Eighth streets, grammar schools on Fifth, Silver, and Eighth streets. There were also an ungraded school on Harrison and a "colored school" on Howard.⁴¹

Families left the immediate area because housing was being replaced by larger buildings commanding greater rents from commercial tenants. One type of such establishments was the residential hotel above a commercial ground floor. City directories of the 1870s noted "numerous small hotels, and about fifteen hundred boarding and lodging houses in the city. An unusually large number have been erected during the past few years—notably on Mission from Third to Ninth and on various other streets, especially south of Market."⁴²

This housing catered to single men. San Francisco had patterns going back to the Gold Rush of a disproportionately male population, of hotel living, and of laborers retreating to the city when winter rains preempted employment in mining and agriculture. The ranks of single workers included sailors, rail-

road builders, and other marginal or migrant laborers for various industries. They provided the human muscle power that industry needed. Between jobs, they hunkered down in cheap lodgings to await another chance to earn money, or else they tramped and rode the rails looking for work.

By the late 1870s, South of Market contained nearly a third of San Francisco's boarding houses and half its lodging houses. Occupying a minimal entrance on the ground floor, most had been constructed as hotels-over-commercial so as to fill out the whole lot space on each floor and maximize the number of rooms. Some carried names to attract particular segments of the working population: New Continental Hotel, Union Hotel, America House, Montana House, St. David's House, Light House. Of the 133 boarding or lodging houses between First and Fourth, and Market and Howard streets, ninety-eight, or 74 percent, were run by women. The 133 accounted for 17 percent of the city's boarding or lodging houses in 1879.

A study of the 1900 census shows an intensification of single workers living in lodgings around the historical society's new site. In a sample of about seventy households containing 400 to 500 persons, all but two of the households had absentee landlords. Sixteen of them (24 percent) included children in the head family; five lodgers also had children. The sample was 93 percent adults and working teenagers. Of these, 83 percent were male, and 3 percent were Sisters of Charity at St. Vincent's Catholic School, across the street from the California Historical Society site. Overall, the adults and working teenagers were 60 percent single; 9 percent were widowed or divorced; and 31 percent were married; but one third of the married persons were living apart from their spouses.

Half the sample group were foreign-born; 21 percent were born in California; and 29 percent came from elsewhere in the United States. Only 10 percent were natives of Ireland. More (12 percent) were German. The rest of continental Europe produced another 12 percent. Canada and England were originally home to 4 percent and 6 percent respectively. There were eighteen African American individuals (4 percent), seven Japanese, five Chinese, and three Mexicans. Distribution of birthplaces within the United States now differed markedly from San Francisco's first couple of decades. Only 4 percent came from New England, 5 percent from New York, and 3 percent from the South; 10 percent had come from the upper Midwest.

In spite of the large foreign-born population, 99 percent of the neighborhood's residents sampled

were recorded as speakers of English. The remainder were three Japanese and two wives who did not work outside their homes. The educational level was also remarkable: 99 percent of the people could read and write.

The workforce in this 1900 sample was low on the economic scale. Five per cent of them had been unemployed the whole year previous. Another 17 percent had been out of work between one and eleven months. As for types of jobs, fully two-thirds were skilled or unskilled workers. If the census had been taken in a heavy weather month like January instead of early June, agricultural and other migrant laborers might have been even more numerous. Clerks accounted for only 7 percent of the sample. The 14 percent who were small proprietors and independent sales or collection persons included sixteen lodginghouse keepers, ten saloon keepers, four restaurateurs, and a bathhouse keeper. The remaining 12 percent included lawyers (one unemployed for the whole year), accountants, musicians, teachers (the nuns), and photographers. A different study has shown great mobility in the whole South-of-Market population. In each of three five-year periods of the late nineteenth century, up to 21 percent of the population stayed at the same address, while 40 to 45 percent moved elsewhere in the city and 40 percent died or left.

The severe 1893 depression sparked increased charitable activities south of Market. The Salvation Army located a corps opposite the Grand Opera House, a children's home on Second Street, and a receiving home on Jessie. These did not last the decade, but the Salvation Army woodyard did. Here men could chop wood to earn a meal, lodging, or other assistance. Associated Charities developed another woodyard on Main Street near Mission. The Episcopal Church's Good Samaritan Mission on Second Street organized a school, a parish with a choir of neighborhood men and boys, a dispensary, mothers' meetings, a sewing school, a gym, a day nursery, and a home for working boys.

An 1894 directory of charities found quite a few south of Market. Newcomers included Pacific Homeopathic Dispensary, which treated more than one thousand patients, Central Gospel Mission, Sheltering Arms, and a mission to protect Japanese immigrant women. There were orphanages, a Catholic day-care center, and the job-oriented Catholic Youth Directory for homeless boys. The Lick Free Baths averaged 250 persons a day. Seven churches south of Market assisted some 1,200 individuals. St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's churches housed weekly meetings to deal with alcohol addic-

tion. On Harrison Street there were boys' and girls' clubs.⁴⁸

In contrast, the charities directory noted that 3,287 saloons paid for San Francisco licenses. The city also regulated pawn brokers. In 1879, only one of the 27 pawn brokers had located south of Market. By 1886, however, 13 percent of 30 such establishments were there, in 1890, 17 percent of 29, in 1899, 22 percent of 50, and in 1905, 17 percent (7) of 41 pawnbrokers. The decrease from 1899 to 1905 probably reflects an economic upturn.⁴⁹

FIRE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The earthquake of April 18, 1906, needs no description here. Eleven major fires started immediately in the South-of-Market district. With its old wooden buildings and broken water mains, most of the district was consumed in the first six hours after the quake. Elsewhere the fires raged for three more days. Residents who survived salvaged what they could carry, pull, or push, and fled before the fire. When housing was rebuilt, only single men lived in the California Historical Society area.⁵⁰

Immediately after the fire, most of the city was a giant field of rubble, with some brick chimneys and fragments of brick walls left standing. South of Market, two buildings had been saved by their dedicated employees: the 1870 U.S. Mint on Fifth Street and the new U.S. Post Office on Seventh Street. Burned-out shells remained in the historical society's area: St. Patrick's Church, the Aronson Building at the northwest corner of Third and Mission, the Palace Hotel, and the Rialto Building at the southwest corner of New Montgomery and Mission. These shells were eventually restored, except the Palace. The hotel had been built so strongly, and with such thick walls of brick, that it took 156 days to demolish the remains.⁵¹

While the reconstruction of lives, businesses, and buildings was everyone's first priority, some parts of the city were rebuilt more quickly than others. A map of new construction published one year after the fire shows the Italian quarter of North Beach solidly rebuilt. There were also concentrations along the fire's western boundary at Van Ness Avenue, near the Southern Pacific railhead, along the working waterfront, and in the financial district. A booster's product, the map recorded temporary buildings as well as burned-out ones slated to be restored.⁵²

In the South-of-Market district, the 1907 map showed more gaps than buildings. The two entire square blocks of and facing the California Historical Society site were more than three-fourths empty. The map indicates two small residential hotels on

Third Street and one small temporary building on Minna. Immediately west of the historical society site, a four-story brick building for office furniture sales was under construction, but the Rialto Building's shell had not yet been touched. On Third Street, workmen were constructing a new interior for the Aronson Building, and small buildings south of Natoma.⁵³

The years 1906 through 1908 saw forty-one buildings go up along Mission, Third, and Jessie streets, filling two-thirds of the parcels from New Montgomery Street to St. Patrick's Church. Half of these structures were one to three stories. The use patterns begun before the fire now intensified. Housing was constructed only in the form of residential hotels. Tall office buildings gravitated to Third Street and to New Montgomery, especially at major intersections. Ground floors were entirely commercial. Wholesale or office furniture stores concentrated along Mission Street. Third Street tenants included bars, restaurants, pawn shops, small clothing stores, Turkish baths, and a movie house. The Builders' Exchange leased a space behind the California Historical Society site, and other construction businesses located nearby.⁵⁴

By 1915, eight- to ten-story office buildings formed bookends for rows of lower buildings, but the new historical society site still stood vacant. This portion of Mission Street had many office furniture and related stores, and Third Street was almost solid with residential hotels above shops. The inner streets of Jessie and Minna butted up against the rears of buildings on the major streets, and were the main addresses for more hotels, some power stations, and a U.S. Marine Corps Building. A few scattered lowrise buildings housed machine shops and the like. The new Palace Hotel had been completed, but its service ramp at Jessie and Annie behind the California Historical Society may be from the original hotel. St. Patrick's was reconstructed about 1910. The Grand Opera House site was occupied by a five-story factory and store for wood and willow wares. Office towers included the Rialto Building at New Montgomery and Mission and the Gunst, Wilson, and Aronson buildings at Mission and Third.

Of all these structures, those east of Annie Street and the Aronson and Williams office skyscrapers survive to this day, but the Gunst Building at the southwest corner of Mission and Third streets has given way to a fraction of the Center for the Arts Galleries. The only other survivors are St. Patrick's Church, the Jessie Street Substation, the slightly later California Historical Society headquarters building, and two buildings behind it on Jessie Street.⁵⁵



By 1908, Mission Street, looking east, was almost entirely rebuilt, but at the far left a fence protects the vacant CHS site. Signs advertised Sloan's furniture warehouse, Fuller Desk Company, and McCloskey Mattresses. *California Historical Society, San Francisco.*

Ownership of this area was stable during the years of post-fire reconstruction. Realty companies, trusts, and investment companies held a large share of the land. Individual landholders included Comstock silver heir James Leary Flood, Harbor Commissioner Thomas S. Williams, and Frederick Kohl, better known for the office building at Montgomery and California streets and for a mansion in the town of Burlingame. A number of women also owned property here: Theodosia Grace, Margaret Skelly, Malvena Gallatin, Rebecca Deane, and others. Only three companies owned their own buildings: PG&E had the substation, the proprietor of the *California Demokrat* owned its printing plant, and the Thomas Day Company owned its lighting fixture factory.

Some ownership took the form of estates left by substantial property owners and maintained as independent companies, often incorporated. Parcels near the California Historical Society belonged to the estate companies of Robert Thompson, Patrick Burns, Charles Meyer, and John H. Baird. Five large parcels belonged to the Sharon Estate Company, formed after William Sharon's death in 1885. Sharon

and his partner, William C. Ralston, had bought Harpending's share of the New Montgomery Real Estate Company and had built the Palace Hotel. Hours before his death, the financially pressed Ralston had been forced to entrust all his property to Sharon. Thus the post-1906 Sharon Estate parcels dated back to the creation of New Montgomery Street in the 1860s.

Adept at managing money and property, these owners built for the long term. Many went beyond city requirements for "fireproof" buildings, and some hired the region's most noted architects. Flood replaced the Grand Opera House with a factory-store designed by Albert Pissis, who was also constructing the Flood Building for him, and for other clients, the Mechanics' Institute, the old White House store (now a garage), and a building opposite St. Patrick's. The Reid Brothers were architects of the City/Jessie Hotel, as well as of the Fairmont Hotel, First Congregational Church, the Music Pavilion in Golden Gate Park, and a dozen downtown business buildings. G. Albert Lansburgh, who would design the interior of the War Memorial Opera House, produced the now-vanished

office building at Third and Mission. Clinton Day, architect of the original Spring Valley Water Company/City of Paris building on Union Square, designed the Williams Building and the lost building next to the California Historical Society. Bliss and Faville, of the 1907 Bank of California and the Southern Pacific and Matson buildings on Market Street, did the post-fire reconstruction of the Rialto Building and the building where Breen's served thirsty newspapermen and contractors. University of California architect and department head John Galen Howard produced a lodginghouse on Third Street for the estate of sugar king Claus Spreckels. Innovator Willis Polk designed PG&E's Jessie Street Substation. These were the architectural stars of the area; only a little lower were Meyers & Ward, Henry Geilfuss, Shea & Lofquist, Hermann Barth, Crim & Scott, and William Koenig. Other architects came from less-famous ranks, and contractors planned some buildings.⁵⁸

Because these architects and owners were also rebuilding the retail and financial districts, this area's appearance harmonized with the Beaux Arts business districts that remain on and north of Market. The same compositional forms organized their façades. On low-rise buildings, a two-part form differentiated between changeable ground-level retail spaces and upper floors where the original design

would not be subject to frequent remodelings. Taller buildings organized façades as a column with "base" and "shaft," and the cornice as capital. Ornamentation defined the different sections by moldings, textures, window treatment, and sculptural pieces. Ornament derived from Renaissance and Baroque precedents served to unify the historical society area. Visually it read as part of San Francisco's commercial downtown.⁵⁹

The South of Market, however, did not match North of Market in uses. Here were no major department stores, fashionable boutiques, banks, or, except for the Palace, leading hotels. The owners did not anticipate such high-rent tenants, and they built accordingly. Average structure height also was lower here, and ornamentation less lavish. There were no domes, free-standing columns, or custom-designed sculpture. Yet, in comparison to the construction of recent decades, the post-fire buildings south of Market comfortably evoked a golden age of San Francisco's history.

It was still an age of public transportation. By 1913 all the pre-fire transit lines south of Market had been rebuilt, with electric power. They included routes that dated back to or beyond the early 1860s, along Howard, Folsom, and three of the numbered streets. The Mission Street route had commenced by 1871.



Mission Street, looking east from Fourth Street, retained its post-fire appearance through this 1952 photo. Of all these buildings, only St. Patrick's Church survives today. *California Historical Society, San Francisco.*



The Southern Pacific railroad station at Third and Townsend streets funneled peninsula commuters through CHS's future neighborhood to the financial district. Possibly San Francisco's finest example of Mission Revival architecture, the station was designed by Charles F. Whittlesey in 1914. *California Historical Society, San Francisco.*

Two more parallel and several numbered streets acquired streetcar lines about 1890. The number of lines reflected the density of population south of Market in the nineteenth century and funneled workers and customers into the downtown from outlying residential areas, including San Mateo County via Southern Pacific steam trains. The repetitive routes had been established by competing companies, but were gathered into United Railroads by 1902. This company rebuilt them all after 1906, and the company, renamed the Market Street Railway, maintained them until around 1940. Some of the routes still run today, now under municipal operation.

A STABLE HALF-CENTURY

For more than half a century after the rebuilding, the physical fabric south of Market Street saw little change. Tenants, of course, changed frequently, as the architects and owners had anticipated. The dominant strains in the vicinity of the California Historical Society's building were the office towers, the wholesale furniture businesses, the transportation corridor, the single male population, and the businesses and institutions serving them.

Working-class people lived in the residential hotels.

The 1920 census shows three residential hotel addresses in the sub-block bounded by Mission, Third, Annie, and Jessie streets, and twelve more in the first two blocks of Third Street. The number of residents in each hotel varied from seven to more than two hundred, and it averaged ninety-five. In a sample of 223 lodgers, 98 percent were male, 70 percent single, and none lived with wives. Only 12 percent were born in California, 52 percent in the rest of the United States. Scandinavians made up 8 percent of this population; Irish, 6 percent, English/Scottish, 5 percent; German speakers, 6 percent; other Europeans, 7 percent. Only five individuals of the whole group, about 2 percent, were born outside Europe and North America. Of only six women lodgers, two (ages 76 and 21) reported no occupation; the others were a seamstress, a waitress, a "saleslady," and a stenographer. Over half the sample group were in their thirties and forties. Some 11 percent were sixty or older; only 3 percent were under twenty.

Occupations varied from none (5 percent) to one each of civil engineer, physician, commission merchant, realtor, contractor, and oil company owner. Hotels employed 10 percent as clerks, bellboys, elevator operators, waiters, or cleaners. Some 34 percent were in skilled trades, 6 percent in semi-skilled, and



In 1929 a taxi driver waits in front of the Peerless movie theater on Third Street, while a long-jacketed policeman stands closer to Market. Mission Street crosses Third in front of the hotel with arched windows on the fourth floor. *Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

white-collar work occupied 16 percent of the sample, not counting the hotel clerks. There were five foremen, a surveyor, and three police or firemen. A sizeable group, 20 percent in addition to the hotel workers, belonged to the reserve industrial army: laborers, miners, seamen, farm laborers, loggers, watchmen, janitors, and a fifty-six-year-old "newsboy."

This reserve of industrial laborers formed a necessary but unacknowledged part of the overall economy. They were called up for developing the physical infrastructure of the West, for harvests, for labor at sea, and in wartime. The more of them that there were in competition with each other, the lower their wages. As long as they were available when needed, their employers neither knew nor cared what became of them the rest of the time. Between jobs, such marginal workers gravitated to cities, where the money they had made would stretch the farthest.⁶²

The businesses and institutions serving this population concentrated in two corridors. Third Street contained residential hotels, inexpensive restaurants, second-hand clothing stores, pawn shops, and places of amusement: saloons with gambling (until prohibited in 1937), a movie house, billiard parlors, Turkish baths, barber shops, and news and tobacco dealers. The other corridor, Howard Street, specialized in employment offices (men called it "the slave market"), missions for the needy, a sunny

sidewalk to stand or pitch pennies on, and various small industries unrelated to the resident population. The city's three barber colleges, all located nearby, gave free haircuts.⁶³

As the twentieth century wore on, employment opportunities lessened for men in the Third Street hotels. The depression of the 1930s increased the competition for casual jobs. City rebuilding was now completed. Highway building ceased or became mechanized. For agricultural labor, Dust-Bowl refugee families in old cars replaced the former "fruit tramps." Lumber companies adopted policies favoring more stable family workers. And the hard seasonal labor, often hazardous, with poor medical attention and diet, eventually incapacitated men for such jobs.⁶⁴

During the depression, relief agencies tried to assist, but the men generally avoided them as long as possible. The Salvation Army ran a woodyard, and the Volunteers of America, a community kitchen. St. Patrick's Church built a shelter for men, and Canon Kip Community Center arranged a special hotel rate. The Peniel and various other missions combined food and shelter with conversion efforts. The city's official shelter put up homeless men, and others were given meal tickets at cheap restaurants and space in flophouses. In the 1930s the State Relief Agency sent employable men to work camps in the country, and it turned away half of the families who applied for

relief, thus concentrating in South of Market the single men rated unemployable. In December 1935 one observer found hundreds and hundreds of men standing about, many full of the drink of despair and misery.

The residents had a different view. Peter Mendelsohn, a merchant seaman who moved to 74 Third Street about 1930 and later opposed redevelopment, recalled, "Life on Third Street was the happiest in the City. All the gambling was on Third Street, and there were houses of prostitution above Breen's Restaurant—people came from all over to eat at Breen's. This life lasted until 1937, when the city closed all the gambling joints. . . The South of Market was a working class neighborhood. . . The men were floaters; 40% were seamen, stewards, engineers and deck-hands; the rest waiters, maintenance men, and part-time longshoremen. . . People spent their days sitting, dreaming, who knows what? . . . They always lived in the same hotel, though, because you like to live with your buddies. Drinking, talking, gossiping, playing cards or dominoes, the people had a sense

of the neighborhood as their home. . . Most were friends, but a different kind of friend—casual."

The Second World War's military and civilian labor demands changed the characteristics of the neighborhood only temporarily. The single, unemployed men seemed to disappear—or were not traced—only to reappear after the war. One permanent change came from the mass migration out of the South, especially by African Americans, to wartime industrial jobs. Whereas the local census tract in 1940 was only 5 percent nonwhite, in 1950 it was 14 percent. This tract took in the whole area east of Third Street between Market and Mission Creek, including the U.S. Navy installation at Treasure Island. The military probably accounted for most of the tract's growth from 4,626 to 10,435 between 1940 and 1950. In the latter year the tract's civilian labor force was counted at 2,089, of whom nearly 19 percent were African American and 6 percent had Spanish surnames. These two groups had somewhat higher employment rates than the whites' 62 percent. Of the whole tract's population, includ-



Third Street, looking south from Market Street in 1936, was an exciting place full of stores, hotels, restaurants like Breen's, and commuters. Mission Street crosses at the three tall buildings. Courtesy Timbony Collection, San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.

ing the military, 10 percent were age sixty or over.⁶⁷

After the war, more retired persons were attracted into the community by the low rents, inexpensive services, flat terrain, sunny weather, and sense of community. A retired painting contractor, William Colvin, reported in 1965 that "most people don't understand, but let me tell you, a man can enjoy freedom here. All of us have many friends. To us, this has been a home for years. We enjoy life. . . Most of all there is something spiritual about all of this. . . We have something that couldn't be replaced with all the money the federal government could put in here. We like it the way it is. We want to stay."⁶⁸

The 1970 census paints a gloomier picture of the neighborhood, although the relevant tract covered a different geographical area, and its western reaches still contain inner streets full of small-scale residential buildings. More than three-fourths of the 4,832 persons counted by the census were male. Some 35 percent were sixty years or older. There were 390 families, 3,454 "unrelated individuals," and 3,329 single-person households. Median rent was \$62 a month. Of all persons sixteen years or older, 62 percent were unemployed or not counted as part of the labor force. Of those who were employed, two-thirds held service, clerical, or crafts jobs. The median income for unrelated individuals was \$2,734, or 26 percent of the citywide median, and 29 percent of these individuals fell below the poverty level.⁶⁹

For sixty years after the earthquake and fire, the area's small businesses continued. Along Mission Street most of them were wholesalers, light manufacturers, or servers of other businesses. Fashionable ladies did not shop here. Also absent was anything to do with automobiles, food, or finance, other than pawnshops. The only medical business was the Owl Drug Company's lab and warehouse, which stood at 651-661 Mission Street for a quarter-century.

Office or wholesale furniture occupied many stores over a long period. Most prestigious was Stickley Brothers' outlet for the Arts and Crafts, or Mission-style, pieces designed and manufactured by the brothers of Gustav Stickley, editor and publicist for the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States. Immediately west of the California Historical Society site, this business was listed only in 1914. Retailers on Mission Street included Goodman's Desk Exchange, Phoenix Desk Company, Harry Saltzman, Mauerhan Brothers, A.G. Frank, and Bernhard's, Inc. The Rucker-Fuller Desk Company advertised "Office Furniture and Equipment, Files and Supplies, School, Church and Theatre Seatings, Bank Courthouse and Library Furniture, Western Distributors Shaw-Walker Filing Devices."⁷⁰

Along with furniture came lighting fixtures and electrical supplies: Roberts Manufacturing, California Electric Construction Company, Frank Smith, and Incandescent Supply Company. Thomas Day Company, one of the few landowners occupying their own property, advertised themselves as "manufacturers of lighting fixtures and supplies, agents Cutler Mail Chute Co.," and they also sold andirons, fire screens, and art metal. Other furnishings were provided by curtain and drapery establishments like M.L. Dean and W.F. Cody. The U.S. Glass Company sold crockery and glassware. Himmelstern Brothers advertised "Manufacturers' Agents for Crockery, Glassware and Household Goods, Also Premium Distributors."⁷¹

Another group of businesses related to printing. Standard, Cronin, and Hoffman all offered blue-printing. There were a couple of regular printers, and Miehle Printing Press Manufacturing Company and Brino College of Lithography. The German-language periodical *California Demokrat* was written and edited on Third Street and printed in a building on Jessie. By 1950, the *San Francisco Examiner*, with headquarters in the Hearst Building at Third and Market, had taken over the entire sub-block bounded by Third, Jessie, Annie, and Stevenson.

After 1950, many of these patterns continued, with additions. Some firms sold office machines. There were also wholesale drug firms and several businesses related to photography. Architects and commercial artists occupied some of the offices, and there were several warehouses for businesses located elsewhere.

REDEVELOPMENT

Into the 1970s, the South of Market's commercial scene remained a lively service adjunct to the financial district just to the north across Market Street. The unemployed residents tended to hang around the streets, especially Howard and Third, their home community. They cherished their independence. To outsiders they presented an unpleasant spectacle, especially to prosperous suburban commuters hurrying between the financial district and the Southern Pacific Railroad Station to the south at Third and Townsend. Many wealthier San Franciscans perceived the South of Market's residents not as fellow human beings, but as a blight to be removed. In the 1950s and 1960s, the city's elite began pressing for government-funded redevelopment to expand the financial district southward by removing this "blight."⁷²

In 1967, when the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency was authorized to create Yerba Buena Cen-

This 1961 scene on Third Street, looking south from Mission, illustrates the "blight" cleared for Yerba Buena Center. Photo: Bill Nichols, courtesy Call-Bulletin Collection, San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.



ter, some 4,000 residents and 700 businesses occupied the area. The city agency began buying up properties and demolishing vacant buildings. It held the land as parking lots serving downtown commuters until the future had been decided.

The agency managed the hotels carelessly. Many were the stories of absent maintenance, lack of security, and harassment of poor residents. In the summer of 1969, people disturbed by this treatment met in the lobby of the Milner Hotel at 117 Fourth Street and organized themselves into the Tenants and Owners in Opposition to Redevelopment (TOOR). Many of them were retired union men experienced in group action. As chairman they elected eighty-year-old George Woolf, former president of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union. After he died in 1972, the task fell to Peter Mendelsohn, retired merchant seaman and former union leader. Bulletins, leaflets, monthly meetings, free Friday night movies, and a drop-in office for discussing problems brought the community into TOOR. They received outside help

from graduate students, the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, and a community organizer paid by Canon Kip Community Center. They signed petitions, mobilized attendance at public hearings, and created protests to attract publicity.

TOOR's goal was decent rehousing of the people displaced by the Redevelopment Agency. In the fall of 1969 it requested and was granted a federal injunction halting demolition for Yerba Buena Center until the agency had a satisfactory relocation plan. The injunction was based on the 1949 U.S. Housing Act's guarantee of decent and affordable housing for persons displaced by redevelopment. In 1973, TOOR and the Redevelopment Agency signed an agreement providing for fifteen to eighteen hundred low-rent housing units in other parts of the city and, on four sites in Yerba Buena, four hundred such units sponsored by TOOR's own development corporation.

TOOR's battle was only one of the reasons that Yerba Buena Center took forty years from conception to fulfillment. Clothing manufacturer Alvin Duskin

filed a lawsuit about compliance with the California Environmental Quality Act, and Gerald Wright filed one about the financing plan. The city's chief administrative officer, Thomas Mellon, engaged in a power struggle against the Redevelopment Agency and its strong director, Justin Herman. Later, Mayor George Moscone appointed a citizens' committee to plan the project all over again.⁷⁵

Through time the plans changed. In the 1950s a new University of California campus was expected to locate in the area. Then there was to be a sports arena as well as the convention center, which later was pushed underground. Parking highrises turned into office towers, which gave way to market-rate apartment buildings. Moscone's committee recommended that the Yerba Buena project also contain a cultural center.

THE BUILDERS' EXCHANGE, CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S NEW BUILDING

The California Historical Society site at the northwest corner of Mission and Annie was not reconstructed after the 1906 earthquake and fire along with the rest of South of Market. It remained vacant until 1922. All that time it was owned by Flora C. Law, an unmarried woman doubtless related to Hartland and Ada Law, from whom she had acquired it in 1902.⁷⁶

Civic leaders Hartland Law and his brother Herbert invested earnings from their Viavi patent medicine system in San Francisco real estate. They hired Julia Morgan to rebuild the Fairmont Hotel after 1906, and they also owned and rebuilt the Crossley and Rialto buildings at New Montgomery and Mission. Hartland Law had owned the historical society site in 1901, and he probably erected the six-story brick building that stood there from 1902 to 1906.⁷⁷

In 1894 the lot had been owned by the Sharon Estate Company, indicating a history dating back to the creation of New Montgomery Street in 1869. Through 1898 a group of old one- to three-story frame buildings stood on the site, with the offices of Drs. Lane and Plummer in the corner one.⁷⁸

In October 1921 Flora Law sold the land to Julius and David R. Eisenbach, realtors at 155 Montgomery Street, who immediately planned development. The building permit they applied for on December 28, 1921, describes a one-story and basement store building costing \$30,000. In place of a contractor, the permit says "Days Work," meaning that the architect was to hire workmen directly, without a contract, and to supervise their work himself.⁷⁹

The architect selected by the Eisenbachs was Andrew H. Knoll, who practiced in San Francisco

from 1910 to about 1942. In addition to this building, he designed the 1921 façade for 516-520 Mission, the fifth and sixth floor additions to the retail building at 117-129 Post Street in 1925, and a film exchange building in 1931. Other buildings known to have been designed by him have been demolished, including a set of 1920 alterations to a Market Street building for his new clients, the Eisenbach Company. Knoll's 1914-1915 partnership with W.C. Falch had produced some Nob Hill apartments and a church at 19th and Capp streets in San Francisco. The 1928 city directory listed Knoll as an engineer rather than an architect. If he usually acted as contractor and superintendent of construction, as well as designer, as he did with this Mission Street lot, it would have restricted his output and help explain why so few of his works have been discovered.⁸⁰

Although Knoll was not among the top ranks of San Francisco architects, he did well by his new building for the Eisenbachs. The *Splendid Survivors* survey, published in 1979, rated it a good background building and called it "handsome." It fits admirably with the general post-1906 architecture of San Francisco's downtown areas. The building permit called for brick walls with girders and exterior columns of steel. Curiously, the permit application declared the foundations "in place." This may mean that the building sits today on the foundations of the pre-fire structure on the site, Hartland Law's six-story brick building.⁸¹

It is not known if Knoll designed the building for a specific tenant, but the open hardwood floor space was planned to work well for the Mission Street specialty, display of furniture. The first tenant, the Phoenix Desk Company, whose president was Edwin Whitman Prentice, stayed through 1926. In June 1922 the Eisenbachs sold the new or nearly finished building to oil company executive Adolph Mack, who deeded it three years later to Harry B. Stearns, president of a wall beds company.⁸²

The next sale, recorded on the first of May 1926, produced a change. Phoenix disappeared from city directories, and the building was leased to the Builders' Exchange. The new legal owners of the property were Isabella M. and Helen E. Cowell, heirs of the Cowell Lime and Cement fortune. Fortyniner Henry Cowell had been the "limestone king of Santa Cruz," and it is his ranch on which the University of California campus at Santa Cruz was built. The company's twentieth-century president was S.H. Cowell, who inherited the Mission Street property from Helen and Isabella in 1935 and 1951 respectively. After his death it passed in 1955 to the Cowell Foundation, which sold it in 1988.⁸³

The Builders' Exchange occupied the building from the original Cowell purchase until shortly after it was acquired by the Cowell Foundation. The longest occupancy, from 1927 to 1956, thus provides the historic name, the "Builders' Exchange Building." There was an obvious connection between the Cowell family and the Builders' Exchange. Cowell Lime and Cement was a member of the Exchange, and it sold its products to other members. The Exchange's president from 1923 through 1938 was William H. George, the secretary and manager of Cowell Lime and Cement Company. Lease terms must have been friendly, possibly just a token rent.⁸⁴

This first Builders' Exchange in California had been incorporated in 1890 in order "to join in one association" everyone in or supplying construction businesses in San Francisco. The founders wanted a place where suppliers, contractors, architects, and clients could find each other and communicate their needs. There were also office functions for small contractors, drafting space, a file of building plans for preparing bids, services to arbitrate disputes, and various educational and fellowship functions.

By 1895 the Builders' Exchange had nearly four hundred members. Begun at 330 Pine Street, it moved successively to 314 Montgomery, 16 Post, Mission and New Montgomery, and then to Jessie, across from the rear of the historical society site. On April 18, 1906, "without previous notice, we were compelled to leave," reported James A. Wilson, 1913 president of the Exchange. In 1907 the Exchange moved into a new building at its former Jessie Street location, expanded through to Stevenson Street. Then came the years in the historical society building at Mission and Annie, and in January 1957 the Exchange moved to 850 South Van Ness, a larger site with generous parking, where it remains.

The grandson of a general contractor who kept his office at the Builders' Exchange in the 1930s and 1940s remembers that the place resembled an old-fashioned political headquarters, dotted with spittoons and looking comfortably homely. A fair number of his grandfather's colleagues would chat, walk about, and smoke cigars. They patronized restaurants at the Palace Hotel and Breen's, and the Spaniard's barbershop on the Annie Street side of the Builders' Exchange. The rear and mezzanine held offices and the plan room, the contractors' phone service, and their mail slots.

Immediately after the Builders' Exchange left, the building was occupied by the E.M. Hundley Hardware Company, purveyors of elegant builders' hardware recommended by good architects. The firm had been at 662 Mission at least since 1933, with Carrie

Hundley carrying on the business after the founder's death. The Hundley company had all the non-bearing partitions cleared from the main level, and they exposed the original fine hardwood floor. Hundley stayed in the building into 1985, when it moved to 617 Bryant Street.

By that time, the neighborhood's transformation into Yerba Buena Center was well under way. Moscone Convention Center opened in 1982. At Howard Street, new apartment buildings had arisen, but the area around Mission Street remained barren. About 1990 the California Historical Society was promised the City/Jessie Hotel as part of a package for an office tower next door at the corner of Third and Mission. As of this writing, financing for the tower is not yet in place, and the parking lots remain. Instead of waiting, the historical society was able to purchase the Builders' Exchange Building in May 1993. It partly backs onto the City/Jessie Hotel and could be cut through to the former hotel if the prior arrangement comes to pass.

In August of 1995, the California Historical Society completed its move from Pacific Heights into its new headquarters in the Builders' Exchange Building. The structure is historic, as is fitting for the historical society. The location is central to city activities and public transportation. Because of Moscone Convention Center, Yerba Buena Gardens with its theater and art galleries, the new San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and the projected Mexican and Jewish museums, the historical society's new South of Market neighborhood is a public destination. Here the California Historical Society has already begun to increase its visibility and to better serve a larger public.

⁸⁴ Notes beginning on page 446.

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Lost Streets of Bunker Hill

by Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Gail Sansbury

INTRODUCTION

Los Angeles, they say, is a new city, a city without roots, a modern city.¹ It is a city of people inspired by the future not the past, a forward-looking city. This rhetoric, and its tireless promotion by segments of the real estate industry, business associations, local politicians, and the city's redevelopment agency, has crafted Los Angeles's image to the outside world for more than half a century.² What this rhetoric fails to capture is the rich history of city streets and neighborhoods; many have disappeared from city maps, while others have been totally transformed by urban redevelopment and gentrification, or abandonment and deterioration.³

This article examines the history and reconstructs visual images of three Los Angeles streets that have fallen prey to the whims of urban redevelopment in postwar Los Angeles. Cinnabar Street, Bunker Hill Avenue, and Clay Street were once prosperous residential streets in the Bunker Hill district of downtown Los Angeles. Today, they no longer exist; only through photographs, maps, and old texts are we reminded of their existence. We have used this "evidence" to construct their "street biographies." While these three streets will be central in our discussion, we will also refer to other Bunker Hill streets of the past, since in some sense they are also "lost" forever, even if their names still appear on maps today.

We had tempting reasons for digging into the history of these streets. We wanted to be able to visualize urban environments of the past in order to determine some of the factors leading to their planned demise. As researchers in the environmental design field, we believe that we need more studies of the streetscape and the other public environments of the city. While many studies and narratives on the history of the built environment in Los Angeles focus on private buildings (such as residences, hotels, and theaters),⁴ there is very little work that examines the physical, social, and cultural attributes of streets and public spaces.⁵ Finally, it is our observation that often urban design proposals are developed with little or no attention to histori-

cal context. In recent years we have noted an attempt to "recreate" street environments of the past, using eclectically decorative "period" elements such as lighting fixtures and arcades. These "invented" streets are catering to the nostalgia of consumers and are often associated with high-priced retailing services.⁶ However, the relationship of such new street environments to the history of their specific sites is at best superficial. In contrast, it is our assumption that we have much to gain from a historic research of the urban form, which goes beyond nostalgia and identifies which forms have "worked" and why. To support our arguments, we discuss the historical streetscapes of these three Bunker Hill streets that began to be vacated in the 1950s during the urban renewal era. We hope to illustrate that these "pre-modern" streetscapes, once condemned and terminated, can serve as environmental design precedents for "post-modern" streets.

Our street biographies will be the "unauthorized" sort, since we have no first-hand experience of the old Bunker Hill streets. They were transformed or removed from the official street maps long before we came to Los Angeles. Graded, cut, and filled, the entire landscape of Bunker Hill changed dramatically after the Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles (CRA) began its renewal project in the immediate post-World War II period. Our research, then, resembles archaeological work; instead of digging through layers of dirt, we sorted through layers of maps, redevelopment plans, photographs, a documentary film, and literary material on the old Bunker Hill. Several photo essays and a book of landscape paintings also proved very useful for our work. Published in the 1960s and 1970s, they provide visual information as well as narratives about the physical environment and the people who lived, worked, shopped, and walked along the Bunker Hill streets.⁷ These sources, combined with photographs and maps from the Los Angeles Public Library and several other collections, helped reconstruct visual images of the lost streets. The annual reports and work programs prepared by the



PHOTOGRAPH 1: The fashionable Bunker Hill neighborhood of nineteenth-century Los Angeles, represented by this 1898 view, looking west on Third Street from Hill Street, was home to the city's professional elite, who built in a variety of domestic architectural styles. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

CRA and street vacation files at the Los Angeles Department of Engineering provided official documentation of the last days of the three streets.

BUNKER HILL: A BRIEF HISTORY

Bunker Hill is today the premier office district of downtown Los Angeles. It is a corporate landscape of high-rise office towers and modernist plazas that has erased any memories of its previous topography, urban form, and social activities. Indeed, one of the most important physical aspects of the pre-existing Bunker Hill was its hilly topography. In maps of Los Angeles from the nineteenth century, cartographers represented this dramatic topography, which lay just to the northwest of the city's original settlement, the Plaza. Calle Loma, or what is now Hill Street, ran along the base of the hill. Street names found on maps of this period reflect the city's Spanish origins: Calle Esperanza, Calle de las Flores, Calle Primavera. In 1849, the city's first official survey, the Ord survey, was conducted. The neat gridiron pattern

that Lt. Edward O. Ord produced cut repeatedly across Camino Viejo, the old road that curved around the hill; this route may have been one used by the Gabrielino, the indigenous people of this area. Ord's survey, and subsequent maps based on it, stopped at the steep grades of the hill, leaving a blank space to represent this area.

It was mid-nineteenth-century land speculation that brought the extension of the Ord street grid over the hills, leading to Bunker Hill's subsequent development. In 1867, two wealthy residents, Prudent Beaudry and Stephen Mott, bought the hill lands when they became available in tax sales.¹⁰ Beaudry's purchase was between what is today Hill and Olive, and Second and Fourth, land that was thought to be worthless because of the predominance of red clay. Mott's land included the blocks bounded by what are now Figueroa, Temple, Fourth, and Grand streets.¹¹ The subdivision of these parcels was recorded in 1869, but actual building did not begin until the 1870s. The developers had problems get-

ting water to the hill, and they faced the equally daunting task of moving heavy building materials up the steep grades.

On March 28, 1872, the *Los Angeles Daily News* reported that the "hills are beginning to lose their freshness and color." The bustle and noise from construction activity could be heard in the city just below. Local historian Pat Adler describes as "carpenter Gothic" the architectural crazy quilt that began to appear on the hill.¹² These were frame houses that did not follow any particular style but rather conformed with their owners' imagination and aspiration.

Even though the residents of Bunker Hill came for varied reasons, most of them shared the desire to live in comfort and class in the unique environment of the hill. The physical layout of the hill served as a refuge from the hustle and bustle of the expanding city below. Pugsley reports that Edmund Hildreth, a doctor, moved to the hill to "surround himself and his family with a tranquility that could never be threatened," that L.J. Rose established his residence on the hill because it was "remote enough and could be a sanctuary against too many inquisitive people," and that Lady McDonald "was immediately taken by the quaint isolation of the hill."¹³

In the 1880s, Bunker Hill became one of the fashionable residential districts of Los Angeles, with a large number of lawyers, doctors, and merchants. Novel architectural styles, such as Queen Anne and Eastlake, started appearing. Two- and three-story mansions were built with ornate balconies and verandas, corner towers, arched windows, fish-scale shingles, and stained glass. These mansions reflected the wealth, power, and class status of their elite residents.

In the 1890s, the first hotels appeared on the hill, and by 1899, visitors could find accommodations in one of the five hotels and two rooming houses of Bunker Hill. According to Adler:

Over the next fifteen years many more commercial buildings went up, until a total of 136 appeared in G. Baist's "Real Estate Atlas" of 1914. It was still an area of frame structures; a ratio of six to one held for the Hill between Figueroa and Hill Streets from Temple to Fifth Streets. Even in this year of maximum land use, 75 lots remained vacant, to ripple with barley and mustard after the winter rains.¹⁴

By the 1920s and 1930s, as the downtown area was expanding westward, Bunker Hill began to show signs of a change in population. Many long-time residents left for newer and more fashionable districts, such as Beverly Hills, Hollywood, and West Adams. Many of the mansions were sold to landlords who

began to subdivide them into numerous rooms to be rented mostly to single men. One neighborhood historian described the process:

With a few structural adjustments here and there, the former elite residence could easily be turned into a serviceable rooming house for transients...Soon many of the fabled mansions on the hill would play host to passing strangers. Some were kinder than others and traveled through without etching their initials or words of praise or disgust on the once polished curved banisters. Parties would still be given beneath those vaulted ceilings, only the beverage was apt to be beer and wine rather than the vintage champagne of old.¹⁵

Tenement housing was built on the hill in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the Ems on Olive Street and the Dome on First and Hope streets. Some older residences were converted to commercial use. But the Depression brought a halt to construction on Bunker Hill, and no new buildings arose between 1930 and 1940. However, during that same decade, the population on the hill increased by nineteen percent. The 1940 census found a low-income population, heavily weighted with older men, residing on the hill. Of the 1,976 dwelling units at the time of the 1940 census, only 2.2 percent were owner-occupied. Bunker Hill was still a good residential environment, but for a different segment of the population.¹⁶ A team of experts in 1941 found that:

Bunker Hill is not a detriment to the downtown area, it is an asset. It supplies excellent sites for superior types of multiple dwellings commanding a view of the entire surrounding country. Such structures would provide replenishment of the downtown tributary resident purchasing power which is urgently needed, and encourage the rehabilitation of near-by blighted areas.¹⁷

But ten years later, in 1951, the newly established Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles condemned Bunker Hill itself as blighted, and designated it for redevelopment. The winds of change had begun to blow voraciously over Bunker Hill. But more about this later.

STREET FORM AND CHARACTER BEFORE REDEVELOPMENT

Bunker Hill Avenue was established along the crest of the hill by a city ordinance in 1874. It was forty feet wide and ran parallel to Hope and Charity (which were also graded the same year) between Fourth and Temple streets.¹⁸ It was claimed that during its century of existence, Bunker Hill Avenue was the "most picturesque street of the city" because it ran rhythmically with the contour of the hill.¹⁹ Being

somewhat narrower, Clay and Cinnabar were established sometime in the next twenty years.¹⁰ Clay, its name no doubt a reference to the abundance of red clay on its site, ran between Olive and Hill streets, from Second to Fourth streets. Cinnabar, again a name relating to the red soil, was just one block long; located between Flower and Hope, it ran from Third to Second Street.

All Bunker Hill streets accommodated both pedestrian and non-pedestrian traffic, including horse-drawn vehicles and small funicular railway cars that traversed the steepest parts of the hill. Initially unpaved and muddy, some streets bore the notation "Impassable For Teams" on city maps of the 1870s. They were a definite challenge for pedestrians, especially those climbing their steep grades. Sarah Bixby Smith, who grew up on Bunker Hill, commented in her memoir *Adobe Days* about the rainy winter of 1886 and her difficulty walking:

With its first wetting it became very slippery on top of a hard base, but as more water fell and it was kneaded by feet and wheels, it became first like well-chewed gum and then a black porridge... We walked the cobblestone gutters until our rubbers were in shreds, or, when necessity drove us into the gum, lost

them. There is no mud so powerful when it is in its prime as adobe and when it dries on all its rampant ridges and hollows, it is as hard as a rock. It takes all summer to wear it down level.¹¹

These muddy streets were created by real estate speculators. Beaudry and Mott knew that prospective buyers would want to live on already established streets, and their western extension of existing streets created this perception, despite the abrupt changes in the topography. But although these streets may have been drawn to conform with the rectilinear grid of the subdivision and street maps, in daily practice, the paths of Angelinos and their animals followed curves and switchbacks in the steepest areas. In a photograph looking west on Third Street, taken from Hill Street in 1898, we can just barely see, beyond the trees that partially obscure our view, the way the street turns into a zig-zag path as the grade increases (see photo 1).

Other strategies for ascending the steep grades included the construction of numerous stairways and funicular railways. Angel's Flight, two funicular rail cars on a 335-foot line, operated continuously from 1904 to 1969. Its base was at Hill Street, running up and over Clay Street to Olive, above and par-



PHOTOGRAPH 2: Third Street looking west from Hill Street, ca. early 1900s. To ease travel between downtown Los Angeles and land west of Bunker Hill, the city dug the Third Street Tunnel under the hill. Angel's Flight, a funicular, two-car railway, was completed in 1904 to replace the original Third Street passageway to the top of the hill and to carry pedestrians up the steep slopes. It operated until 1969 (compare to photographs 1 and 3). Courtesy: Santa Center for Western History Research, Etna Collection, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.



PHOTOGRAPH 3: This image of Los Angeles's Third Street, again looking west past Hill Street toward the tunnel, shows approximately the same area as in photographs 1 and 2. This 1995 view illustrates the radical transformation of Bunker Hill that was begun in the 1950s, ultimately eradicating all traces of its structure and earlier charm. *Courtesy of Liette Gilbert.*

allel to the Third Street tunnel.²³ Photographs from the early decades of the century show small-scale buildings next to the Angel's Flight, but by the 1920s, rail passengers could see a continuous wall of tall buildings bordering the line's tracks (see photo 2).

Before the turn of the century, these streets were framed by one- and two-story residences, usually set back from the street. Front yards, low walls, picket or wrought iron fences, and vegetation provided a

transitional space from the public realm of the street to the privacy of these single-family homes. While the first residences of the 1870s were quite unassuming, angular, white-frame structures, photographs from the 1890s show a number of elaborate mansions built along the slope and at the crest of the hill. As Adler informs us, these buildings, usually painted in a "tasteful" gray or brown, enriched the variety and texture of the streets with diagonal stripes of siding, whorls of round-ended shingles, porches, patios, bay-windows, chimneys, and parti-colored roofing (see photo 4).

By 1900, most Bunker Hill streets were paved, often with sidewalks. During the first two decades of the century, a continuing process of building, tearing down, and rebuilding transformed these streets. Maps of the period reflect a mixture of building scale and use. Photographs show new building types—four- and five-story hotels, boarding houses, and apartment buildings—complementing the single-family residences. The 1920s and 1930s saw the proliferation of small retail establishments, mom-and-pop stores—cafes, restaurants, drugstores, shoe-repair shops, and dry-cleaning establishments—freestanding or on the ground floor of residential buildings. These more densely built street walls appear to have more texture, both in their built form and in the variety of uses they hosted.

The intensification of uses caused in many instances the reduction or elimination of setbacks, bringing the buildings closer to the streets. Some might argue that the high retaining walls and foundations of buildings on some of the steeper streets created a smooth continuous surface, diminishing variety and texture. But photographs of the 1930s speak to the contrary. They show short blocks and dramatic openings that create a sense of enclosure in these narrow streets. Side streets, too, show this same texture and variety, often incorporating vegetation such as "trees along the sidewalks and a profusion of the more vigorous garden flowers—nasturtiums, hollyhocks, and tough-stemmed geraniums."²⁴

Like the streets of San Francisco, the superimposition of the grid over the hilly topography of Bunker Hill streets created opportunities for complex visual experiences for both pedestrians and motorists. A photograph taken at the head of a series of stairs leading down the steep hill provides a panorama of the city below. These same steep gradients appear to have inspired unique architectural solutions. For instance, John Fante, a novelist and screenwriter, wrote in his 1939 novel, *Ask the Dust*, about a character who lived (but barely paid the rent) in a hotel on Bunker Hill.

The hotel was called the Alta Loma. It was built on a hillside in reverse, there on the crest of Bunker Hill, built against the decline of the hill, so that the main floor was on the level with the street but the tenth floor was down stairs ten levels. If you had room 862, you got in the elevator and went down eight floors.

An anecdote in the biography of Harry Hay, founder of the Mattachine Society and considered one of the founders of the modern gay movement, depicts a complex network of social and spatial forms in the Bunker Hill of the 1930s. In 1933, Hay attended a demonstration against the destruction of surplus milk, and in a clash with the police he threw a brick that struck a policeman. Realizing that he was about to be arrested, he escaped with the help of Bunker Hill residents.

Sympathizers murmuring in Yiddish, Portuguese, and English grabbed him. He heard, "We've got to hide this kid before the cops get him." Hands led him backward through a building connected to other buildings—a network of tenements that formed an interconnected casbah on the slopes of the sprawling old Bunker Hill quarter. He was pushed through rooms that immigrant women and children rarely left, across catwalks and planks, up, up, hearing the occasional reassurance, "Everything's fine. Just don't look down." Once out of the structure, near the top of the hill, he was hustled to a large Victorian house where he found himself standing, dizzy and disoriented, in a living room full of men drinking coffee. In the center, cutting a cake, was a soft-featured man in woman's attire. The man gestured theatrically when he spoke, and everyone addressed him as Clarabelle and referred to him as her.

Hay had been taken to the home of one of the most powerful queens in the district, someone whom he later said represented one of a number of people who formed "a regional network of salons among some pre-Stonewall gays."

Unlike the evidence from earlier periods, the photographs and accounts of Bunker Hill streets in the 1950s are dominated by "negative" images. A series of photos commissioned by the City Housing Authority sought to document "substandard housing" and "blight" in Bunker Hill. Unlike the earlier images of well-tended front yards and entry ways, these photographs frequently show the backs of poorly maintained wooden multi-story residential buildings. Children play in these back yards and alleys, often next to incinerators. Drying laundry hangs above, and parked cars crowd for space. These photographs stand in stark contrast to the image of vibrant streets and the accounts of a neighborly life conveyed in a documentary about Bunker



PHOTOGRAPH 4: 325 and 333 South Bunker Hill Avenue, Los Angeles, 1965. These homes were demolished in the 1960s, under the Community Redevelopment Agency's plan. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Hill filmed by USC students in 1956. The still images, used by both the Housing Authority and the Community Redevelopment Agency, became symbols of decay and neglect associated with a failing social order in a period that championed urban renewal as a means of promoting economic efficiency. They acted as rhetorical devices meant to call forth material conditions and to persuade public opinion of the meanings attached to these conditions.²⁷ The means of "correction" of the perceived "unfavorable environment" of Bunker Hill involved the razing of all of its 396 buildings and the displacement of its 11,000 mostly low-income residents.

—That slums breed crime is a social truth. That they fail to produce a fair and just share of public revenues is an economic truth.... The return of the populace in the higher income brackets to the Central City area is now recognized as a new way of life taking advantage of all the amenities now offered in the heart of the metropolis. Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency, 1966

—The plan can provide the stimulus for the expenditure of millions of dollars by private enterprise. It can enhance the value of the Los Angeles Central area as the headquarters for business and industry, and as a cultural and recreational center. Walter J. Braunschweiger, 1959

POLITICS AND EFFECTS OF DESTRUCTION

Real estate speculation created the street grid of Bunker Hill in the nineteenth century. Almost one hundred years later another form of real estate speculation would again alter the terrain, changing dramatically the location and form of the streets. In the 1860s and 1870s, private investment fueled speculation; in the 1960s and 1970s, it was a partnership of public and private capital.

The pressure for change came from the business and real estate sectors, as well as nearly every public agency in the city. The police department depicted the hill as a high crime area; the fire department stressed the difficulty of having to fight fires on top of the hill; the department of health classed only eighteen percent of the residential units as acceptable habitations; the planning department complained about the cost of services to Bunker Hill residents in combination with the loss of tax revenues; and the Community Redevelopment Agency, established in 1948 to oversee redevelopment efforts in downtown Los Angeles, painted a picture of blight and dereliction in Bunker Hill.²⁹ Both public and private sectors agreed in their perception of the neighborhood as an obstacle that prevented the business district's expansion westward.³⁰ Redevelopment in the Los Angeles central business district started with the drafting by CRA of the *Proposed Urban Renewal Plan*, which was adopted by the Los Angeles City Council in March 1959. The adoption of the redevelopment plan established the Bunker Hill Urban Renewal Project. In 1960 CRA began the acquisition of Bunker Hill property, the relocation of residents and businesses, and the demolition of buildings and site improvement work. The design for Bunker Hill proposed "a total of approximately 3,750 dwelling units, 3,000 hotel units, 12 million square feet of office and over one-half million square feet of retail space."³¹

It took some time for the CRA to win approval for federal funds and still longer to resolve a court case brought by residents of Bunker Hill and historical preservationists who fought to retain the neighborhood.³² But the landscape began to change even before the case was decided in favor of CRA in 1964. The redevelopment plan followed all the doctrines of modernist city planning. It segregated pedestrian and auto-traffic, created superblocks and megastructures, differentiated one zone of activity from the other, and in so doing, stripped from these Bunker Hill streets the vibrancy and overlay of functions that had characterized them for almost a century.³³ An analysis of landownership in the Bunker Hill area quantifies the results of the block consolidation process. In a 1961 map, the number and location of streets is the same as at the turn of the century, but by 1981, the twenty-nine blocks of Bunker Hill had been reduced to twenty-three. Bunker Hill Avenue, Cinnabar Street, and Clay Street, had disappeared. Using Clay Street as an example, the comparison of the figure-ground maps prior to the redevelopment with those of one decade later is also striking. By 1964, most buildings along the three streets had been razed. The dense urban fabric of previous decades had disappeared (see fig. 1).

When the CRA acquired the land, it often remained undeveloped for long periods of time. One of the first acts of the Bunker Hill Renewal Project was the creation of a parking lot. Until deals could be finalized with private developers, often taking decades, much of Bunker Hill became a vast sea of parked cars. Most photographs of the fifties and sixties show cars parked in every possible space (see photo 6). In this parking lot/warehousing process, buildings were demolished and the land was graded. The hill was smoothed, homogenized, graded, and de-graded into a hillside district without grades. The redevelopment projects created isolated corporate "monuments" that turned their backs

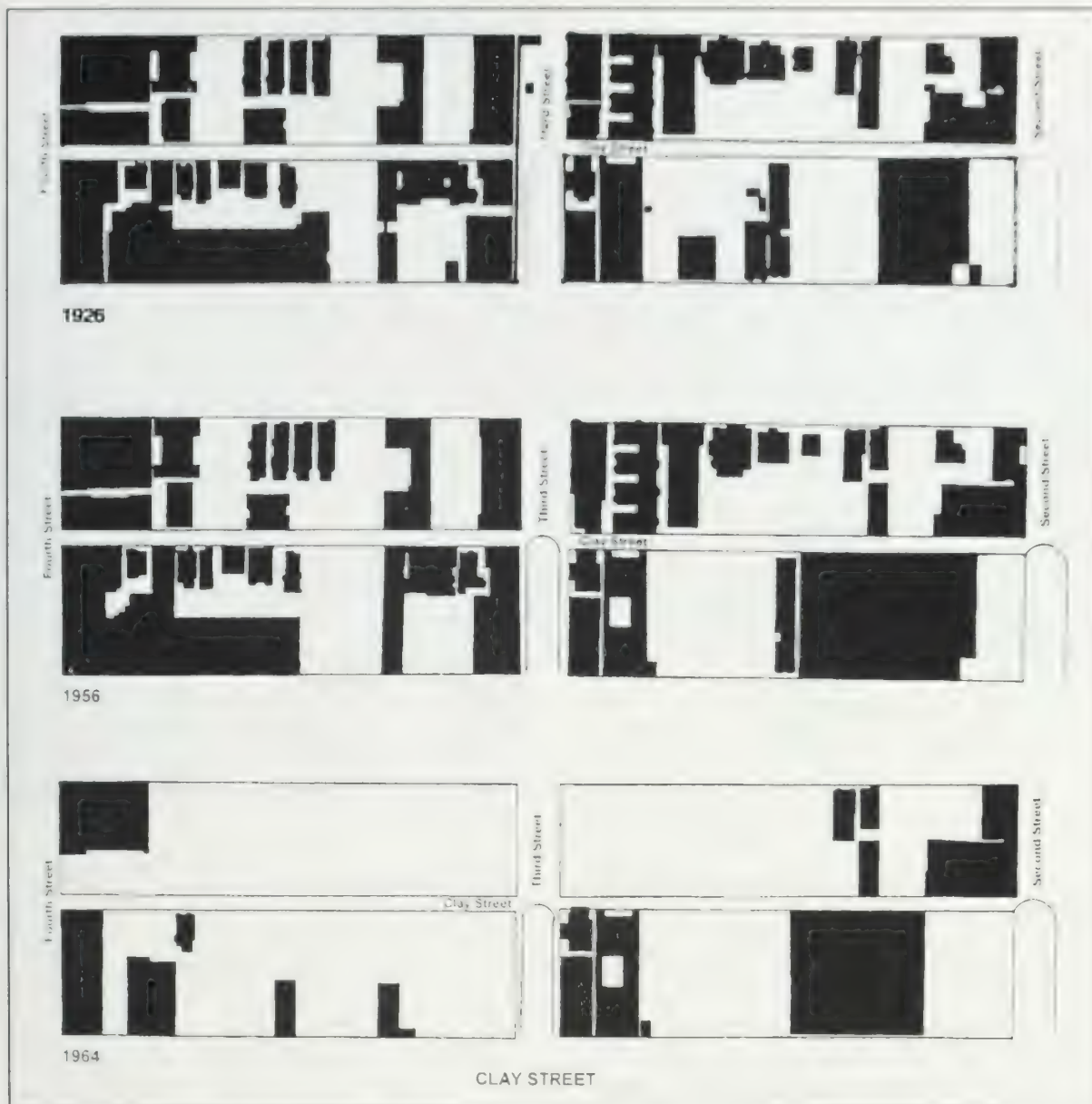


FIGURE 1. Clay Street Figure Ground Maps, 1926, 1956, and 1964. Based on Sanborn Insurance Maps.

to public streets, replacing the streets with private internal paseos and plazas.

Bunker Hill Avenue began to lose buildings even before the court case was decided in favor of the CRA, and by 1964 it was "as lifeless as a ghost town street."³⁴ A comparison of maps from 1953 and 1964 shows the dramatic pace of this process. If some buildings lasted longer than others, it might have been because of their interest to preservationists or because their owners had more resources to resist destruction or to hold out for greater compensation. Gradually, though, all the structures were demolished or moved. Two houses were relocated at great expense to Heritage Park, an ersatz "historic district"

the city was allowing to be built virtually on the shoulder of the busy Arroyo Seco Freeway as a salve to irate preservationists opposed to the city's support of large-scale destruction of historical properties. In a photograph taken just before this move, these two buildings stand alone, without their customary landscaping, sidewalks, or streetscape. Elevated on moving blocks, they sit in a dusty barren flat, where once Bunker Hill Avenue ran along the crest of the hill.

In another photograph of the same period we are reminded of modernist architect Le Corbusier's sketches. A multi-lane street rushes toward a group of high-rise towers. This new setting is built for

speed, not pedestrian movement. The surface street shown in this photograph, Grand Street, has become wider, and its streetwalls have disappeared; in fact, the street appears to be suspended above the landscape of parking lots, suggesting a series of supporting *pilotis* (pillars).³⁵ Bunker Hill Avenue's formal date of death—or street vacation—was August 25, 1976; but as a street of texture, variety, and visual complexity, its demise occurred at least ten years earlier (see photo 6).

Clay Street's death date on the formal street vacation papers was July 5, 1978. What determined this date had more to do with the timing of a redevelopment deal than with the actual demise of the street. From 1964 onward, the quaint atmosphere of this street, which for decades had served as an artists' colony, gave way to the roar of the bulldozers. Clay Street was barricaded in 1969. By then the CRA controlled all the properties on the street. Demolition of the Angel's Flight funicular, a popular historic site and tourist attraction, began in May of that same year.³⁶

In a photograph taken just ten years later, one can see what was left of Clay Street. The concrete retaining wall for the lower section of the Angel's Flight was the only suggestion of its past activity. Clay Street did not die the noble death of an outlaw or bohemian; instead, it lingered. As a final indignity, unlike the other Bunker Hill streets that were surrounded by parking lots, Clay Street *itself* was used as a parking lot.³⁷ The redevelopers made up slightly for this "crime" against the street by later constructing housing for senior citizens on the site. Thus, at least one of the Bunker Hill projects serves a population similar to the one displaced.

Cinnabar Street, just one block long, was the first to be removed formally from city maps. The death decree was dated July 2, 1965, ten years earlier than the other two streets, because it traversed one of the first parcels to be redeveloped as highrise housing for the new residents of Bunker Hill, the professional managerial class. Photographs of the street prior to its demise show wooden multi-family housing. Adler writes that this had the reputation of being a "bad" area.³⁸ And indeed, some Sanborn maps of this area, now in the UCLA Map Library, have notations made by the insurance appraisers who originally used them: "watch for Filipinos here." How we define "bad" or "blighted" becomes an important political question in chronicling the life of a street, a neighborhood, or a community. Issues of class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality may easily obscure the view of the built environment's condition and form.



PHOTOGRAPH 5: This image of apartments at 115 and 120 South Hope Street, taken in 1952, is one representation of the so-called blight of the Bunker Hill neighborhood, as documented by the Los Angeles City Housing Authority. Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library Photograph Collection, Los Angeles Housing Authority Collection, Leonard Nadel, photographer.

RECOVERING PRECEDENTS FOR FUTURE STREETS

Between the 1870s and the 1970s, Bunker Hill changed many times: from a bucolic environment of meadows and hills to a posh residential neighborhood; to a mixed-use urban residential neighborhood; to a quaint community of bohemians, retirees, and blue-collar workers. Many buildings were added and others changed form or were replaced in a dynamic process of evolution and change (figs. 2, 3, 4). Throughout the different stages of the hill's transformation, the streets' permanence and continuity provided a link between the old and the new, of the past with the present. In what follows we will try to "extract" from the photographs, paintings, and narratives the basic qualities of the Bunker Hill streetscape, the elements that contributed to its vibrancy and memorability. We see these qualities as suggestive for future street design.

The streets of Bunker Hill were a *complex* landscape. Environmental design specialist Amos



PHOTOGRAPH 6 Bunker Hill, Los Angeles in 1967. This image, with the tower of the Los Angeles Civic Center appearing at the right-center, shows the vacant area that would later be built out as the most desirable corporate center in the city. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

Rapoport argues that complexity in an urban scene "results from the availability of a variety of possible movement paths, the juxtaposition of varied elements and areas, the location, mix, and changes of activities, the presence of open-ended design."³⁹ In the historic Bunker Hill neighborhood, a combination of human-made features offered sensuous stimulation to the passer-by. In many narratives we find references to the colored flowers in front yards, the lush trees that cast their shadows across the street and sometimes formed "arched verandas" over a path. A variety of textures and materials formed a rich street edge, with intricate stairways winding up and down from one building to the other, balconies and verandas, bay windows and fire escapes protruding from walls and roofs. This was an exciting landscape for children to play in, for old men and women to sit in and watch the life of the street, and for artists to sketch. Painter Leo Politi marvelled at "the great wealth of decorative elements found there. The variety of plants, flowers and bird life, combined with the attractive wood, iron and glass work that embellished the old mansions made this an ideal place for the art student to sketch."

In contrast to modernist public spaces, which often give the impression of being limitless and abstract, Bunker Hill streets were bounded by con-

tinuous street walls on either side (figs. 5, 6, 7). The high walls and narrow streets and, in some cases, the tree canopies, created a sense of enclosure. The multiplicity of windows, doorways, porches, and balconies gave the street environment its human scale, but also created a continuation and a response to the public realm of the street (see photo 5). Today, the sleek, impenetrable curtain walls of office buildings and the high enclosing walls of corporate plazas represent a negation of this very same public realm.

The streets of Bunker Hill were an *integrated and diverse* landscape. While predominantly residential, these streets hosted a variety of uses and housing, supporting services, schools, playgrounds, hotels, restaurants, and small neighborhood retail establishments, even in the earliest periods (see photo 7). For the elderly population, this proximity to services created a highly desirable residential environment. Years before planners would reinvent the "mixed-use" concept, the overlay of activities in the streets of Bunker Hill contributed to their vibrancy and liveliness. In an account of the Angel's Flight in the 1940s, we learn that "[t]he spot buzzed with life during the day, and after dark the neon lights of cafes, bars, and nearby theatres flickered brightly.

Unlike the modernist streets that are devoted solely to vehicular access, the streets of old Bunker

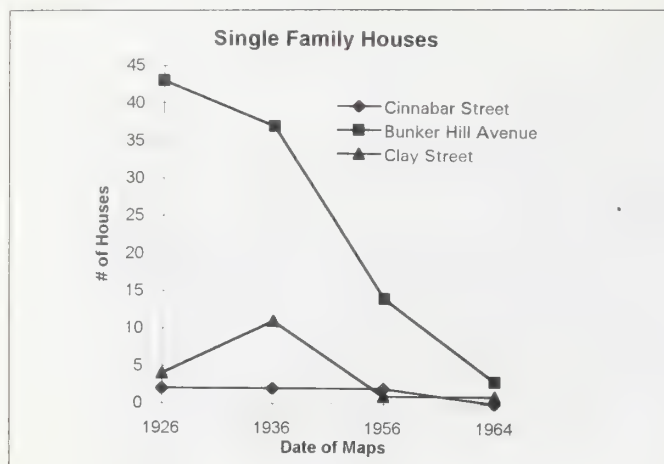


FIGURE 2. Number of Single Family Houses on Cinnabar, Bunker, and Clay streets, 1926, 1936, 1956, 1964. Based on information recorded on the 1926 and 1936 Sims Maps of Los Angeles and Sanborn Insurance Maps (updated to 1956 and 1964).

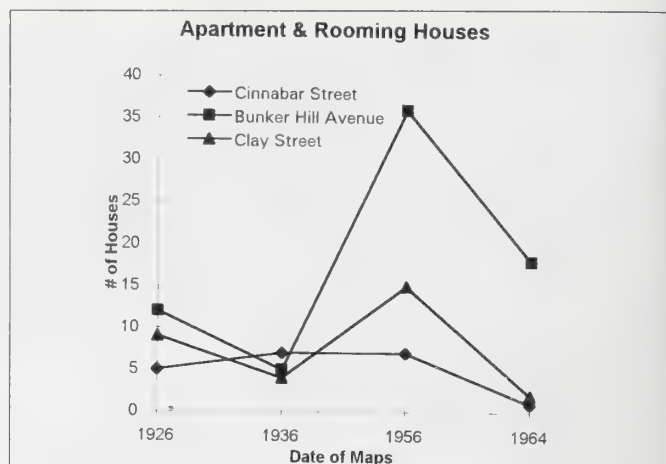


FIGURE 3. Number of Apartment and Rooming Houses on Cinnabar, Bunker Hill, and Clay streets, 1926, 1936, 1956, 1964. Based on information recorded on the 1926 and 1936 Sims Maps of Los Angeles and Sanborn Insurance Maps.

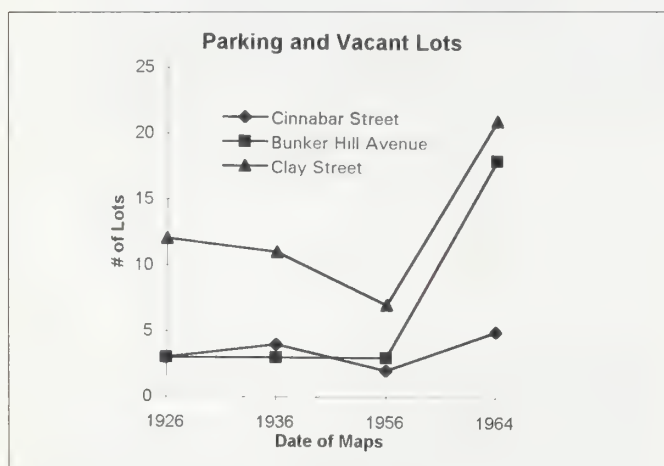


FIGURE 4. Number of Parking Lots and Vacant Lots on Cinnabar, Bunker Hill, and Clay streets, 1926, 1936, 1956, 1964. Based on information recorded on the 1926 and 1936 Sims Maps of Los Angeles and Sanborn Insurance Maps.

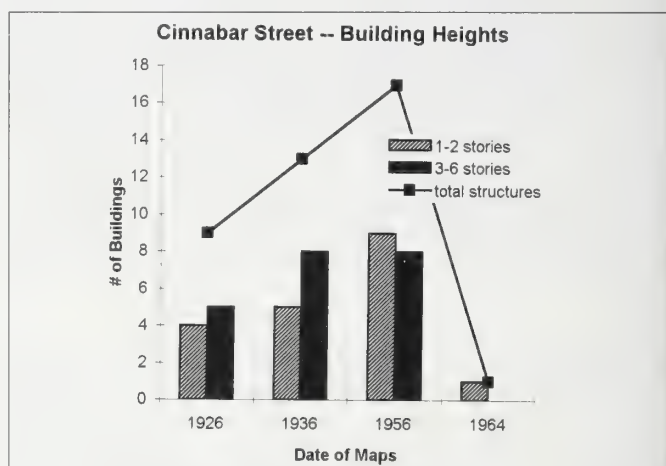


FIGURE 5. Cinnabar Street Building Heights, 1926, 1936, 1956, 1964. Based on information recorded on the 1926 and 1936 Sims Maps of Los Angeles and Sanborn Insurance Maps.

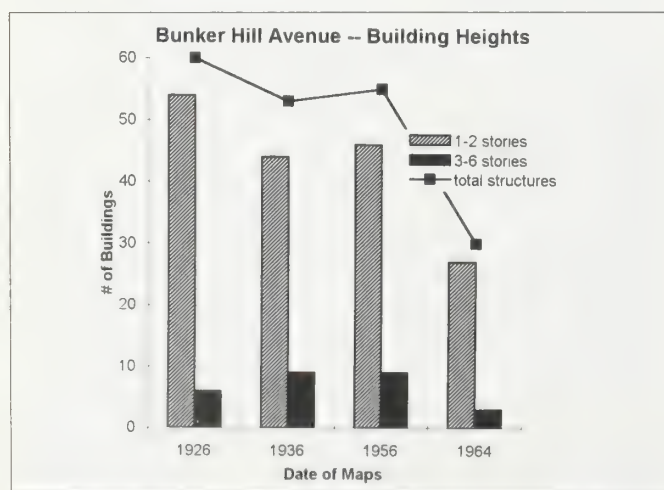


FIGURE 6. Bunker Hill Avenue Building Heights, 1926, 1936, 1956, 1964. Based on information recorded on the 1926 and 1936 Sims Maps of Los Angeles and Sanborn Insurance Maps.

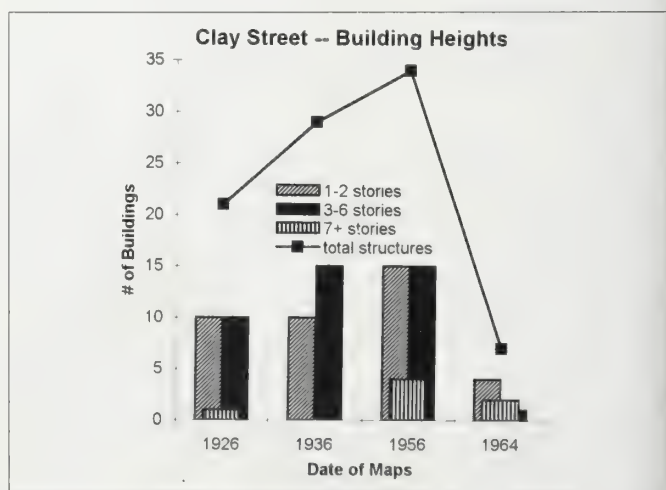


FIGURE 7. Clay Street Building Heights, 1926, 1936, 1956, 1964. Based on information recorded on the 1926 and 1936 Sims Maps of Los Angeles and Sanborn Insurance Maps.

PHOTOGRAPH 7 Grand and Third streets, Los Angeles, ca. 1965, before complete redevelopment. Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library Photograph Collection, William Reagh, photographer.



Hill were shared by pedestrians and motorists. Different modes of transportation were tried on the hill. The first horse-drawn streetcar service in Los Angeles connected the Plaza to Bunker Hill; the first cable car appeared on the hill's streets in 1887; and when the automobile came to the city, the first was tested on a climb up the hill.⁴² The narrowness and steep grade of the streets, however, prevented high vehicular speeds and allowed for a symbiotic relationship between motorists and pedestrians.

The streets of Bunker Hill were also a *contextual* landscape. Their topography, architecture, and history gave them a clear identity and definition. Unlike the universality and standardization of the architectural form and landscape that was produced after redevelopment, the old streets of Bunker Hill represented harmonious compositions of distinct and diverse elements and artifacts. For example, photograph 8 depicts a complex composition of stairways near the western entrance of the Third Street tunnel. In it we see multiple routes for pedestrians as well as vehicles, and on the horizon, the landmark tower of the public library. Kevin Lynch has written about landscapes that provide a sense of orientation in time, environmental forms and sequences that help their users understand how the present moment is linked to the near or distant past.⁴³ The Bunker Hill streets represented such

landscapes. The imprints from the different layers of development must have oriented residents and visitors in space and time.

The present streets of Bunker Hill lack the qualities of complexity, diversity, and contextualism that characterized the earlier landscape. The mega-blocks that are now dominating Bunker Hill have been developed as disjointed and fragmented pieces. The episodic nature of such developments prevents them from effectively connecting with the city's urban tissue. The "inside" private spaces systematically exclude the "outside" public environment. High-rise towers turn their backs to the city; corporate plazas are separated from sidewalks by high protective walls; skyways take pedestrians away from the streets; escalators lead to sunken shopping malls and parking structures. As a result, Bunker Hill streets are presently empty of pedestrian activity at all times, with the possible exception of the weekday lunch hour. Then, a few office workers can be observed venturing down the streets on their way to lunch.

Redevelopment has created exclusive corporate settings in Bunker Hill. At the same time, it has contributed to a polarized development of a public but old and derelict, downtown of indigents, east and southeast of Bunker Hill (where the Skid Row area and the garment and flower districts are found), and



PHOTOGRAPH 8: Hope Street, looking south, at the Third Street tunnel, Los Angeles. (Compare to photograph 9.) *Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection, William Reagh, photographer.*

the new, private, and glamorous corporate landscape. In contrast to the integrated street environment of the earlier neighborhood, Bunker Hill today is the exclusive realm of the white-collar office worker. The poor, the homeless, the bag ladies, the immigrants are confined to the old downtown.

Finally, the contemporary Bunker Hill environment is an acontextual landscape. The architecture and imagery of office buildings, plazas, and urban malls is characteristically similar to those of most North American downtowns. This, combined with the absence of “urban clues”—older buildings and urban artifacts that relay the history of the site—prevents the visitor to Bunker Hill from being oriented in space and time, and from developing a complete understanding of the area’s social and historical context.

EPILOGUE

Created in a period of intense land speculation, the streets of Bunker Hill enjoyed almost a hundred years of a process of organic evolution. In each succeeding era, the built form was added to, changed or replaced, but the continuity of the landscape remained intact because the major points of reference—the topography, certain landmarks, and the streets themselves—remained. Then, by an episodic

act, a planning intervention, this continuity was disrupted and the many layers of its history erased. Today, there is little evidence in the built form of Bunker Hill that reveals its past heritage.

The story of Bunker Hill has didactic potential, not born of nostalgia for the rich images in old photographs or resistance to change or redevelopment, but rather because many of the qualities of these lost streets—their complexity, integration, and contextualism—represent important precedents for current design efforts. But urban form is just one aspect of this story; an equally important message for planners and urban designers involves the incorporation of a sense of history in the process of interventions in the physical and social landscape. Attention to urban history, even the relatively recent history of the past one hundred years, may provide essential information leading to site-specific solutions in current practice. If we are lucky, we might integrate the best intentions of modernist planning with a truly post-modernist sensibility; instead of the abrupt eradication of all links with the past by grading, degrading, and master planning, we might usefully explore urban forms, urban streetscapes, and urban social life that maintain a continuity with local history and connect our understanding of the past with our hopes for the future.

CHS

PHOTOGRAPH 9. This 1993 image of Hope Street at the Third Street tunnel looking south shows the striking transformation of essentially the same area depicted in photograph 8, with the tower of the Los Angeles Public Library, low on the horizon, now dwarfed by skyscrapers. Courtesy of Luelle Gilbert.



See also bibliography on page 118

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While no reliable population figures exist for Butte County Chinese during the late nineteenth century, historians estimate that they comprised perhaps ten percent of the population of Chico, where they typically worked in agriculture, laundries, and domestic services. Here, rowers on a Chico creek, ca. late nineteenth century, pass a Chinese laundry. *Courtesy Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, and the California Folklore Collection.*

FIGHTING BACK:

The Chinese Influence on Chico Law and Politics, 1880-1886

by Michele Shover

Rural anti-Chinese campaigns in the Sacramento Valley from 1877 through the 1890s challenged every aspect of public life in Chico, then a Butte County farm town of fewer than four thousand inhabitants. Not only did white residents plunge into one side or another of the fray, but Chinese residents initiated an impressive array of defenses.¹ The early peak of anti-Chinese violence there occurred during March 1877, when a vigilante crime wave culminated in the murders of four Chinese workers at a labor camp on the Lemm Ranch near town. This crime sparked national press coverage, and it has since attracted the curiosity of writers. Once prosecutors had dispatched the white perpetrators to San Quentin, local community leaders, who were eager to repair the damage to Chico's reputation, declared that the murders had been an isolated incident and that the prosecutions had resolved any "Chinese problems" in Chico.² At the time, however, local people knew better, and so did the San Francisco Fire Underwriters, which in 1878 posted a \$500 reward for the apprehension of anyone "found guilty of Arson or Attempt at Arson in firing any property in Butte County, California."³ But violence against the Chinese persisted. Only one year later, the Holder brothers and their father were tried for the murders of Gin Ah Shu and Quon Ah Hang in a mining camp nine miles from Chico.

From 1880 until 1886, Chico and its outlying countryside continued to host both organized anti-Chinese campaigns and individual crimes against Chinese residents. A variety of crimes—thefts, assaults, arsons, and murders—commanded the attention of judges, jurors, justices of the peace, the town marshal, and the town constables or police. Because the men in these positions had personal or political ties to one side or another of the controversy over Chinese residents' rights, their sentiments influenced how they interpreted what justice required where the Chinese or anti-Chinese whites were involved.

While the whites divided among themselves, the Chinese maintained a united front. All were at such

great risk that local studies have focused on them as victims.⁴ Until now, such a valid representation has obscured a more elusive, but no less important, aspect of Chinese history in the Sacramento Valley. The Asian residents of Chico were well-organized and took positive steps to protect themselves. Under threats of arson in 1877, for example, they fielded around-the-clock watches whose alarms frustrated numerous attempts. The Chico Chinese also bought out one store's supply of handguns and practiced their use. They did not hide in the country while they learned to shoot, but they target-practiced in full public view. In secret, on the other hand, they established an underground "safe house" at the New Chinatown quarters. Here they sequestered men in a secure place for periods of time as needed. In addition, the Chico Chinese hired their own watchman, Benjamin True, a loyal young white man who skillfully represented them to white authorities.

During the period that this study addresses, 1880 to 1886, Chico Chinese built on that earlier resistance experience. Despite their continuous vulnerability, they secured modest to significant, though intermittent, influence on law enforcement, the judicial system, and town politics. For Asian residents to have even modest effectiveness was all the more remarkable because they held no position in any Chico public institution at any time in the nineteenth century. They were noncitizens whom the majority population refused even to recognize as full persons. In this light, such influence as they marshaled was testament to their courage, their intelligence, and their determination.

The narratives that follow examine three sets of events between 1880 and 1886. In each of these, the Chinese issue influenced Chico's legal and political system. While the episodes might stand alone, they appear together because each presents valuable context that illuminates the others. The first section examines an incident in which a prominent murder defendant discovered that not only he, but also the poor Chinese victim, had powerful friends. The

second section deals with the question of how Chinese politics influenced the election and subsequent career of Benjamin True, the Chinese residents' watchman who later became town marshal. Finally, the third section reveals for the first time how the Chinese secretly executed a tactic that defeated the anti-Chinese boycott of John Bidwell's flour mill in 1886. Taken together, the events illustrate how pervasive, how integral, how active, was the Chinese presence in the remote little town.

The most fruitful sources for this study have been Chico's two newspapers, one of which was a tentative advocate of Chinese labor, the other, its antagonist. Reliance on such indirect sources is necessary because the Chinese left no records to represent their perspective on what happened to them in Chico. The evidence trail is fragmentary, therefore, and somewhat unreliable. However, its persistence and concreteness provide the basis for reasonable confidence in analysis. Support has also come from the authors' research on the Chico Chinese, and an important clue in section three surfaced in Sucheng Chan's *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (1986).

LAW: THE LEE YUEN MURDER CASE

The 1879 murder of Lee Yuen touched off six years of judicial proceedings that reminded Chicoans about the continuous dangers anti-Chinese passions posed to residents and to the town's reputation. In this case, the prominence of one defendant's family undermined a favorite local rationalization about Chico's violence—that such episodes were the product of newcomers or of political radicals. Although the rationale had little basis in fact, it had comforted town leaders and provided them a plausible explanation for Chico's bad publicity even while they promoted the town to the prospective residents they were eager to attract.

The Lee Yuen case began on a cold and foggy December 1879 day when Jim Keefer, a son of pioneer lumberman and leading wheat farmer James Keefer, accepted an invitation to hunt geese with Edward Chapman, a Keefer hired hand.⁶ Chapman, age 20, and James Keefer, Jr., age 18, rode from the family ranch to Cana, a hamlet seven miles north of Chico, where they filled their jug with whiskey at the village store. Later, as they rode home from their afternoon of hunting and drinking, Keefer spotted the horse-drawn wagon of "Charlie" Lee Yuen, which moved well ahead of them along the road. The Cana store owner, Caleb Scott, who had sold Keefer and Chapman the liquor, watched as the young men galloped off in pursuit of Lee. Scott saw one of them wave his jug and the other his shotgun, while Lee flogged his



James L. Keefer, shown here in an 1898 photograph, was the Pennsylvania-born rancher whose namesake was a defendant in the Lee Yuen murder case. *Courtesy Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, Kathleen Gabriel, and E.Q. Williams.*

old horse as he tried to flee the pursuers. Lee's assailants overtook him, however, and when he halted his wagon they pulled him from the seat. Jim Keefer recognized Lee Yuen and later admitted he "had known him about a year. He came on the ranch once or twice a week for washing for the ranch house." Searching him, the young men found only Lee's laundry ledger and the pistol he had tucked in his belt. Lee, in an attempt at reason, offered to pay them \$50 later if they would let him go. They refused to wait, and, in the scuffle that ensued, Chapman stabbed Lee while Keefer restrained him. The two men rolled their victim into Rock Creek and rode on to the Keefer headquarters.

Friends reported Lee Yuen's disappearance to Chico Constable Ben True, who set out to locate him. True had been the Chinatown watchman, in its residents' employ until Marshal York Rundel hired him for the town police force. The county area True searched was outside his jurisdiction. However, his ties to the Chinese community and the Butte County sheriff's anti-Chinese links made True the Chinese's natural choice to try to locate their countryman. As True rode toward Cana, an Indian approached and led him to Lee's corpse, which was still where Keefer and Chapman had left it in the creek. On December 18, 1879, Chico farmer and town-founder, John Bidwell, made an entry in his diary: "Jimmy Keefer and

Edward Chapman killed a Chinaman and threw him in Rock Creek."

Ed Chapman's capture, trial, conviction, and sentence of twenty-two years at San Quentin demonstrated how efficiently Butte County's criminal justice system could exact retribution for a Chinese murder victim. Chapman's swift justice, however, may have had some connection to his poverty, poor education, and want of local connections.

By contrast, Jim Keefer's case demonstrated what a well-financed and aggressive defense could accomplish. Keefer escaped capture for nearly three weeks. Keefer's substantial family then threw its resources into his defense. It showed particular savvy when it hired Franklin C. Lusk, Chico's leading lawyer. Previous to this, Lusk had honed his reputation not only as a litigator in property cases, but of late he had also acted as the Chico attorney for the Chinese Six Companies. This was the San Francisco organization that loosely united and guided the members of Asian clans. According to historian L. Eve Armentrout Ma, it was the most effective organization in California in the representation and protection of Chinese against anti-Chinese abuses. Indeed, Ma alleges that the Six Companies, as such, was virtually a product of the anti-Chinese movement.⁹ It operated principally in the city, but, as this study shows, it also influenced events in rural northern California. Because this influence has not received the notice it deserves, the Six Companies' connection to Chinese in outlying areas is worthy of examination.

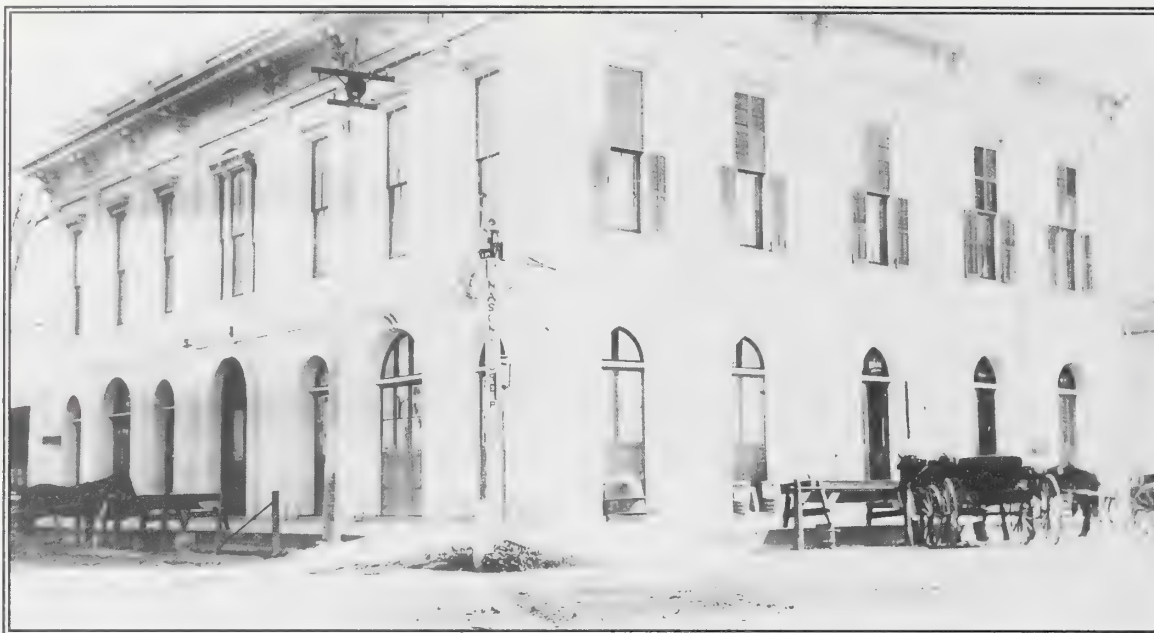
White Chico did not seem to know what to make of the Six Companies' interest in its affairs. Both newspapers' coverage merely noted the Six Companies' intervention on behalf of local Chinese. This is curious because what they did was controversial in town. For example, after the multiple murders on the Lemm Ranch in 1877, when the Six Companies sent detectives who arrived incognito, a local paper immediately revealed their names. Neither paper attacked that organization with the acrimony or the column inches they devoted to the Chinese as an amorphous group. In a similar vein the local press refused to recognize the identities or even the existence of local Chinese leaders. Insight into the newspapers' reticence, not only about Chinese leaders but also about the highly organized, well-funded, and effective Six Companies, may be seen by comparison to the reaction of Confederates in the American South to the appearance of black soldiers during the Civil War. As General Howell Cobb of Georgia put it, "If slaves seem good soldiers, then our whole theory of slavery is wrong." Certainly the Chico Chinese's behavior over two decades and more of crises

reflected an intelligence and discipline no whites would acknowledge. In their plight they were helped by nothing more than the Chico whites' determined ignorance of all things Chinese. By contrast, bilingual Asian residents circulated throughout the town—even enjoying employment in the homes of anti-Chinese whites—with considerable freedom to discover and circulate information of importance to them. On the other hand, only occasionally did Chinese plans or debates leak to the white enemies they so diligently served and observed. Some information, though, did reach white ears.

From Chico Township, news about the 1877 murders of the four laborers on the Lemm Ranch had passed to Sacramento and San Francisco Chinese. This incident apparently first focused the Six Companies' attention on conditions in northern Butte County. The victims were four of six laborers who had belonged to the Nin Yung Company, one of the six clans that had affiliated in San Francisco. As part of its involvement, the Six Companies' representative, Col. Fred Bee, raised money to pay the aforementioned detectives who were sent to find the murderers.

In addition to their participation in the Lemm Ranch murder case and the Lee Yuen case, the San Francisco Chinese's links to Chico had also surfaced in their employment of attorney Frank Lusk. The first published hint of their connection to Lusk came in a press discussion of the murder of Chico gambler Foon Chung. No mention of the Six Companies appeared in newspaper items about Lusk or his partner, A. J. Gifford, as they handled the defense of the accused killer, Ah Bong, in that case. However, Lusk had absolutely no reputation for "pro bono" work and never won regard as a man who spent his sympathies on the hard-pressed. Even his obituary mentioned his cold heart. Ah Bong's hire of Lusk is an example, therefore, of a modest Chinese who somehow secured the means to purchase services from the town's most expensive lawyer. While no overt Six Companies' role surfaced in Ah Bong's case, Lusk's link there became likely with its hire of Lusk to assist in the county's prosecution of the Holder family defendants in the 1879 killings of Gin Ah Shu and Quon Ah Hang.

Soon after, therefore, when Lusk did not assist the prosecution in the Keefer case but signed on for the defense, the attorney's change of sides in and of itself distinguished the case. Undeterred, the Six Companies sent lawyer C.C. McCallum to Oroville, the Butte County seat, where he augmented the prosecution.¹² At the superior court trial, the evidence did not allow Lusk to exonerate his client. But he did



The downtown Chico home and office, at Second and Salem streets, of lawyer F.C. Lusk, which he erected as the Keefer case moved through retrials. *Courtesy Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, and Nora Mootz.*

secure a hung jury and, so, kept the Keefer family's confidence.

When rumors surfaced that Butte County would retry young Keefer, he disappeared. Locals told one another his father had hidden him in a hay wagon headed for the mountains. The mystery lingered until 1882 when a drunken Jim Keefer walked into a Portland, Oregon, police station and confessed to the officer on duty that he had killed a Chinese in Chico.¹³ A telegraph summoned Chico Marshal York Rundel, who personally collected Keefer and returned him to Chico. Rundel, was a local political wonder. An anti-Chinese activist from his early days in the 1877 campaigns, he had now become a moderating influence on the anti-Chinese redhots. For this he won strong support from local businessmen, who credited him with the relative peace within Chico's town limits from the late 1870s through the early 1880s.

Because, as the new decade opened, an anti-Chinese organization appeared that resembled one linked to the 1877 violence, the Keefer case's persistence particularly worried town leaders. Their concerns found no relief when Rebecca Odell Keefer, the defendant's handsome half-Cherokee mother, drove down Main Street in 1882 at the head of sixteen Indian outriders from the Keefer Rancheria.¹⁴ She dismounted and strode into the town hall, where she collected her son from the compliant jailer. Townspeople gawked as the whole party swept north and out of town.

The Chinese Six Companies' Chico sources had passed word to San Francisco about Keefer's return from Oregon and pending retrial. Chinese leaders there still wanted a Keefer conviction. Again they dispatched C.C. McCallum to Oroville, where he supplemented the second round of prosecution. The Keefer parents' determination had not lessened, however. They offered Frank Lusk "unlimited funds to fight the case," and once again a hung jury freed their son.¹⁵

Next, the county's expanded prosecution team secured a change of venue, which moved the case out of Butte County to Marysville in Yuba County. There, a third jury found James Keefer, Jr., guilty, and the judge sentenced him to prison. Lusk appealed to the state Supreme Court, which heard the case on constitutional grounds—the prohibition against double jeopardy. In the high state court at San Francisco, Lusk's argument won Keefer's freedom. This, the fourth hearing of the case, concluded it.

At no time during the course of the investigation or subsequent trials was James Keefer, Jr., or Edward Chapman subject to threats of lynching, although other Butte County prisoners, the alleged murderers of whites, regularly feared such a prospect. Indeed, a large segment of the white community sympathized with the perpetrators of violence against Chinese.¹⁶ In this vein, the *Chico Enterprise* clucked: "James Keefer [Jr.] has gone through a terrible ordeal, and has been finally restored to his family and friends, let us hope that the lesson will not

be lost upon him.” The editor’s sentiment is not difficult to find. Three years later, state Senator A.J. Jones (who as district attorney had prosecuted Chapman and Keefer) and Secretary of State W.C. Hendricks joined with eight hundred “prominent citizens of Butte and Tehama Counties” in petitions that secured a governor’s pardon for Chapman, who had by then served several years of a long prison sentence.

POLITICS: THE TOWN MARSHAL

Anti-Chinese sentiment also influenced local law enforcement politics. Appointments or elections to those positions attracted attention to the political views of public personnel. Anti-Chinese Chicoans were the first to back York Rundel for marshal not long after his 1876 move to town. He opened a junction-area butcher shop near his Eighth Street home. After a slim Democratic majority made him marshal, his moderation and decency overcame any doubts leading pro-Chinese Republicans had about him. They had been leery of his 1877 affiliation with the anti-Chinese Order of Caucasians and a briefly alleged association at that time with a terrorist group, the Labor Union. Although a Democrat, York Rundel’s integrity attracted leading Republicans’ support behind the scenes. For them to back him publically would have been to alienate not only his Democratic base but Republican rank-and-file as well.

The Republicans’ and Democrats’ discovery of Rundel’s support from Republican leaders surfaced by happenstance. Republicans at a downtown gathering overheard their party chairman, Dr. C.C. Mason, engage in earnest and extended political conversation with prominent Democrats. These were Rundel, Judge John Daly, an anti-Chinese and former Workingmen’s Party leader, and William Waterland, a tailor who had supported the anti-Chinese campaigns of the 1870s. Dr. Mason was not alone in his regard for Rundel. The two other leading Republicans of the moment—Chico founder John Bidwell and lumber industry leader A.H. Chapman—shared this admiration. In an informal agreement with moderate Democrats such as Lusk, Sproul, and Dr. Oscar Stansbury, these key Republican leaders linked Rundel’s reelection to continued community stability. Therefore, with Chico’s virtually even division between Democrats and Republicans, the Republican faction behind Rundel held firm and he secured reelection. The Republican leaders’ alliance with Democrats infuriated their fellow Republicans, however. The Republican *Chico Enterprise* was bitter: “The municipal election...resulted in a complete

Democratic victory and [Republican] Doc Mason feels happy that he has beaten the Republican part of Chico. We do not envy him that honor.”

The controversy over Marshal York Rundel suddenly ended in 1883, when he died at the age of fifty-three, only three months after his wife’s death. At his funeral, a large gathering paid respects, consoled the five orphaned children, and heard the poignant memorial service. Pallbearers were recent local Republican chairman A. H. Chapman, moderate Democrat Oscar Stansbury, and other community pillars across party lines. These townspeople grasped the extent to which Rundel’s death posed not only a personal loss to them, but also to Chico’s peace.

Without Rundel to unite the divided community, Republicans scraped together a slight majority of town trustees and secured Constable Benjamin True’s appointment as the new town marshal. No other appointee could have presented the anti-Chinese Democrats with such provocation. And this time it was moderate Democrats who provided the crossover votes to select True. One can only imagine the glee behind closed Chinatown doors upon True’s selection. In gratitude for his help in the 1877



Chico Town Hall, site of Marshal Ben True’s office and meetingplace of elected trustees, who wrestled with constables’ conflict over the Chinese issue. Courtesy Special Collections, Murray Library, California State University, Chico, and Gladys Truitt.

Lemm Ranch crisis, the Chinese had given True a gold timepiece on which they had inscribed "Presented to B.F. True by his Chinese Friends."²⁰ The realization that Ben True, who spoke Chinese and had proved their trusted friend, would exercise public power as town marshal galled anti-Chinese Chicoans. They yearned for retribution.

Their first chance to attack Marshal True arose in June 1885, after one of New Chinatown's succession of fires, this one another suspected arson. One bystander was Allen Henry, the former local Grange president and, soon, a state assemblyman. Another was a painter, William Swearingen, who with Allen Henry supported the anti-Chinese resurgence. At the fire scene they summoned anti-Chinese Constable John Hutson to arrest Ah He and Ah Sing, whom they had observed brandish an axe and a saw in pursuit of a third Chinese. Hutson arrested both men and led them off to the Main Street jail. There, he later said, he locked them up and entered a charge of "assault with a deadly weapon" on the docket register, an unbound book in the open, unattended office.

After Hutson returned to his rounds, Marshal True arrived from the fire, where he had dealt with "hoodlums [who] had been throwing rocks at Chinese quarters."²¹ In no hurry on his way back to Main Street, he had paused to put out the gas lights along West Fourth Street. At the Town Hall jail he found Ah Fawn and Ah Yum, who asked him to release the men whom Hutson had jailed. As True later recalled, he checked the docket in both "an unbound Chinese book" and "the slate," but he said he found no charges entered in either. He released the men from custody and walked one, a cook, to Tom Dooley's popular restaurant. Dooley was grateful to have his help back, because he counted on Chinese cooks and waiters who carried on whenever he was indisposed. (That was often the case because Dooley was a heavy drinker.) True knew Dooley well because over time various constables had charged him with disturbing the peace, battery, or profanity. As Ah He and Ah Sing returned to work, they promised True they would appear for a hearing upon his notice.

Early the next day, Hutson said nothing to Marshal True when they met. However, *Enterprise* editor Watson Chalmers soon told True about Hutson's claim that he had charged Ah He and Ah Sing and that True had arbitrarily freed them. True hurried to his office, where he discovered warrants for the men's rearrest. After he personally returned them both to jail, he checked the docket and found that the charge sheet of the previous day had disappeared.

Shortly thereafter, Constable Hutson formally

charged his supervisor with "assisting prisoners to escape." In the preliminary hearing before a packed crowd, Municipal Judge John T. Daly, an anti-Chinese leader, ruled that True had not violated the municipal code and had followed local precedent. Daly declared, however, that True had assisted the prisoners' escape in violation of state law and that "an example ought to be set in this case."²² He fixed Town Marshal Ben True's bail at \$1,000, then an extraordinary sum, and ordered him to trial in Superior Court.

The Oroville court supported Daly's decision and removed Ben True from office. After the ruling, a hundred or more Chicoans and the Neubarth Band converged at True's Ivy Street cottage to cheer True's return to Chico. True thanked them and declared "he had always endeavored to discharge faithfully the duties of his office, without partiality to any, and to uphold the law without regard to race or color."²³ In the next election for marshal, True's Republican backers allied with a small faction of moderate Democrats to craft a slim majority that returned him to office.

Next, Marshal True went after Constable Hutson, but, characteristic of True, the issue he chose did not inflame anti-Chinese elements. First, True secured the town trustees' reprimand for Hutson's ongoing disparagements of True's performance.²⁴ Still not content, Ben True next charged Hutson with "conduct unbecoming an officer." He called forward two prostitutes, May Bradley and Ada Harbin, "and it was remarkable how immediately thereafter the room filled with spectators, the windows outside were blocked, and the door was crowded with anxious listeners."²⁵ Bradley testified that they had been "sitting in the front room of our residence on Seventh Street near Flume...talking with two young gentlemen who had come to call" when officer Hutson knocked on the door and ordered them to light a lamp.²⁶ Hutson then threatened to kick in the door and arrest the couples when they did not comply. The trustees again reprimanded Hutson and ordered the two men to make up their differences. They shook hands and agreed to make a fresh start. Hutson's sudden death a few months later concluded their dispute, which had its political roots in their differences on the Chinese issue.

In these and other instances, members of the political and law enforcement fraternity regularly divided among themselves in Chico's debate about the town's Chinese residents. While the Chinese did not participate directly either in party competition or constabulary politics, Ben True's political rise and his resilience under pressure boosted their sense of security. Whether as a town marshal or, in his old

age, as a movie usher who would sneak poor Chinese children into the theater, True did what he could for Chinese residents who needed help. For those employers who wanted a stable town and the economical labor force the Chinese provided, Ben True offered reassurance. To the anti-Chinese faction, however, he remained a red flag.

ECONOMICS:

THE CHINESE OUTSMART THE BIDWELL BOYCOTT

At the same meeting in July 1885, when the trustees reconciled True and Hutson, they addressed a new issue sure to exacerbate Chico's tense race relations. Laborer and former Workingmen's Party member Zion Moore presented a petition from 170 men who asked the trustees to move Chico's two Chinatowns, which they deemed a "public nuisance ...detrimental to the health of the citizens," to a location outside the town limits.²⁸ Their proposal made the trustees uneasy. Trustee Cleveland Walker, who owned Chinatown buildings, warned that the climate that had produced the petition "was bound to cause trouble, and to result in sending someone to San Quentin as happened in [1877]."²⁹ He voted against the proposal; the majority tabled it.

The trustees had reason for worry. In the following winter of 1886, the "large and enthusiastic" Chico Anti-Chinese Association—also called the Anti-Coolie League—summoned between three and four hundred supporters to meetings.³⁰ "The anti-Chinese Association of Chico is under the control of a radical element that will not listen to the conservative members," the *Enterprise* warned.³¹ Even the anti-Chinese *Record* fretted: "The sand-lot brawlers and dynamiters are a stumbling block and a curse to the honest Anti-Chinese cause and movement." When, therefore, at one of these meetings the members adopted a tough new tactic—the boycott of businesses hiring Chinese—many felt relief that violence was unlikely to ensue. The association called on townspeople to "secure immediate discharge as far as possible of all Chinese employed in whatsoever capacity" and to "secure a list of names of all persons employing Chinese, and that after due notice given by the Executive Committee to discharge them, we will refuse, and endeavor to prevent others, to deal with such persons until said Chinese are discharged."³² This tactic would encounter a novel legal—or "pseudo-legal"—challenge, whose real source was a closely held secret that this study has discovered.

Chico activists did not invent the boycott tactic, nor were they unique in their anti-Chinese campaign at that time. Another "big and enthusiastic

meeting" took place in Orland, then a new Glenn County town across the Sacramento River west of Chico.³³ In February 1886, Butte County boycott meetings also took place in Gridley and Biggs. In Tehama County, across Butte's northern border, anti-Chinese meetings gripped Red Bluff and the village of Tehama. In Shasta County's Redding and Squaw Creek, agitation was also the order of the day. Disturbances as far away as Wyoming and Washington territories were so serious that "the Chinese Minister" appealed to the U.S. government to protect Chinese residents there.

One community impervious to anti-Chinese activism was the village of Vina, about midway between Chico and Red Bluff. It adjoined a ranch owned by Leland Stanford, which relied on Chinese labor. In 1886, Vina's Chinese offered their countrymen a refuge. Few Caucasians lived there, and, of those who did, a number rented to the Chinese or relied on their trade and did "not wish to be identified with the anti-Chinese League."

Unlike in 1877, both the Chico Anti-Chinese Association's Asian and white opponents organized to contain the association's threat. The Chico Chinese had reason for fear, of course, and evidence of their concern surfaced with the Chinese New Year's arrival. While townspeople usually grouched about the annual Chinese celebration, many actually enjoyed it. In flush times, Chinese residents imported a "dragon" from San Francisco for a colorful parade through downtown streets. Incense, gifts to friends, and elaborately embroidered clothing all added color to the farm town's drab winters.³⁷ In February 1886, however, the Chinese met in New Chinatown, where they not only canceled the public celebration, but they also discussed whether they would withhold their services from Chico's whites. Would they refuse to sell vegetables to whites, wash their clothes, cook their meals, wait on their families?³⁸ Since these Asians provided domestic and other services that anti-Chinese activists also utilized, this question posed an interesting prospect. However, for reasons unknown, they launched no local action.

Alert to the situation in the Sacramento Valley, the Chinese government dispatched emissaries there on behalf of its nationals. The vice consul general, Cheng Ping, and his secretary, Cheng Pow, traveled from San Francisco to Red Bluff, where close to one thousand white residents had pledged to boycott the employers of Chinese. Chicoans read reports of the visitors. "The *Cause* says they are two very distinguished looking individuals," observed the *Enterprise*. "The Vice Consul General is of slender build, has a very intelligent air about him and speaks English fluently."³⁹ Support from their countrymen

emboldened Red Bluff Chinese vegetable sellers, who refused to supply produce to an anti-Chinese hotel keeper. At Redding, after vigilantes forced all the Chinese out of town, defiant laundrymen among them threatened to publish the names of their delinquent white bill-payers.

In February, the *Chico Record* copied from its Redding counterpart a letter coauthored by Col. Fred Bee. Based in San Francisco, Bee was the Six Companies' "accredited attorney" and the assistant consul for China. Many Chicoans would recall Bee, whom they had resented since 1877, when he dispatched detectives to investigate the Lemm Ranch murders.

San Francisco, Jan 26th 1886

Clay W. Taylor Shasta—Please make it known that we will prosecute in United States Courts to the fullest extent all parties and municipal governments for any and all outrages committed against Chinese residents of Shasta County ... Please notify Sheriff.

O. Wyang Ming General Consul⁴⁰

F.A. Bee, Consol. [sic]

With outside scrutiny at hand and legal accountability in prospect, the Chico Anti-Chinese Association became cautious and discouraged calls for violence. Ernest Sandmeyer has noted that only with utmost effort did worried Chico whites and

their Chinese counterparts fend off violent schemes. Indeed, in Chico's case, the avoidance would prove only temporary.⁴¹

The Chico Anti-Chinese Association's influence rested on the unabated frustration of the working-class white men who made up a substantial segment of Chico's population. In addition, and too seldom acknowledged, the anti-Chinese group also attracted a coterie of merchants, professional men, and craftsmen. A good many of these "pillars of the community" counted on anti-Chinese partisans, who purchased their goods and services. By contrast, in Oroville and Vina the relative proportion of Chinese who were residents had passed a level of critical mass. In both those towns, where prominent businesses depended on Chinese trade, peace prevailed. However, in Chico, agriculture provided the economic base, not Chinese customers.

Chico leaders of the Anti-Chinese Association included men active in the Order of Caucasians since the late 1870s. Prominent among them were municipal judge John T. Daly and Sam Crose, former ranch manager for Daniel Bidwell, the half-brother of Chico's founder. The roots of Crose's interest illustrate a common reason for people to support anti-Chinese activities. As recently as 1880, four of Crose's five sons, all "laborers," had been out of work for three to nine months, while he himself had been



The Chinese New Year parade in Chico, 1898. This was the type of public celebration that local Chinese had cancelled in 1886, in response to a planned white boycott against businesses that hired them. Courtesy Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, and James Morehead.

unemployed for four months.⁴⁶ Another Order activist of the 1880s was Allen Henry, who was discussed earlier. A prosperous farmer and Democrat, he had settled in Chico soon after the Civil War's end. Joseph Campbell, former local president of Chico's Workingmen's Party, played a small role. Republican wheat-grower and land-developer A.D. Nelson subscribed on principle: "We have a law restricting Chinese immigration, why is it not enforced? Because capital wants cheap labor."⁴⁷ Some supporters were either too new to Chico in the 1880s or had been too young in the 1870s to have played a role in the earlier controversies.

Among the new anti-Chinese activists were Irish immigrants, whose zealotry created rumors that they had links to the "Molly McGuires," a violent eastern labor organization. These Irish included hotel keeper Phil O'Hair and lawyers J.W. Magee and E. J. Emmons. Another Irishman, Phil McManus, who owned the popular La Grande Saloon, suffered the consequences of his principles when a group of his Anti-Chinese Association friends met over drinks in his Second Street establishment as a Chinese man entered to purchase beer to take out. As McManus filled the man's pitcher, the saloon's patrons simultaneously removed their elbows from the bar and made a "movement column" out the door.⁴⁸

In February 1886, Chico Anti-Chinese Association members appointed William Swearingen, A. J. Barley, and George Dorn "to find out and report to this club the names of individuals and firms that will not cooperate with us...for the action of the club in reference to the boycott system."⁴⁹ They planned to post the names in public. In the meantime, and over some objections, the organization started a boycott against rancher and Chico founder John Bidwell "because he employs Chinese on the Rancho Chico."⁵⁰

Later in the week, a committee personally presented Bidwell the reasons for the boycott. Yet, A. J. Barley, Dr. David Deal, and George Dorn, Chico's first mayor, could not persuade him to fire his Chinese employees immediately. In fact, Bidwell gained the upper hand in this exchange once he had extracted the anti-Chinese emissaries' admission that Chinese laundered their clothing. Bidwell, who did not employ Chinese in his home but used their laundries, advised the men to "begin at home with their discharge of Chinese help."⁵¹ Bidwell refused to dismiss Chinese workers unless he could locate white men who would work at the same wage rate.⁵²

When the anti-Chinese group next met, some members challenged the decision to make the wealthy, respected, and powerful Bidwell the sole boycott target. Those opposing the boycott included Judge John T. Daly and lawyer John W. Magee.

Daly had mellowed after successive terms on the municipal bench and sufficient financial success to build Chico's only octagonal house.⁵³ He called for an even-handed approach: "I think we are lowering our [illegible] as an association by making one man the target of the boycott. Drop his name. I am in favor of boycotting, but place General Bidwell with every other citizen."⁵⁴

John Magee backed Daly's position and his statement merits full quotation. No other sources remain that reveal ordinary residents' reasoning as they debated Chico's key nineteenth-century ethnic issue.

We must have the unanimity and good will of the whole community before we can boycott, and we have not the sympathy of the community now, because they think we did not give General Bidwell a fair show. And we did not; we passed a law, tried a man under it, convicted him and set his punishment all in one night, and that even without giving him a chance to say anything for himself. We need the produce of General Bidwell's ranch to support us while we boycott the Chinamen. Gentlemen, I am in favor of the boycott now, but we ought to place ourselves right before the community regarding General Bidwell. I move to amend the motion so as to place him on equal terms with everyone else. It must not appear that we single out one man. Let us boycott the Chinese [illegible] laundries, their cigars, their vegetable wagons, and [illegible]. It is not the purpose of this organization to injure General Bidwell. He wants to see the Chinese go but only in a legal manner. If we persist in this boycotting of him that we have decided upon, I believe the General will hold out against us. He employs now five white men to one Chinese. He sends into this town every week over \$1500 for their labor. But if we persist in our boycott and take away \$1500 a week from Chico and support from many poor families in the town. [sic] There are other large employers of Chinamen here, among them John Crouch, D. D. Harris, the Sierra Lumber Company; why do we single out General Bidwell from among these? For my part, I believe in fair play.⁵⁵

Bidwell boycott advocates challenged Daly's and Magee's objections. In reporting a meeting of boycotters, the Chico *Enterprise* quoted lawyer E.J. Emmons, a Chico demagogue who fanned anti-Chinese flames in several communities, as having declared that

"[Bidwell] never intended to discharge his Chinamen and never does intend to. On the contrary he has discharged white men for belonging to this organization. And shall we give this man more?" (Cry from the audience: "never give him a minute!") "He is the very essence of Chinese lovers in this community. Why not attack him first? He is the richest



John Bidwell's flour mill, built in 1854 and shown here ca. 1870, became a focal point of the anti-Chinese boycott of his Rancho Chico products. *Courtesy Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.*

man in the county and if we fetch him first, the other employers of Chinamen will quickly follow. Ask about the community! What do we care for the community? Keep up the boycott. I spoke in Cherokeeand told the people there about General Bidwell; and as a result twelve hundred pounds of flour were sent back to his mill next day from the vicinity of Cherokee."⁵²

Emmons (who was arrested on a later occasion for smoking opium) found support from the former farm manager, Sam Crose. According to the *Enterprise*, Crose charged that Chico "does not dare to act in the Chinese question because General Bidwell holds them back. He [Crose] thought the association ought not to show him [Bidwell] any more respect than the lowest man that works for his living."⁵³ The third speaker who took this position was Dr. David Deal. His father-in-law, watchmaker Charles Ball, had been Chico's anti-Chinese mayor during the 1876-1877 troubles. Deal, Emmons, and Crose won members' unanimous support to continue the boycott. A.J. Barley also wanted to boycott *Enterprise* advertisers, but he won no support. Opposition to

an *Enterprise* boycott came from physician Deal, saloon owner Phil McManus, farmer Allen Henry, and merchant George Dorn, all of whom said that they supported free speech and a free press.⁵⁴

The Chico Anti-Chinese Association was particularly alert to community sentiment at that May meeting. Unlike in 1877, when it had faced no organized opposition, in the 1880s it faced noisy, if symbolic, opposition from an *ad hoc* group, the Committee of One Hundred. The committee had congealed quickly in early March after two prominent citizens received threats similar to those they had received in 1877. In one case, a message attached to an unlighted "fireball" tossed in her yard warned Sydnia Jones to dismiss her Chinese domestic help. In the second, a message to John Bidwell targeted his property and his life. The *Enterprise* reacted strongly: "It is time for all citizens to be awake to the dangers that surround them."⁵⁵

The Committee of One Hundred was briefly called "the Hundreds," although there is no evidence that it ever reached 150. It drew such men as John Bidwell, lumberman A.H. Chapman, merchant William

Earll, brewer Charles Croissant, wagon-builder Henry Camper, his son and Bidwell's bookkeeper H.H. Camper, banker Alexander Crew, and farmer Gilman C. Nelson. The Committee of One Hundred committed itself to hiring white labor, called for limits to Chinese immigration, and denounced boycotts as the instrument of Irish immigrant "dynamiters." The committee rejected race prejudice and declared boycotts "inhuman, cruel, merciless....It oppresses the weak and helpless and all who dare to disobey the tyranny."⁵⁶ The boycott's threat to property elicited a nearly eloquent affirmation of Chinese immigrants' civil rights. Neither arson nor other abuses against the Chico Chinese for over a decade had ever elicited such eloquent indignation as the threatened boycott against one white-owned business inspired in 1886.

The anti-Chinese Chicoans were not impressed. They kept their rhetoric hyperbolic and their followers nonviolent. They determined "to let the Chinamen remain until starved out, so long as they received no wages and no income."⁵⁷ Their association, however, encountered John Bidwell's retaliation. Ready to play "hard ball," he instituted a "lockout" of all his flour mill employees in April. He also set a political test for townspeople with whom he would trade. One of them was W. J. Pulliam, a machinist and Workingmen's Party member who had serviced Rancho Chico equipment for four years. When Pulliam went to the ranch at the superintendent's request to discuss a job, John Bidwell appeared and asked him whether he was an Anti-Chinese Association member. When Pulliam acknowledged he was, Bidwell ordered him off the ranch.

Likewise, T. J. Davison, a Rancho Chico blacksmith in good standing for three years, claimed Bidwell had fired him for political reasons. Davison later explained how he had earlier accepted Bidwell's edict that his employees join the Committee of One Hundred. (If Bidwell's approximately 100 employees were members under his orders, questions arise as to the Committee of One Hundred's claim to be a community-wide group). However, Davison became uneasy when Bidwell ordered him to attend meetings. The blacksmith considered his boss's order a "transaction treating those in his employ as so many cattle, instead of American citizens."⁵⁸ When word of Davison's views reached Bidwell, he fired the blacksmith.

In a third case, D.H. Woods, an accomplished photographer by trade and an Anti-Chinese Association leader, charged that Bidwell had used his influence to thwart Woods's plans for a promotional event. Woods had assembled a portfolio of photographs of the Butte County countryside and of local agricul-



D.H. Woods, above, Chico photographer and anti-Chinese activist, produced an extensive local record, little of which has survived. Courtesy Sheri Honeycutt.

tural machinery, which he meant to display at a multi-county exhibit. "Is it a fact," Woods objected, "that because I hold and give utterance to anti-Chinese sentiments, while your interests prompt you to maintain a system of Chinese slavery, that you vindictively opposed my making an art exhibit? Or must it be attributed to taste?"⁵⁹

The Committee of One Hundred received a brief flash of publicity, but it never implemented a political or economic strategy to defeat the boycott. John Bidwell's lockout raised questions about the wisdom of the boycott as a strategy, but no evidence suggests the lockout was responsible for the boycott's defeat. However, the boycott did fail—and not because it petered out or faded away, as a later account infers.⁶⁰ Instead, secret legal and political actions by San Francisco's Chinese Six Companies deserve principal credit for the boycott's defeat in Chico. The man who executed their plan was Major H.J. Burns, who introduced himself on arrival in Chico as a deputy United States marshal. Burns may or may not have been a federal agent. But at the time in question he certainly had some association with Colonel Fred Bee, the legal counsel to the Chinese Six Companies. It may have been Bee who had con-

trived the clever and legal-sounding tactic the Six Companies implemented, but no evidence pinpoints its exact source.

Chicoans were unaware that immediately previous to his arrival, Burns had personally escorted the Chinese vice consul to confront anti-Chinese agitators in the Glenn County towns of Wheatland and Nicholaus. There, the local press had referred to him as a former deputy marshal. That was not the status he represented to Chicoans. In Chico, where he introduced himself only as a "federal marshal," Burns launched the ruse.

He announced that he had received orders to acquire the membership rolls of anti-Chinese advocacy groups promoting the boycott. Burns dropped by the *Enterprise* offices to spread the word about arrangements he claimed he had just made at Folsom Prison. There, he said, Warden McComb had agreed to create room for the incarceration of five thousand boycotters. He explained the legal basis for this in vague allusions to pending "federal statutes" based on the equal protection clause of the Constitution, which would criminalize boycotts. The voluble Burns also offered that, as soon as the imminent legislation went into effect, the boycotters would personally face penalties of \$500 to \$5,000 and imprisonment of six months to six years. He explained that, to expedite the proposed prosecution of Chico boycotters, he would record the names of those who owned property that the government could attach. He said he expected the U.S. Supreme Court would soon iron out technical hitches, the nature of which he glossed over, and its imminent decision would approve immediate arrests. As Burns warmed up, he surmised for his rapt listeners that "the Government will probably begin its prosecutions about the first of June, and arrests will then be made according to the lists which I am securing."⁶¹ He went on "cheerfully" to allow as how, once all of Warden McComb's space was filled with boycotters, he had arranged for the overflow to occupy "a 300-acre lot" next to Folsom.⁶²

Then Major Burns announced he would launch his Butte County boycotters list at the Anti-Chinese Convention, which was to begin in the next few days. Under these well-publicized circumstances, only thirty or so men, nearly all of them from Chico, made an appearance at the gathering. Burns himself became their principal topic of interest, and the bolder members, who imitated Burn's genial tone, invited him to join. Just as genially, Burns declined. Convention participants, who included lawyer J.W. Magee, publisher George Crosette, lawyer E.J. Emmons, and teamster Joseph Campbell, gamely carried on a skeletal version of their meeting. A.J.

Barley, however, read strong boycott resolutions, which his fellow conventioners promptly referred to committee. "The Convention then adjourned to meet next month in Folsom," the *Enterprise* chorled.⁶³ Throughout the episode and until the present day, H.J. Burns's relationship to the Six Companies remained undercover. Two years later, however, Bee dispatched him on a secret trip to Chico, where he made covert Chinatown inquiries about a sensational murder case.⁶⁴

The Six Companies' ploy defeated the boycott, but not, of course, anti-Chinese feeling. Only the following week, three white men beat up a Chinese driver three miles from Chico after his runaway horse slammed into a sick horse they had staked to the road. The victim secured their arrest, and the justice of the peace who heard the case fined each man six dollars. In the court's presence, one defendant vowed to kill the Chinese who had pressed charges. As this and other episodes illustrate, life for the Chinese continued to be harrowing.

While individual actions continued, the Six Companies' ruse had punctured the organized strategy of the Anti-Chinese Association—at least for the present. It also collapsed the Committee of One Hundred, which "the property owners of the town and surrounding country" had created solely to defeat the boycott. Within a month of its collapse, the organization was "being forgotten."⁶⁵ The memory of the episode lingered, however, in historical accounts, which sanitized it. According to Henry Mansfield's *History of Butte County*, for example, "during this period a deputy of the United States Marshal's office was present in Chico, but his presence there appeared unnecessary."⁶⁶ The accounts from 1886 sources that appear above contradict Mansfield's 1918 gloss.

Anti-Chinese sentiment after the boycott's end produced a new tactic: a white-run laundry to undermine the thriving Chinese businesses. Merchant George Dorn had earlier proposed such a laundry, but in March 1886 the clamor for boycotts had side-tracked his idea. With Major Burns's departure, anti-Chinese agitators implemented Dorn's steam laundry proposal. The Chico Steam Laundry, however, proved unable to compete with lower Chinese wages. Nor could its new machinery satisfactorily finish women's elaborately made clothing. It was during the interlude between the boycott's collapse and the start of the white-run laundry that Major Burns made his surreptitious return to Chico. There, he met with Chinese leaders to learn what they knew about Hong Di, the murderer of a local farm woman. This murder had provided an opportunity for anti-Chinese groups to discredit Chinese household

labor. The case's peculiar course and outcome appeared in an earlier issue of *California History*.

As a small, country town, Chico's economic prospects required a reputation for political calm and bustling enterprise in order to attract investment as well as to retain the confidence of fire insurance companies. In this light, the ongoing anti-Chinese campaigns threatened the town's future. In little Chico, the law, legal structures, and people—country lawyers, jury members, police, judges, and citizen lawmakers—all grappled with one of the most heated issues that confronted California in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Too often the "Chinese period" in Chico and elsewhere appears in older historical writings as merely an exotic and benign historical moment, a footnote to the historical developments of the day. As the above narratives illustrate, during the "Chinese period" those immigrants were at the heart of Chico's public life.

The Chinese relied primarily on their own resources as they gained this never-acknowledged and certainly fragile foothold in the community's law and politics. Their urban supporters from San Francisco, the Six Companies, secured criminal prosecutions on their behalf or provided them with defenses; they won respect from a talented white man who won the town's key law enforcement position; and their outside representatives, the Six Companies, contrived a clever tactic that subverted a promising anti-Chinese measure, the boycott. The Chinese demonstrated through decisive private acts that they would resist victimization. More than one hundred years later, the time has come to recognize how equal were the Chico Chinese and their urban allies to the challenges that white Chicoans presented them.

May 12th 1894
 President Temple in his
 usual prompt manner
 today appointed the committee
 to act on employment
 Bureau
 Pres R R Temple
 Sec W A Sherr
 A H Jackson
 E McNamee
 W B Edwards
 Also soliciting committee
 to visit and solicit
 farmers & orchardists
 to replace their Chinese
 and Japanese labor by
 white or colored labor
 Chairman R D Jackson
 John W. Meigs
 Herman Wilson
 W. A. Sherr
 D W Bradstreet
 H W Lewis
 Geo. Lyons
 C B Swan
 Dr. Eastman
 J W. Sherr
 J B. Edwards

A page from the Chico Anti-Chinese Association's minutes book for May 12, 1894. It records, in part, plans for its soliciting committee to "solicit farmers and orchardists to replace their Chinese and Japanese Labor..." and indicates its expanded focus of discrimination against all Asians. Courtesy Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, and Gladys Pelletier.

See notes beginning on page 419

Michele Shover, professor of political science at California State University, Chico, since 1968, has published analyses of Sacramento Valley history in state and regional publications. The anti-Chinese campaigns have provided a principal focus of her research in the area's archival materials.

A MONUMENT TO PROGRESS:

The Posey Tube and the East Bay's Transition to the Age of the Automobile

by Frank Lortie

California's love affair with the automobile has become a shop-worn legend, but the courtship and romance in the early years of this affectionate obsession were not without severe strains, frustrations, and difficult adjustments. As an astute member of the State Highway Commission asserted proudly in 1929, "California is truly a state on wheels and the oft-repeated statement that it is the 'motoring ground of the nation' is no idle boast."¹ The citizens of the state may have been ready for the age of the automobile, but the transportation infrastructure was not. A year after the end of World War I, the state's highway system was barely out of its infancy, but from 1911 to 1919 voters showed solid support for better roads by approving three bond issues totaling \$51 million for state and county highway construction.² Despite this support, local government officials and others involved in transportation issues were not quite prepared for the complex problems the automobile was imposing on their communities, especially when there was competition or conflict with existing transportation systems and economic interests.

Most east San Francisco Bay community leaders were certainly willing to improve local transportation systems. They understood the economic benefits resulting from a convenient and reliable system of streets and roads. Besides, they thought of themselves as progressive and were determined to modernize their local services and public works. From the early 1900s onward, Alameda County and the cities within its jurisdiction, like other communities across the state, embarked on extensive construction projects upgrading sewer systems, building roads and bridges, improving water systems, and promoting improved electrical service. One of the most celebrated of these projects was the construction of an integrated, modern system of paved highways, roads, and streets, along with crucial transportation facilities such as bridges and tunnels. One of the most innovative and acclaimed of these facilities was an automobile tunnel at the bottom of the estuary between Oakland and the city of Alameda. The day

it was opened to traffic in 1928, it had been officially named the Posey Tube.

The Posey Tube was a technological solution for transportation problems that were the result of technological advances occurring in every aspect of transportation. Despite the sincere efforts and initial achievements of early transportation planning, it was difficult to keep up with the expanding popularity of the automobile in California. Automobile registrations in the state increased dramatically in the 1910s, but World War I and the years following saw explosive growth in car ownership. From 1917 to 1924, registrations more than quadrupled, making California second in the nation (behind New York) in the total number of vehicles owned and first in per-capita ownership, with one car for every 2.4 persons. Alameda County ranked third statewide in total automobile ownership, with more than 133,000 registrations by 1929, putting it well ahead of many entire states.³ The east bay was certainly asserting leadership in its passion for the passenger car. When in 1921 Durant Motors (later absorbed by General Motors) built a large assembly plant in east Oakland, the east bay had a ready local supply of new cars to help satisfy its almost insatiable appetite. Car production had become by this decade the nation's major industry in terms of the product value, and, consequently, the construction of streets and highways had become the second largest governmental expenditure on the state and local level.⁴ The success of the automobile was starting to overwhelm some local communities in the San Francisco region. Congested streets, outmoded bridges, and roadway hazards and bottlenecks periodically brought auto traffic in Bay Area cities and adjacent suburbs to a standstill. To many local officials and businessmen, automobile transportation seemed to be approaching a crisis.

While the motor car had given cities like Oakland cause for both hope and frustration, another transportation system, trans-oceanic shipping, was providing the east bay with an equally vexing problem. Since the 1860s, port facilities on Oakland's estuary



West façade of the Oakland Portal building leading to the Posey Tube. This is the second subaqueous automobile tunnel built in the U.S. Completed in 1928, it was named after George A. Posey, the chief engineer of the project. *Courtesy of the author.*

shoreline across from Alameda's western tip had been seen as the city's chance for capturing a maritime trade that might equal that of San Francisco.⁵ Also there were more and probably better docking locations farther east along both sides of the estuary, which had the benefit of being sheltered from bay winds and occasional storms. Two obstacles blocked Oakland's plans for an expanded harbor, however. The first was natural impediments in the estuary itself. In 1857, dredges removed a large sandbar at the estuary mouth, and in the 1870s the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers conducted a major harbor improvement project, deepening the channel and reclaiming the marshes and tidelands with the spoils. To enhance the water flow in the channel, the last strip of land connecting Alameda with Oakland and separating the estuary from San Leandro Bay was removed in the 1890s.

The second obstacle to harbor development was the tight control the Southern Pacific Company maintained over its extensive property holdings on

the estuary shoreline, which were held in the name of the railroad's subsidiary, the Oakland Waterfront Company. Oakland shippers and warehouse owners had put up a few piers and cargo handling facilities at the west end of the harbor, but Southern Pacific's dominant presence on the inner estuary thwarted further expansion. Recognizing that a large, modern harbor was critical for Oakland's long-term growth, city officials and some business leaders struggled in the courts and in the halls of government to gain access to the estuary shore. Finally in 1911 Oakland won control of the waterfront from the railroad company and almost immediately launched an aggressive campaign to improve docking, transportation, and warehouse facilities. The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 and war production during World War I gave the local shipbuilding and maritime trade a vital boost, and in 1925 voters approved a multi-million-dollar bond issue for extensive waterfront development. Acknowledging Oakland's progress, the U.S. Trea-



Aerial view map, 1959, of the estuary dividing Oakland and Alameda. Originally a peninsula connected at the southern end to Oakland, Alameda became an island in 1902, when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers cut a channel through to San Leandro Bay. *Courtesy United States Geological Survey.*

survey Department in 1929 designated the city as an official port of entry (enabling it to receive and process foreign cargoes without having them stop first at San Francisco), and it set up a branch of the Customs Service at the port.⁷ Oakland had "arrived" as a major seaport on the Pacific Coast, and by the end of the decade maritime shipping had become a major factor in the city's economy.

Even though it could boast an improved ship channel and the most modern docks and warehouses, the Port of Oakland still had impediments to the smooth flow of ship traffic. Limiting access by large vessels, two bridges crossed the estuary in the heart of the city's waterfront. Since the 1870s these bridges had connected the largely residential town of Alameda with Oakland, principal commercial, manufacturing, and transportation center of the east

bay. The first, built in 1900, was a wagon and pedestrian bridge linking Webster Street in Oakland to Webster Street in Alameda. The second, a railroad bridge built by the Central Pacific Railroad in 1898, was located at Harrison Street in Oakland, just one block from Webster Street.

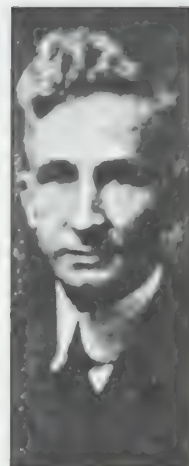
These were swing-span bridges, which allowed ships to pass by rotating the center span, and had replaced earlier bridges that had proven inadequate for an expanding harbor and were condemned by the War Department as hazards to navigation.⁸ However, these newer bridges were only short-term solutions, since the east bay's booming economy in the 1910s and 1920s soon put more demands on the port authorities to clear the ship lanes of obstructions and delays. Alameda had established itself as an important bedroom community for

Oakland's and San Francisco's work force, as well as a recreation area offering its beaches and amusement parks to throngs of east bay pleasure seekers. By the early 1920s the Webster Street Bridge was almost incapable of handling peak-hour and holiday traffic. When the bridges had to close for the passage of ships in the estuary channel, traffic was subject to such long delays (often as long as twenty minutes) that hundreds of motorists, numerous trucking firms, and the regional interurban transit company complained to local officials about the frequent traffic jams. It was becoming clear that the surface transportation system between the two cities was overtaxed and outmoded.

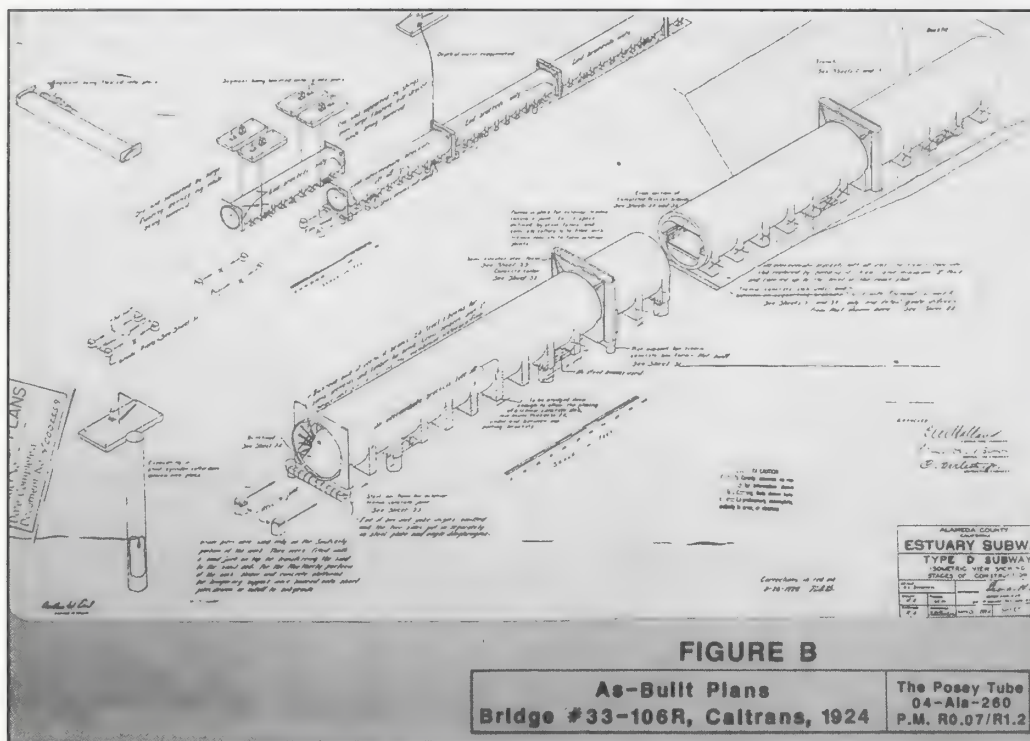
The persistent problems associated with these bridges had been recognized as early as 1908, when the Alameda County Board of Supervisors directed County Surveyor P.A. Haviland to prepare a report on the feasibility of constructing a tunnel under the estuary. After overcoming some legal obstacles, Haviland in 1911 produced his engineering study, which called for five separate tunnels for wagons, automobiles, and rail traffic at the staggering cost (for its time) of \$6.5 million. Understandably, Alameda County officials balked at going ahead with the project, but again the War Department applied more pressure on local authorities to solve the problem. In 1916 it condemned both the Webster Street and Harrison Street bridges as impediments to safe navigation. The U.S. involvement in World War I forced the notice of condemnation to be suspended until 1921, when it was reissued. In August 1922 the County Board of Supervisors directed new County Surveyor George A. Posey to conduct another engineering study for a tunnel, along with a complete cost analysis. Posey, chief assistant to former County Surveyor Haviland, who had died in 1921, had contributed to the earlier report. Posey's new study proposed a single tunnel with a much lower cost of \$4.5 million. County voters then provided the final push for the project when they approved another bond issue in 1923 for the construction of the recommended tunnel.

George A. Posey was the right man to meet the engineering challenge of building a subaqueous, or underwater, tunnel within a restrictive budget and a narrow time frame. Born in California in 1863, he received all his education in the state, obtaining his bachelor's degree in civil engineering from the University of California in 1906. For the next four years he taught at the university, and after a time as chief engineer for an electrical power company, he joined an engineering firm in San Francisco, becoming a partner in 1910. In the following decade

George A. Posey, 1863-1933, chief engineer and Alameda County surveyor, responsible for the pioneering design of the subaqueous automobile tunnel connecting Oakland to Alameda. *From Oakland Tribune Yearbook, 1924.*



he designed sewer systems, concrete bridges, tunnels, road systems, water treatment plants, harbor improvements, and many other projects in the Bay Area and in other communities in northern and southern California. Appointed chief deputy county surveyor in 1913, he advanced to the post of county surveyor in 1921. He was dedicated to his profession, and he upgraded the engineering standards for design, construction, and maintenance of all county roads and bridges. Under his leadership, Alameda County gained recognition as having, according to the American Society of Civil Engineers, "a road system of acknowledged excellence." While he was county surveyor, Posey maintained a private practice and designed sewage and water systems for several subdivisions in Alameda and Los Angeles counties. He was a very busy engineer, but in his demanding work schedule he did not sacrifice quality, and he had a reputation for being a competent project supervisor who was always able to operate under standards of efficiency and economy.¹¹ His last major project, four years from completion at the time of his death in 1933, was the construction of the Broadway Low Level Tunnel (now called the Caldecott Tunnel), an automobile passage through the East Bay hills that helped open up interior valleys east of Oakland to suburban development. Fortunately, George Posey did live long enough to receive public recognition for his engineering achievements. Just before the Oakland-Alameda estuary tunnel was opened to traffic on October 28, 1928, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors officially named the tunnel the "Posey Tube."



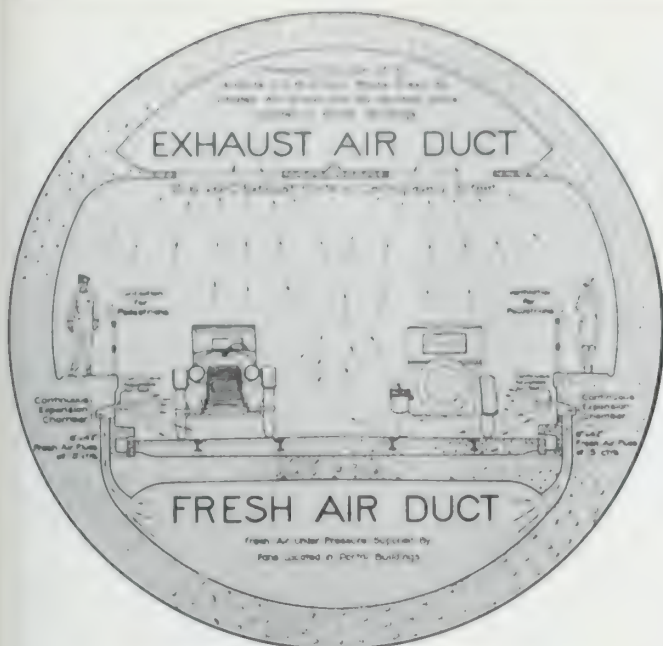
As-built plans of the Posey Tube, 1924, show how the tube was built in segments, 203 feet in length, of pre-cast, reinforced concrete, a first in the construction of underwater tunnels. Courtesy California Department of Transportation.

The construction plans that Posey had prepared for the tube were not just a scaled-down version of Haviland's earlier study. They were truly a new departure in tunnel construction and were considered by contemporaries nationwide as a pioneering effort in civil engineering. Building a subaqueous tunnel had its special problems, but this type of construction had been accomplished before in North America and in Europe. Between 1895 and 1910, subaqueous vehicular tunnels had been built in London, Glasgow, and Hamburg. New York's Holland Tunnel under the Hudson River, completed in the mid-1920s, was America's first underwater tunnel built exclusively for motor vehicles.

While not the very first subaqueous automobile tunnel, George Posey's tube received wide and enthusiastic acclaim for three important engineering achievements. First the tube was the widest in diameter of any vehicular tunnel yet constructed. At thirty-seven feet external diameter (thirty-five feet internal diameter), it was several feet wider than the Holland Tunnel. Second, it used a new method of mechanical ventilation, called the transverse method, that had been pioneered in the Holland Tunnel. Because of the danger of carbon monoxide build-up within an automobile tunnel, a dependable fresh air flow was crucial. But because a subaqueous tunnel had to be lower in the middle than at both ends, or portals, the circulation of air through natural draft was not adequate for

proper ventilation. The accumulation of foul air was a special problem whenever an accident or traffic jam halted cars inside the tunnel. In the transverse method, powerful fans blow in fresh air close to the road surface along the length of the tunnel, and other fans draw vitiated air out through vents in the ceiling. The usual ventilation systems placed equipment at several points along the tunnel. This required deeper excavation for the structures housing the equipment, entailed more loss of air due to the design of the flues, and had a much higher energy expense and construction cost. George Posey designed the estuary tube to be ventilated by only two installations, one at each portal of the tunnel, thus saving considerable money in construction and long-term operation.¹²

The third achievement was an engineering breakthrough. Posey was the first to use precast, reinforced concrete in the construction of an underwater tunnel. This innovation attracted the most attention in civil engineering circles and won him the most praise nationally.¹³ The subaqueous tunnels built before the Posey Tube used the shield-driven method, in which prefabricated steel tubular shells were driven into a bore excavated through the earth under the bed of a river or estuary. On the interior of the steel shell a thick layer of concrete was applied, and then all the necessary air ducts, vents, conduits, and other facilities were built on the interior surfaces. With this method labor and design costs were high,



A 1927 cross-section view of the Posey Tube showing the design of the transverse method of mechanical ventilation, an innovation developed by George Posey to keep the dangerous carbon monoxide out and fresh air flowing throughout the tunnel. This method proved both efficient and economical and continues in use to this day. *From Concrete Highways and Public Improvements, courtesy of the author.*

requiring much expensive on-site construction work. Posey's use of a precast concrete tube was much more economical and efficient without jeopardizing public safety. It was the first time reinforced concrete was used for this type of construction. The American Society of Civil Engineers, calling it the crowning achievement of his very productive career, considered it a pioneering design that would become a model for future subaqueous tunnel construction.

When voters approved funds for construction of the tunnel early in 1923, the engineering studies had not been completed, but pressure to get started accelerated the design work. In March of that year, the contract for construction of the concrete tubes was awarded. The plan was to build twelve precast tube sections, each 203 feet long and 37 feet in diameter. Each section was to be lowered into a large trench dredged out of the floor of the estuary, and then joined and sealed to the other sections under water. The construction site for the tube sections was a dry dock owned by a shipbuilding company at Hunter's Point, seven miles across the bay from the estuary. Nothing like this had ever been attempted before. The massive scale of this construction project was impressive. Each tube section was made with almost all the operational devices built into the concrete, such as exhaust air and fresh air ducts, electrical conduits, manholes, pedestrian walkways,

and niches for safety equipment. Throughout the process the concrete was periodically inspected, and a fully equipped laboratory was set up at the dry dock to conduct tests and maintain quality control. Once a tube section was finished, it was sealed water tight, set afloat, and towed by tug across the bay to the estuary. After it was properly aligned, it was sunk into its place in the trench, connected to the tube section already in place, and sealed on the outside with a special cement coat applied by a team of deep-sea divers. After all the sections were in the trench and connected securely, tons of backfill and overburden were laid on top of the tube. This served to protect the top of the tube from possible damage by ships passing over it, and the added weight prevented hydrostatic uplift.¹⁵ When it was finished, the portion of the tube that was under water and underground (at the portals) was more than 3,500 feet long, and its overall length was more than 4,400 feet. The low point of the tube near the center was about sixty feet below the low water level, but with the incline of the approaches at 4.5-percent grade, the descent into the tube was more gentle for the motorists.

Each end of the tube was anchored to reinforced concrete portals, which were the substructure of the portal buildings containing the ventilation equipment and tunnel offices. On the Oakland side on Harrison Street between 4th and 5th streets, the excavation for the portal went almost down to bedrock, but the Alameda side had a deep bed of



This 1926 photograph depicts the lowering of the first tube segment out of dry dock and illustrates the magnitude of the construction project. Each of the twelve segments of the tunnel was made by a ship-building company at Hunter's Point, on the San Francisco side of the bay. Almost all the operational devices, such as air ducts, manholes, and pedestrian walkways, were built right into the concrete before leaving dry dock. *From Engineering News-Record, courtesy of the author.*

tough clay, which made it difficult to penetrate all the way down to bedrock. Consequently, wood pilings were driven into the clay, and a rock-and-concrete bed was prepared to support the landward end of the tube, the portal section of the tube, and the portal building substructure. This made the Alameda portal building thirty to forty feet deeper than its Oakland counterpart, and a sizable portion of it was actually under the tunnel roadway. Each portal building was equipped with eight large fans, four fans for removing the vitiated air, and four larger fans for driving fresh air into the tube. Half of the tube was ventilated by each portal system. The portal structures also housed electrical equipment to run the carbon monoxide monitors, emergency signal devices, traffic control mechanisms, and a master control (a smaller control system was at the Alameda portal). Because of the need for public safety, there were three shifts of personnel, including traffic officers, on duty at the portal buildings twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

Besides their function of housing essential equipment and staff, the portal buildings are notable for their architecture. They are fine examples of the Art Deco style in the early years of its popularity. While not of the more ornate and celebrated Modernistic design found in such buildings as the Paramount

Theater in Oakland or Bullock's Department Store on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles, the portal buildings present a monumental, though restrained, statement about America's architectural trends in the 1920s. The Posey Tube was under construction at the time the Modernistic movement was starting to gain acceptance. From their inception, Art Deco designs met strong resistance from established architects in America, who clung to the more formal and ornate Beaux Arts traditions or to aesthetic standards based on historic models, such as the Arts and Crafts movement. Those who were still producing public buildings that evoked images of an eighteenth-century French chateau or a Greek temple and designing dwellings that resembled old English cottages resented those mostly younger architects who were pursuing a new architectural style and philosophy that reflected contemporary times and celebrated the progress of science, industry, and technology. Relishing the "Machine Age," these modernists sought an artistic form suited to the demands of that age.¹⁶ To them, traditional styles seemed false, outdated, and too wedded to the past, but Modernistic designs were more honest, more in the spirit of the modern age, and futuristic in their vision. Art Deco or Streamline Moderne styles, often expressing a fascination with progress and technology in design elements and decoration, appealed to American faith in the machine age and in the promise of a better life created by technological advances. Modernists insisted that a building should display the material of which it was constructed, and it should express externally what its use and purpose were. A generation earlier, famous Chicago architect Louis Sullivan had promoted the architectural concept that form must follow function. The growing ranks of converts to Modernism were finally putting this into practice on a sweeping scale by the end of the 1920s.

The Modernist movement had started in western Europe before World War I and was strongly influenced by Cubism and other aesthetic forces within the growing field of modern art. Gradually, Modernism drifted across the Atlantic and was accepted by a number of American artists, but it seemed to have little impact on American architects until the 1925 opening of the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. The architectural models and plans featured in the exhibition drew much attention from architects and designers on both sides of the Atlantic and had a powerful impact on contemporary architecture. Eventually the label "Art Deco," after the exposition, was applied to this modernistic style.¹⁷ Not long after the exposition closed its doors, California received its first notable Modernistic building with the completion of the



Each tube section was sealed water-tight before being set afloat and tugged across the bay by three tug boats, as illustrated in this 1927 photograph. The trip covered ten miles and took three and one-half hours. *From Concrete Highways and Public Improvements, courtesy of the author.*



After being properly positioned over the trench dredged in the bottom of the estuary, the tube was lowered and then weighted down by tons of backfill that also served to protect it from passing ships. This 1928 photograph appeared in the *Engineering News-Record*. Courtesy of the author.

Los Angeles County Public Library, designed by architect Bertrand Goodhue. His design expressed a severity of form, a straight-forward display of its concrete construction, stylized geometric decorative bas reliefs, and the use of cubes and rectangular forms in the building's massing, all of which were characteristic of the Art Deco style. At the same time, the Pacific Telephone Building in San Francisco was finished, and was another bold Art Deco design. Its architect, Timothy Pflueger, soon became the most renowned practitioner of this style in California. Both the Los Angeles Public Library and the Pacific Telephone Building represented new directions in California architecture.

It is not clear if Goodhue's or Pflueger's works had a direct influence on the design of the Posey Tube portal buildings, but they had been featured in the professional journals of the time and sparked some discussion in the architectural community. As an active and respected member of that community, Henry H. Meyers, the architect of the portal buildings, no doubt was well aware of the achievements by Pflueger and Goodhue. Meyers was born in the Bay Area in 1867 and received a formal education only through high school. After working several years as a carpenter, he joined the architectural office of Percy and Hamilton in San Francisco to complete the equivalent of an apprenticeship. Soon he was made head draftsman, and in a short time he was accepted into their practice as an architect. When both Percy and Hamilton died

in the late 1890s, Meyers was called upon to finish several millions of dollars worth of the firm's uncompleted projects. He did this with such proficiency that he quickly earned a reputation as a competent architect. One of the buildings he guided to completion was the Kohl Building, which is reputed to be the first steel-frame office building in San Francisco and apparently was a model for subsequent steel-frame construction in the city. In 1902 he formed a partnership with architect Clarence R. Wood, and before the firm was dissolved in 1909, it had designed three substantial office buildings in San Francisco. For the next twenty-seven years Henry Meyers was a sought-after architect, maintaining his office in the Kohl Building and designing buildings in San Francisco, Alameda County, and elsewhere in northern California.

While he still designed structures outside the county, the majority of Meyers's work and the best examples of it were in Alameda County. Around 1920 he was appointed architect for the county, and he held this post until his retirement in 1936. This suited his personal life as well as his career, since he had been a resident of the city of Alameda from the mid-1890s (living in a house he designed) and was raising a family there. It was during his tenure as Alameda County architect that Meyers did some of his most enduring work. In his forty-year career he designed mostly commercial buildings and public structures, and he received most acclaim for the Veterans Memorial Buildings he designed for ten

Alameda County cities between 1926 and 1935. His architectural firm of H.H. Meyers, George Klinkhart, and Mildred Meyers (his daughter) did the design work on most of these buildings. In 1935 he moved his office to a studio designed by Mildred, built behind his home in Alameda. A year later he retired and enjoyed seven years of retirement before his death in 1943.²¹

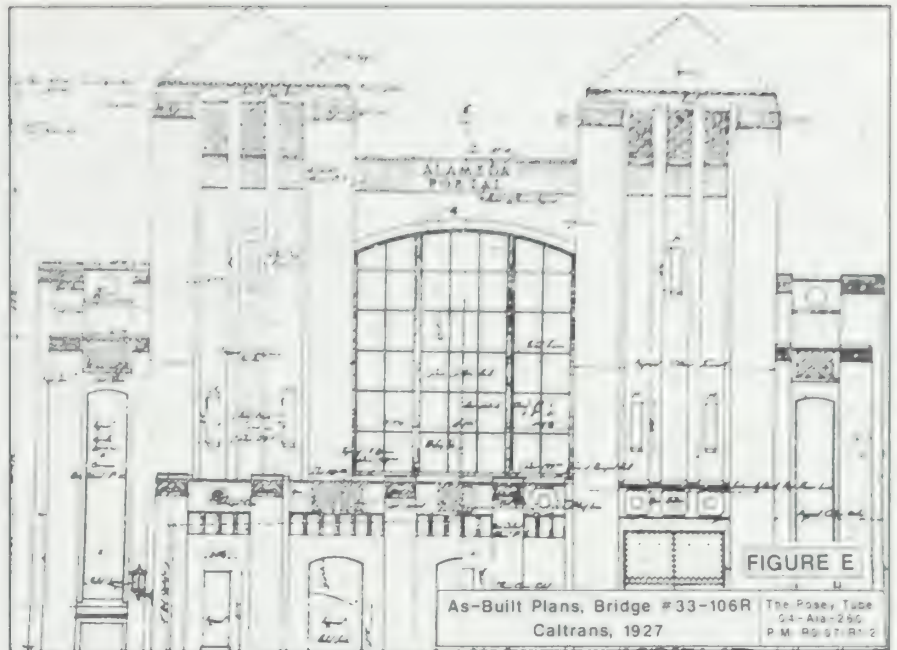
Henry Meyers made a substantial contribution to the architectural heritage of the Bay Area in both the number of public buildings he designed and in his openness to contemporary architectural trends. While his personal touch was restrained and conservative, especially in terms of ornamentation, his conservatism did not insulate him from the Modernistic movement. From the 1910s to the early 1920s, Meyers broke with tradition in several of his commissions, but the Posey Tube portal buildings were a new direction for him. Their Art Deco style is quite distinct, and even the most casual contemporary observer would have noticed that these buildings were something new. After the Posey Tube portal buildings, Meyers designed at least five other Modernistic structures in the east bay, which included the portal buildings for the Broadway Low Level Tunnel.²² The only building for which Meyers received an award was his Hayward Veterans Memorial Building. In 1935 he was given the Honor Award from the Northern California Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.²³ This was the only prize out of twenty-two that went to a Modernistic design.

Although Henry Meyers had never been identified as a pioneer of the Modernistic movement, he was among the first to employ Art Deco designs successfully in the Bay Area. Considering the publicity that accompanied the construction of the tube and the fanfare of the ceremonies at its grand opening, the Posey Tube portal buildings must have had an impact on Bay Area builders and architects. From the late 1920s to World War II, the Art Deco style became popular in the east bay, and at least sixteen Modernistic buildings were constructed just in Oakland's downtown in this era.²⁴ The famous Paramount Theater, designed by Timothy Pflueger in 1931, is Oakland's best example of this style and is a National Historic Landmark for its architecture. Even as the Great Depression put a halt to most major construction plans, numerous retail stores and other business establishments in the city's central commercial district underwent remodeling in the Art Deco style. Oakland's urban landscape has been heavily influenced by the Modernistic movement, and Art Deco and Streamline Moderne buildings help to define its architectural character.²⁵

The design of the Posey Tube portal buildings was a clear, confident expression of Modernism in architecture. These structures celebrated the machine age in their decorative elements, in their break from a preindustrial past, and in their promotion of Louis Sullivan's dictum "form follows function." It must have been difficult for Meyers to imagine how a building that was to house huge ventilation equipment for a vehicular tunnel should look. Nevertheless, he designed an imposing, dignified structure that, in effect, was an integral part of the machinery. In fact, one could call it a giant machine in and of itself. The two side wings contained hollow shafts with decorative grilled openings through which fresh air was drawn down three floors to the fresh air blowers at the level of the tunnel's roadway. The two central towers were also hollow shafts that directed the exhaust air from ducts in the ceiling of the tube and forced it upward and away from the side wings. The major structural and design elements had a vital function to perform and were essential parts of the Posey Tube's ventilation system. The tube could not function as an automobile tunnel without the efficient circulation of fresh air, so the portal buildings were truly designed for the age of the automobile. To make this point graphically, Meyers placed in the concrete surface of the front façade decorative automobile wheels to symbolize the buildings' purpose.

When the Posey Tube opened for traffic in October 1928, the last thing on the minds of the public and community leaders was Modernistic architecture. The design of the portal buildings certainly got some notice, but at the opening ceremonies the new tube was the focus of praise for its remarkable engineering achievement and for its elimination of a major regional transportation problem. There was ample precedent for the public attention that surrounded the completion of the Posey Tube. For generations Americans had celebrated the opening of a new bridge or turnpike or the dedication of a dam with speeches by dignitaries and much ceremony. Major public works projects held promise for future economic expansion and were public symbols of American technological skill and "can do" character. Citizens of the easy bay upheld this tradition with enthusiasm. When the Posey Tube was formally dedicated on October 28, more than five thousand people showed up to witness the event. Officials from Oakland and Alameda, the county, and the state presided, and during the ceremonies they marched through the tube, starting from the Alameda portal. After several introductions and speeches, the tube was formally opened in front of the Oakland portal building. That evening at the

As-built plans of the Alameda portal building, which anchored the tunnel on the western side. Many Art Deco features are visible in architect Henry Meyers's 1927 design, which mirrored contemporary styles of public architecture. *Courtesy California Department of Transportation*



Close up photograph of the Oakland portal building's detail of the symbolic, decorative automobile wheel, which was set in the concrete façade designed by architect Meyers. *Courtesy of the author*

Alameda Hotel there was a large banquet attended by an array of public officeholders, local dignitaries, and project managers. The highlight of the event was the keynote address by Governor C.C. Young. All the speakers at the dedication and at the banquet hailed the economic and social advances that were expected from the completion of the Posey Tube. One member of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors noted the occasion's special significance when he observed that "it is fitting that this monument to the progress of the people of Alameda county should be dedicated on the birthday of one of the most famous progressive leaders America has ever produced, the late Theodore Roosevelt."²⁶ The crowd at the daytime ceremonies was anxious to see progress close-up for themselves. When the tube was open to traffic at 6:00 P.M., there were long lines of cars waiting at both portals, and by 9:00 P.M., more than ten thousand automobiles had gone under the estuary, luckily without any mishaps.²⁷

The Posey Tube was truly a monument to the automobile age. It was one of the earliest major transportation facilities in California designed just for the car. At the beginning of the planning stage, the tube was supposed to accommodate the inter-urban rail transit system, but before construction was finished, agreement was reached with the privately owned transit company to substitute buses for streetcars for transportation through the tube. A city ordinance was also passed banning horse-drawn vehicles from using the tunnel, and pedestrians were restricted at all times to the raised sidewalks, which were enclosed by steel railings. Nothing would be allowed

to interfere with the steady flow of auto traffic except for measures protecting the public from road hazards and emergencies. The safety devices were state of the art for 1928. The large concrete pylons at the entrances to both approaches contained retractable traffic gates, warning lights, a siren, and a traffic police call box. Inside the tunnel were ceiling-mounted electric traffic signs and emergency warning lights, electronic sensors for carbon monoxide, niches in the side of the tube at regular intervals containing fire extinguishers, and stations for traffic officers to observe and, when needed, to direct traffic. The emergency warning devices and carbon monoxide detectors were connected to an electronic control panel located in the Oakland portal building. Placed in front of large windows facing the traffic in the approach, this panel, with a telephone close at hand, enabled the operator (whimsically identified as Mr. "O. Trunnel" in the *Oakland Tribune* account of the opening events) to observe traffic conditions and have direct control over all the tube's safety mechanisms.²⁸

Although "state of the art" for the 1920s, the Posey Tube was pushed to its capacity in less than a decade. Despite the general decline in the state's economic activity resulting from the Great Depression, Oakland and Alameda continued to grow through the 1930s and auto traffic increased at a disturbing rate. By the end of the decade, car registrations in Alameda County had increased by 50 percent over 1929 figures, and the county was second only to Los Angeles in the total number of registrations. The county had more than six hundred businesses serving the automobile, plus more than eight hundred gas stations.²⁹ To add to the traffic congestion when the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge opened in 1937, direct ferry service from Alameda was terminated, so commuters were forced to go through the Posey Tube and drive through downtown Oakland in order to get to San Francisco. During peak hours, traffic was subject to long delays in the tube, and the congestion in the streets leading to and from the tunnel had become a serious problem. From 1928 to 1939, traffic volume in the tube had almost doubled. Finally, the construction of the Alameda Naval Air Station in the early 1940s and the expansion of ship building and other wartime production and shipping at the Port of Oakland exacerbated the traffic problems of the region. In the early 1920s, government planners in the state predicted that a "saturation point" had been reached in car ownership, but by 1930 they had already been proven wrong. Evidently, methods of measuring potential traffic volume had improved, and prognostic skills had become

sharper within a decade of the construction of the Posey Tube. The state Division of Highways and city officials in Oakland and Alameda in the late 1930s were calling for the construction of a new tube in the estuary to relieve the almost routine congestion in the Posey Tube.³⁰

Although local and state officials recognized the need for another tube in the estuary well before America entered World War II, nothing was accomplished to relieve the traffic snarls in the Posey Tube until long after the war was over. Ironically, the rapid economic expansion and population growth of the 1920s that generated the need for the Posey Tube were repeated even more intensively after 1945. World War II had promoted a tremendous industrial expansion on the Pacific Coast and a massive population migration to California. This pattern persisted after the war, creating an explosive growth in suburban housing and commercial development in the east bay. As a result, vehicle registration rose again by more than fifty percent from 1950 to 1960, and accordingly, traffic volume in the Bay Area doubled. Local and state officials (the tube came under the control of the state Division of Highways in 1947) were still willing to confront the increasing demands on trans-estuary transportation, but other, more pressing needs would force them to postpone plans for another tube. Freeway construction became the state's highest transportation priority in the 1950s, and by 1960 more than three hundred miles of freeways had been constructed in the Bay Area alone.³¹

Besides forcing a long delay in the construction of a second tube, freeway building caused the first major damage to the architecture of the Posey Tube. In 1954 the elevated downtown section of the Nimitz Freeway was built in a long corridor between 5th and 6th streets at the edge of Oakland's waterfront district. To make room for the elevated deck, the top portions of the attractive Art Deco pylons at the entrance to the Harrison Street approach had to be lopped off. In addition, the new freeway spoiled the impressive view of the Art Deco portal building and its approach, which had been enjoyed by motorists for almost three decades while approaching the tube from Harrison Street. Fortunately, the view of the Alameda portal building and its approach has remained intact, so drivers going to downtown Oakland can still fully appreciate these Art Deco monuments.

With the completion of the Oakland and San Leandro sections of the Nimitz freeway, the attention of the Division of Highways could now be focused on the transportation problems between Oakland and Alameda. In 1959, work started on the second tube, larger than the Posey Tube but basi-

A recent photograph of the Alameda approach to the Posey Tube, which has maintained its original appearance, although the Oakland side of the tube was altered to make way for the Nimitz Freeway built in 1954. *Courtesy of the author.*



cally using the same method of construction. It paralleled the first tube one block to the west, connecting Webster Street in Oakland with Webster Street in Alameda. Just after the new tunnel opened in 1963, the Posey Tube underwent a renovation in which all its light fixtures and electrical systems were modernized and new ceramic tile was applied to the interior surface of the old tube. The completion of the Webster Street Tube should not be interpreted as an indication that the Posey Tube's engineering was flawed and its architecture outmoded. The 1925 portal buildings are still impressive examples of the Art Deco style. The design of the portal buildings for the new tube, by contrast, is mostly functional, even bland, leaving one to think that they were probably designed not to compete with their more noble predecessors a block away. For its engineering, the Posey Tube was a pioneering achievement, and from 1928 to 1963 at least eleven other prefabricated underwater concrete tubes were built in the United States.

The fact that the Posey Tube had become overtaxed and was often a vehicular bottleneck by the 1940s cannot be blamed on the shortsightedness of early transportation planners and civil engineers. Not even the most gifted visionary in the 1920s could have predicted the continued expansion of automobile ownership during the economic hardships

of the Great Depression and the overwhelming economic and demographic impact World War II would have on California. George A. Posey took a bold new direction in subaqueous tunnel construction and successfully applied the technology available to him at the time to solve a critical transportation problem in an efficient and economical manner. Henry H. Meyers employed a new architectural style that paid fitting aesthetic tribute to his times and still fulfilled the technological requirement to provide efficient ventilation for the tube. In both its engineering and its architecture, the Posey Tube remains today a noble monument to the age of the automobile and to those who demonstrated remarkable resourcefulness in coping with a revolution in the east bay's transportation system.

Notes beginning on page 100

Frank Lortie received his B.A. degree in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, an M.A. in history from San Francisco State University, and advanced to doctoral candidacy in history at the University of California, Davis. He was a historian in historical resource management for the California Department of Parks and Recreation for fifteen years, and is now an architectural historian in the environmental program in the California Department of Transportation.

California Historical Society Announces a New Exhibition on South of Market

The land and communities surrounding the new headquarters of the California Historical Society have played a pivotal role in shaping San Francisco and California history. Since the pre-colonial era, when the area south of Market Street was punctuated by drifts of sand and prominent hills, and the marshes and waters marking its boundaries teemed with marine life, game, and migratory birds, history has marched down its streets, reshaped the terrain, and redefined its inhabitants and their lives. The exhibition inaugurating the Society's new galleries, *Happy Valley to South of the Slot: Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood*, celebrates this community and traces the essential elements of its transmutations and transformations. The exhibition will be open at the Historical Society's new headquarters building at 678 Mission Street in San Francisco through August 24, 1996.

Imagine yourself one hundred and forty-five years ago, standing on the spot the Historical Society's front door now occupies. Facing you is a hilly sea of shanties and tents, the temporary residences of men seeking their fortunes in the gold mines. To the east are the shores of Yerba Buena Cove, a scant three blocks away; to the west a wooden plank road leads to Mission Dolores. With each passing year the scene changes: hills disappear; society stabilizes and diversifies; businesses start and fail; fashionable residential areas thrive, then decline. Ultimately, the post-earthquake fire of 1906 devastates the area, leaving a *tabula rasa* upon which the neighborhood will redraw itself.

Culled from the California Historical Society's extensive collections, *Happy Valley to South of the Slot: Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood* conveys the rich, shifting personality of this neighborhood as seen through period correspondence, journals, documents, and other writings, as well as maps, photographs, prints, paintings, ephemera, and historically relevant objects. It is an ever-changing story: from the gathering grounds of the Ohlone Indians to Happy Valley, the embarkation point for the gold fields; from the crescent-shaped shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove, which stretched to the slopes of Rincon Point, to the flat landfill that defines the harbor today; from Tar Flat, the malodorous site of the San Francisco Gas Works and its employees, to Rincon Hill and South Park, settings of the elegant mansions of Henry Miller and George Gordon; from the homes of multi-ethnic families and small businesses to the transient hotel population of the post-1906 earthquake and fire years.

Because a neighborhood is defined in large part by its residents, the Historical Society's exhibition highlights key figures of historic importance, including Brigadier-General Stephen Watts Kearny, who officially set in motion the 1847 real estate boom that triggered the leveling of sandhills to fill in the bay shoreline; David Hewes, owner of the "steam paddy," which hastened the movement of sand from the hills of Happy Valley to the waterfront; Kate Douglas Wiggin, founder of the West's first free kindergarten and author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*; and William Chapman Ralston, whose Palace Hotel has been an area landmark since its grand opening in 1876.

The history of a neighborhood, *Happy Valley to South of the Slot: Transitions in a San Francisco Neighborhood* makes the history of a place—*this place*—a reality.

Edited by James J. Rankin



California Governor Hiram Johnson, center, holding hat, poses with members of the California delegation to the 1912 Progressive National Convention. Courtesy California State Archives.

California Progressivism Revisited.

Edited by William Deverell and Tom Sitton. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994, xii, 268 pp., \$40.00 cloth, \$15.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Glen Gendzel, a doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, specializing in California progressivism and political culture.

Between 1910 and 1917, California's enormously successful progressive movement banished the Southern Pacific Railroad from politics and created the system of government that still rules the state. George Mowry's *The California Progressives* (1951) set the tone for all future works on the subject but committed a fundamental error: Mowry portrayed a handful of white, male, affluent Republicans as the "typical" progressives. Naturally, this approach invited negation-by-exception, and for decades critics have found progressives who did not fit Mowry's collective profile. His truncated prosopography is especially unacceptable today, when the "new history" focuses on women, workers, and minorities in the American past. Essentially a political biographer, Mowry accepted without question the importance that a few proud men gave to themselves, and he left unanswered the question of who elected them in the first place.

"We seek to include groups and individuals traditionally left out or underrepresented in the progressive profiles of older historiography," vows William Deverell in his introduction to this collection, co-edited with Tom Sitton. Deverell promises a post-Mowry search into "the social bases of political reform," because "we know very little about who voted for these men and why. The book features eleven new essays that nominate women, union members, socialists, African Americans, Mexicans, and Democrats as genuine California progressives. The authors

leave absolutely no doubt that Mowry committed glaring sins of omission—but ultimately they cannot transcend his initial sin of commission. Hardly less than Mowry, the authors confine their attentions to a few elite individuals, based on self-congratulatory accounts, and insist that these were the "real" progressives. The promised glimpse into "the social bases of political reform" remains mostly unfulfilled—and the bewildering variety of California progressivism, while more completely catalogued than ever, remains unexplained.

Mowry's most obvious omission was ignoring California's legions of progressive women, and Judith Raftery charitably chides Mowry for this "unfortunate oversight." Essays by Raftery on clubwomen, Sherry Katz on socialist women, and Mary Odem on juvenile-delinquency reformers remind us that California progressivism teemed with women activists who pushed the movement toward feminist reforms such as suffrage, state aid to single mothers, a women's minimum wage, and community property laws. These chapters do *not* redress Mowry's shameful neglect, but they replicate his inadequate biographical method (albeit in smaller compass). Only three women appear in Raftery's essay; Katz studied thirty-five women, compared to Mowry's sample of forty-seven men; half of California

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not included for review, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the library of the California Historical Society.

essay is about a single woman. Ironically, these women closely resemble Mowry's men in class and ethnic background, and their "municipal housekeeping" ideology seems not unlike Mowry's "Progressive Mind," despite all the promises of revision.

Mowry surely overstated the importance of his subjects, but his critics in this volume compound the error. Katz insists that socialist women "put the welfare of working-class women and children at the top of the political agenda," but other progressives readily embraced their reforms, the success of which owed less to socialism than to the eagerness of progressives to capture new women voters. In any event, agitation for temperance and suffrage was far more important than socialism or juvenile-delinquency reform in mobilizing women progressives. Likewise, Tom Sitton's biographical chapter on John Randolph Haynes may exaggerate his radical influence. The wealthy physician and philanthropist bankrolled the Los Angeles progressives, but Sitton insists Haynes was "far to the left" of them. That did not stop him from working closely with progressives who shared his overarching commitment to direct legislation and municipal utilities, mainstays of the progressive agenda. For all his supposed radicalism, Haynes voted against socialist-labor mayoral candidate Job Harriman in 1911. Nonetheless, the presence of Haynes and socialist women proves that, at least in California, progressivism was not the crypto-conservative movement depicted by some historians.

More Mowryesque biographies appear in Anne Hyde's chapter on conservationist William Kent and Deverell's chapter on attorney-editor-speculator Thomas Gibbon of Los Angeles. Kent, too, was apparently "quite extreme" and "far to the left of most California progressives," yet again we find that he joined the movement because his views on conservation were solidly progressive in the end. Gibbon, on the other hand, was "an errand boy for the city's conservative elite," and his "passion for real estate deals" should have disqualified him as a progressive, in Deverell's view. Must we assume that a commitment to reform and to wealth accumulation were contradictory—especially in booming Los Angeles? Gibbon would not have seen any contradiction between advancing his own fortune as well as his city's by breaking the Southern Pacific's grip on Los Angeles. Nor need we assume that a commitment to conservation required progressives to resist all development schemes, as Hyde rightly asserts in her finely nuanced analysis of Kent's support for the Hetch Hetchy project.

Deverell rescues from obscurity a number of other prominent Democratic progressives whom Mowry overlooked, but he dismisses the impact of Democratic crossover votes in final elections when in fact they may have been critical to progressive victories in G.O.P. primaries. Progressive efforts to weaken registration laws, form a third party, and make state elections non-partisan were unabashed bids for Democratic votes. Deverell's approach is still in Mowry's biographical mode, and Mary Ann Mason's essay on organized labor in the progressive coalition nearly lapses into a biography of unionist Paul Scharrenberg. Mason does correct Mowry's erroneous impression that progressives were anti-labor, pointing out that Governor Hiram Johnson presided over "the most fruitful era for labor legislation in California's history." She identifies a "solid battering ram" of pro-labor progressive legislators from San Francisco, yet their

comrades from Los Angeles broke ranks on labor votes. Again, the variety of California progressivism is duly noted but not explained.

Just as they cannot escape Mowry's penchant for biography, the authors commit their own sins of omission. Gerald Woods's chapter on vice reform leaves out the W.C.T.U. and other women who crusaded against saloons and brothels. The book's most remarkable omission is a section on race and progressivism that completely ignores the furious anti-Japanese campaigns of these years. Douglas Flamming's chapter on African Americans in Los Angeles follows Mowry's practice of crediting the inflated accounts a few politicians gave of themselves. The result is almost certainly to overstate the "decisive swing vote" of blacks, who were about 2 percent of the population. Flamming thoughtfully analyzes the reluctance of blacks to support progressives, but progressives returned the sentiment because most African American voters seemed loyal to their bitter enemies, the G.O.P.'s "Old Guard." George Sanchez's chapter on Mexican progressives in Los Angeles is highly original, but his "middle-class businessmen and professionals" appear as Mexican American versions of Mowry's profile all over again.

Jackson Putnam's concluding chapter on "The Progressive Legacy in California" omits the era's most important political artifacts—the initiative, referendum, and recall. Surveying the fifty years between Governor Johnson and Governor Ronald Reagan, Putnam concludes that progressivism reaped a bumper crop of unintended consequences. He echoes the many political scientists who claim that anti-party reforms actually increased the power of special interests. Putnam does credit the progressives with sincerity in purging corruption from state government, which some cynical historians dismiss as pursuit of "efficiency." Fascinating is his observation that the "neoprogressive" style of pragmatic "negotiation and compromise" helped several governors succeed but left them vulnerable to "ideological" attack. Certainly it explains the defeat of Governor Frank Merriam in 1938 and Governor "Pat" Brown in 1966, but it leaves doubt as to why Upton Sinclair's highly "ideological" campaign failed in 1934. Putnam's gubernatorial synthesis of California history is scant improvement over Mowry's collective biography. It would seem that while historians continue to debate Mowry's work, they have yet to escape his shadow.

CHS

A San Francisco Scandal: The California of George Gordon.

By Albert Shumate. (San Francisco: The California Historical Society; and Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1994, 272 pp., \$27.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Robert J. Chandler of Concord, California, a specialist in Civil-War California and author of recent California History articles on Wells Fargo's gold-rush banking and spiritualists and the woman's suffrage movement in the 1860s.

The quirks of history: In 1963, E Clampus Vitus, a gold-rush fraternal organization, asked Dr. Albert Shumate to prepare a

pamphlet, "A Visit to Rincon Hill and South Park." Dr. Shumate did two things in this pamphlet. He described the life of George Gordon, the founder of South Park, and detailed the San Francisco elite who lived on Rincon Hill. The first resulted in *The California of George Gordon* (1976), which is now reissued as *A San Francisco Scandal*. The second portion drew on Shumate's unrivaled knowledge of San Francisco family alliances and grew into a beautiful photographic history, *Rincon Hill and South Park: San Francisco's Early Fashionable Neighborhood* (1988).

A *San Francisco Scandal* opens up with an 1882 newsclip that makes historians cry. "What am I Bid?" recorded the dispersal of George Gordon's papers and possessions. Even worse, novelist Gertrude Atherton—born on Rincon Hill—used the Gordon family saga to pervert truth to sell fiction. Drunken orgies and sexual licentiousness drew readers to her first novel, *The Randolphs of Redwoods*, when it appeared a year later in the *Argonaut* and then in expanded form in *A Daughter of the Vine* in 1899. After fifty years, Atherton believed her own creations on the Gordon family, and presented them as fact in her autobiographical *Adventures of a Novelist* (1932) and historical *Golden Gate Country* (1945).

Two events countered the calamitous loss of records and Atherton's humbugs. First, John T. Doyle, Gordon's attorney, was a packrat, and secondly, Shumate undertook to heal the historical record. He produced a personal, witty story of dogged pursuit of elusive facts. Though without footnotes, Shumate weaves sources into the narrative.

The forty-niner leader of Gordon's California Association, Gordon became an eminent San Franciscan. For twenty years, his business ventures were legion: shipper and wharf-builder (1849); lumber dealer (1850); engineer and founder of the Vulcan Iron Works (1851); builder of South Park (1854); and the creator of the San Francisco Sugar Refinery (1856). Furthermore, until his death in 1869, Gordon loosed a flood of pamphlets and newspaper letters on the topics of the day—including making buildings earthquake-safe.

Unfortunately, slender sources prevent Dr. Shumate's skill from revealing more than tantalizing hints of family interaction and elusive machinations crippling the sugar refinery. Then, too, the "Scandal" in the title is a misnomer. There is none, except Atherton's imagination. Interest in Atherton has faded since the book's first publication, and emphasis on her diverts attention from the reputable and imaginative George Gordon.

At ninety, Dr. Albert Shumate is the dean of San Francisco historians, and one of the few that the city and state have honored with his own day (August 11, 1994). *A San Francisco Scandal*, whether in 1976 or 1994, is an entertaining unraveling of a historical mystery and a needed mate to *Rincon Hill and South Park*. The demand for *The California of George Gordon* has outlasted half the journals that praise it on the book jacket.

Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco.

By Benson Tong. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994, xix, 319 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Jacqueline Baker-Barnhart, professor of history at California State University, Chico, and author of *Fair but Fair: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849 to 1900*.

Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco, by Benson Tong, helps to fill a big gap in the history of women in the West and more specifically the history of prostitution on the frontier. The more research that is done and the more studies that are published, the more we are able to understand the inclusive nature of the culture of prostitution to the economic, political, and social milieus of western cities like San Francisco.

One of the major problems for researchers on the topic of prostitution in the nineteenth-century West is the lack of definitive sources. Consequently much of Tong's material has been used in other publications; nevertheless, in approaching that material from the standpoint of Chinese prostitution in the West, and specifically San Francisco, he has given it a new dimension.

Of particular interest are chapters two and three, which deal with the procurement of women in China and their "Arrival in America." The materials for these chapters have certainly been under-used. They add significantly to our understanding of the methods of kidnapping, purchase, and seduction used to acquire Chinese women for export to California. The subsequent process of by-passing American laws against "importing women for illicit purposes" is equally enlightening.

In his chapters on "Adjusting to Life in Chinatown" and "Violence and Public Women," Tong paints a vivid picture of the racism and xenophobia that plagued not only Chinese prostitutes but all Chinese in San Francisco. Nor was ill-treatment limited to the actions of individual customers in brothels. The arrest of Chinese prostitutes and keepers of houses of ill-fame far outnumbered the arrest of their white counterparts. The courts, too, endorsed unequal treatment by fining Chinese prostitutes \$15 to \$20, while assessing fines on non-Chinese prostitutes at \$5.

Benson Tong's book, while very readable, is not unflawed. Some of his conclusions are at least questionable. For example, he cites the fact that, according to the 1870 census, there were approximately 1,500 Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco, and in the 1880 census the number had dropped to 305. His conclusion is that most women had moved into "conjugal relationships." The evidence is a little weak. An equally plausible explanation might be that, given the often violent anti-Chinese sentiment of the seventies, especially against prostitutes, many women simply lied to the census-taker.

Despite some minor differences the reviewer has in interpretation, *Unsubmissive Women* is a highly readable account of the "celestial slaves" who, as it turns out, were not quite as enslaved, downtrodden, or submissive as contemporary accounts preferred to report.



This nineteenth-century photograph, by Carleton E. Watkins, captures the monolith El Capitan and the Merced River in Yosemite Valley. Courtesy California State Library.

Savage Dreams: A Journey into Hidden Wars of the American West.

By Rebecca Solnit. (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994, xiii, 416 pp., \$22.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Arthur Quinn, author of *The Rivals: William Gwin, David Broderick and the Birth of California*.

Savage Dreams, a beautifully written essay often confessional in tone, focuses its circling meditations on the Nevada Test Site (for nuclear weapons) and Yosemite National Park, our national Armageddon and Eden respectively. In it Rebecca Solnit explores questions about landscape, how assumptions about the land "had mutated, invaded, hybridized, mixed with vastly different ecology and cultures of the West, and shaped and warped the vision of those making land policy and living on the land out here."

Solnit's general approach to western history is that of Patricia Limerick, for whom conquest is the defining event. *Savage Dreams* is written out of Solnit's own realization that "I'd been living in a war zone without noticing the wars" and of her desire to make others recognize the hidden, continuing wars of the West.

Not surprisingly, Solnit's heroes are those who continue the fight against conquest—the anarchists whom Solnit joins to protest nuclear testing in Nevada, the Shoshone women who defy the federal authorities by running horses on public lands, the Miwok who cling to traditional ways within the Yosemite that was once their home.

She is good, if a bit melodramatic, on such subjects. She is even better at evoking the surrounding landscapes. For me, the high point of the book is a wonderful extended description of the Merced River as a "gentle, neglected, beautiful thing." Other descriptions are mischievous—the crowded Yosemite becomes "a suburb without walls...as though one weekend night 'all the fences and buildings had disappeared, but the residents went on as usual with their cards, their cooking, washing, dozing, tossing balls, scolding children."

Unfortunately the author's excursions into broader cultural history are less successful. Her comments on art and aesthetics are illuminating, as one would expect from someone who teaches at the San Francisco Art Institute. But when she moves out into more purely intellectual matters, she is simply out of her depth. At times there are simple mistakes (in geology the alternative to catastrophism was uniformitarianism, not vulcanism; Francis Parkman did not stop writing history after taking up horticulture). More importantly, Solnit has no understanding of the Judeo-Christian tradition to which she attributes much of what ails us environmentally. For instance, if the Bible did completely devalue place, as Solnit insists, this will come as news to those who have been fighting over the Holy Land since the days of Joshua.

Savage Dreams, nonetheless, should be read not as history, or even journalism, but as a personal essay in which the author—warts, blind spots, and all—is the true subject. At one point Solnit aptly describes highways as "the architecture of our restlessness." This book is a convincing self-portrait of this restlessness as it seeks its cure in environmentalism.

When the Gold Came from, by Frank Marryat, an English writer and artist who published his observations and sketches of California—including this view of miners swarming a river, in his 1855 volume *Lower Mountains and Molehills, or Recollections of a Burnt Journal*. Editorial office collection.



Precious Dust: The American Gold Rush Era: 1848-1900.

By Paula Mitchell Marks. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1994, 448 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Ralph Mann, *associate professor of history at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and author of* *After the Gold Rush*.

Precious Dust is a far-ranging account of gold rushes from California to the Klondike. Stressing, like Rodman Paul and William Greever, the continuity of the mining experience, Paula Marks has written an excellent introduction to the cycle of gold stampedes that opened much of the West to white settlement. The book is well written, clearly argued, and full of great tales. It is also surprisingly traditional in topic and interpretation.

After an overview of the "Age of Gold," Paula Marks describes the experiences of the overland trail and the trip around the Horn to California, and then moves on to recount the later rushes to the Rocky Mountains and to the Yukon. After this survey of the major mining excitements, with extra emphasis placed on California origins, Marks looks at what they all had in common—life in the diggings, the development of gold-town society, miner's law, nativism, the links with home, and the problematic role of women. Miners appear as natural democrats, as confirmed gamblers, as judge and jury for barrelhead courts, and as wistful refugees from home—all very familiar images, though well done. The author does a valuable service by emphasizing gender issues in gold-rush society, and she sees the bad as well as the good potentially created by loosening the bonds to settled society.

But while sensitive to exclusions by race and nation, Marks does not weigh adequately the implications of vigilantism, and her treatment of Chinese labor verges on the stereotypical. By focusing on individuals and letting their varied voices speak, Paula Marks creates a compelling narrative. But by making the individual adventures her central concern and by arguing that, in the long run, the gold-rush experience was more important than wealth to the miners, she fails to confront the larger issues—the economic and social costs and profits, the implications for the larger society—raised by the history of these mass migrations. She avoids the celebrations of empire building of some early historical accounts, and the obsession with loss of some recent writers, but she adds little to our understanding of why gold was so important to American expansion.

Living with Flowers: History of the California Flower Market.

By Gary Kawaguchi. (San Francisco: California Flower Market, Inc., 1993, viii, 120 pp., \$30. This book can be ordered directly from the California Flower Market, 640 Brannan Street, San Francisco, CA 94107.)

Reviewed by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, *associate professor of anthropology and core faculty in the Center for Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and editor of* *Inside An American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona*.

Although the pioneer first-generation Japanese immigrants (Issei) who organized San Francisco's California Flower Market did not have previous experience growing flowers in Japan, they were able to enter the industry because of their astute evaluation of local conditions, including the availability and price of land, micro-climates, and lines of transportation. Gary Kawaguchi also points out that the Issei growers entered the industry when opportunity in the business was wide open, and when the rapid demographic expansion of the San Francisco Bay area entailed a growing demand for their product.

According to Kawaguchi, the Issei set up a growers' cooperative in response to a set of marketing issues. The Issei believed that their greatest possible strength was to unite as a group to set prices and to sell in bulk to wholesalers and retailers alike. Incorporated in 1912, the market's facility was originally located at Bush Street and St. Anne's Place, although in 1924 it was moved to 5th and Howard. One of the most interesting features of the market is that it involved Japanese, Italian, and Chinese Americans, and so it was a multi-ethnic organization from the very beginning. Kawaguchi notes that although each group was fiercely independent, Japanese American leadership enabled these three ethnic groups to forge a working relationship that has spanned eight decades.

Beautiful color plates of chrysanthemums, carnations, and other cut flowers throughout the book are evidence of the tenacious spirit of Japanese American floriculturalists who made the market a commanding institution. For his part, Kawaguchi, the grandson of a nurseryman, ably contextualizes the evolution of the industry within the contours of Japanese American history, as well as the regional matrices, both ethnic and economic, that helped shape this particular enterprise.

Despite a few factual errors (e.g., Marshall discovered gold in 1848, not 1849), the book is especially valuable because of the primary sources Kawaguchi marshals—predominantly oral history interviews, supplemented by written documents and historical photographs. Thus, beyond documenting Japanese Americans' individual and collective contributions to the flower industry, Kawaguchi's extensively researched history presents new information and perspectives on this enterprise that specialists as well as the general public alike will enjoy and appreciate.

[CHS]

Upside Your Head! Rhythm and Blues on Central Avenue.

By Johnny Otis. (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1993, xxxv, 174 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Douglas H. Daniels, professor of black studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco.

When Americans think of integration, it is usually in terms of African Americans moving into the mainstream, but Johnny Otis's story is one of the intriguing instances, more common than people might think, of a white person marrying and living among blacks. The father of musicians, band leader, record producer, minister, radio DJ, and community activist, he recounts his activities in Los Angeles and critiques American society in *Upside Your Head!* Several years ago he related the early years of his life and career in *Listen to the Lambs*. The more recent work is one of a number of autobiographies that also document Los Angeles's unique music scene. Along with Red Callender's *Unfinished Dream*, Hampton Hawes's *Raise Up Off Me*, and Roy Porter's *There and Back*, Otis offers an insider's view of rhythm and blues, rock and roll, and jazz's evolution from the Depression to the 1980s.

With Chicago blues, Los Angeles rhythm and blues was one of two distinctive styles that emerged after World War II. Six decades of living and playing black music taught Otis that African American singing and playing was "more than mere lyrics or melodies, or [instrumentation]....it had to do with the way Black folks lived and were raised....The way mama cooked,....daddy disciplined....[and] the emphasis on spiritual values" (p. 17).

Like Cab Calloway, he credits anonymous musicians—not the well-known and sophisticated jazz artists—in undistinguished clubs with playing and developing the "down-home stomp

music" that became rhythm and blues and then rock and roll. Bardu Ali, Lester Young, T-Bone Walker, Wynonie Harris, and Esther Phillips, among others, are noted for their contributions to the development of Los Angeles music after World War II.

Otis also chronicles the tragic history of race relations in California. In the aftermath of the Rodney King incident, Otis makes an assessment of race relations and the state of the nation that will disturb some Americans. As he explains in the chapter "American Fascism," while some whites "are good people with good instincts,...to my way of thinking this is not so much good will as it is lip service." If good will is so abundant, he ponders, "why is it that after four hundred years the plight of most African Americans is still desperate and getting worse?" The nation is in fact so close to fascism, he writes, that "I have just about given up hope of things ever really improving" (p. 161).

An error in the date of the 1965 Watts riot was noted (xxviii), but otherwise the fine photographs, Professor George Lipsitz's introduction, and musicians and other informants enhance what is both a splendid account of black culture and an informed critique of American society.

[CHS]

Lawmen and Desperadoes: A Compendium of Noted, Early California Peace Officers, Badmen and Outlaws, 1850-1900.

By William B. Secrest. (Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1994, 343 pp., \$37.50.)

Reviewed by Kevin J. Mullen, author of Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco.

Mention the term "western outlaw" and an image such as that of Jesse James—train and bank robber extraordinaire in the middle border states—comes to mind. For "lawman," perhaps the image is town-tamer Wyatt Earp, who made his name in Kansas and Arizona. As William B. Secrest points out in his *Lawmen and Desperadoes*, western writers have, for some reason or another, generally given short shrift to bad men and law officers in California—much farther west.

In fifty-four concise biographies of California outlaws and law officers, Secrest sets out to correct that deficiency. Along with better-known examples like Black Bart and Joaquin Murieta, he includes some lesser-known but just as interesting characters. Though now largely forgotten, the Sontag brothers and Chris Evans, who robbed California trains in the latter part of the nineteenth century, were every bit as well known in their own time as Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid. Among California lawmen, Secrest tells of Alameda Sheriff Harry Morse, who walked away standing up from several fatal shootouts. And he had no Doc Holliday to back his play.

Secrest also reminds us that the "winning of the West" had an urban dimension. He includes, among others, the story of San Francisco County Supervisor James Casey, whose street shooting of newspaper editor James King set in motion the great vigilance committee of 1856. He also introduces us to San Francisco Captain of Detectives Isaiah Wrigley Lees, credited by

San Quentin Prison, 1871, from *Lawmen and Desperadoes*. Courtesy California State Library and the Arthur H. Clark Company.



William Pinkerton with being "the greatest criminal catcher the West ever knew."

An added treasure are the illustrations. Anyone who has tried to do photo research on nineteenth-century topics will appreciate the countless hours that Secrest must have spent to dig out the magnificent pictures that illustrate his text.

If one is allowed a quibble, it is that we would like to know more about these characters. Secrest is restricted by the encyclopedic form of the work from including more. Fortunately, he includes suggestions for further reading; still, we would like to read about them from him.

Artillery at the Golden Gate: The Harbor Defenses of San Francisco in World War II.

By Brian B. Chin. (Missoula: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company Inc., 1994, 170 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index, \$12.95.)

Reviewed by David M. Hansen, deputy state historic preservation officer, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Olympia, Washington.

With the fiftieth anniversary of World War II drawing to a close, it is perhaps surprising that more attention was not paid to the home front during the conflict. Helping to fill the void is Brian Chin's *Artillery at the Golden Gate*, a recollection of service in the coast artillery defenses that protected the entrance to San Francisco Bay.

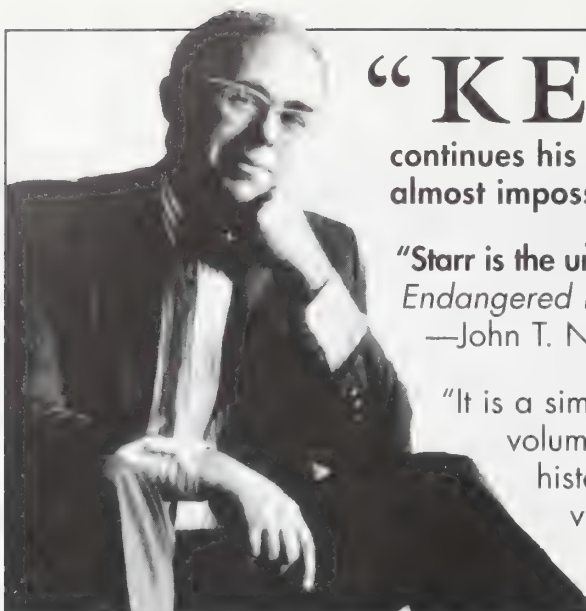
Chin quickly summarizes the origin of the San Francisco defenses in the early part of the century to get down to his cen-

tral theme: the relationship between the city and the military posts that protected it, told largely through the recollections of those stationed in the defenses during the war. The technique is not always successful. While some memories of the veterans are pointed and help bring to life the nature of coast artillery service, others are little more than war stories, recalled episodes that mean more to the teller than to the listener.

The author avoids the technical detail that characterizes much of the writing on coast defense subjects and that also tends to limit the subject matter to enthusiasts. Several excellent maps supplement the good basic orientation to the defenses that is presented in the text. In his desire to write for a more general audience, however, his practice of often referring to the artillery batteries by their geographic location rather than their common names often obscures which installation he is discussing. The most satisfied readers will be those who already have a good sense of the lay of the land in the area surrounding the Golden Gate.

Chin tracks the modernization of the defenses at the advent of the war as well as the assignment of different troop units as the conflict progressed. The rigors of training and the tedium of garrison service all appear on the pages. The book concludes with the dismantling of the defenses and the disestablishment of the Coast Artillery Corps itself. Although the narrative seldom strays beyond the San Francisco area, a reader cannot help but wonder if these same experiences were repeated, more or less in other defended American harbors. An effective generalization from Chin on this point would have made the volume of greater usefulness.

In summary, *Artillery at the Golden Gate* is a brief and informal treatment of a subject that is often ignored by military historians. Chin is clearly writing from his personal interest, but he has given us a useful glimpse of a type of defense that was already deep in its own twilight as World War II began.



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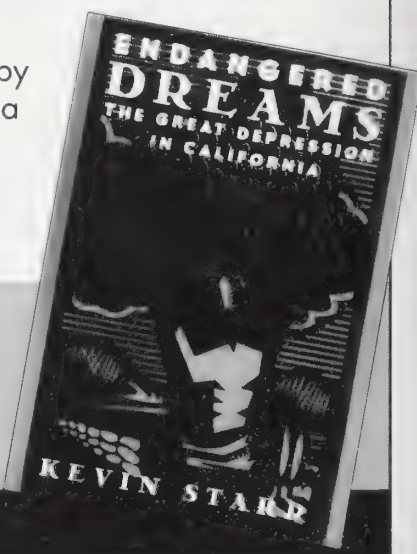
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Bloomfield, "CHS's New Neighborhood," pp. 372-393

1. Although the area's street grid actually runs diagonally from northeast to southwest, for clarity and consistency this article will indicate directions as if Market, Mission, and the streets parallel to them, ran east to west, and as if the numbered streets crossing them ran north to south. Thus the CHS site (actually on the northwest side of Mission), will be described as on the north side of Mission Street at the northwest corner of Annie Street.

A manuscript list of mid-twentieth century buildings of the California Historical Society's neighborhood, including addresses, building names, years completed, number of stories, names of architects, and original owners, has been deposited by the author in the historical society's library and is available for reference.

2. United States Coast Survey, *Map of San Francisco* (Washington, D.C.: 1853, data 1852).
3. Although William Eddy's survey of 1849 has generally been credited or blamed for the diagonal grid south of Market Street, Alfred Wheeler's *Land Titles in San Francisco and the Laws Affecting the Same* (San Francisco: Alta California Steam Printing, 1852), Schedule D, shows that the first lots, by number, of the South of Market, or 100-vara, Survey, were sold in January 1847. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet in *Annals of San Francisco* (New York: Appleton, 1854) report that the first American *alcalde*, Washington A. Bartlett (July 1846-February 1847) ordered Jasper O'Farrell to survey and map the town. This survey "extended from Telegraph Hill to the Rincon." By August of 1847 about 130 of the eventual 341 100-vara lots had been laid out, and about seventy had been sold.
4. Albert Shumate, *Rincon Hill and South Park: San Francisco's Early Fashionable Neighborhood*

(Sausalito, California: Windgate Press 1988), 19-20, 114; Richard H. Dillon, *Iron Men, California's Industrial Pioneers*. Peter James, and Michael Donahue (Point Richmond, CA: Candelaria Press, 1984), 78.

5. Soulé, et al., *Annals*, 296-98; Wheeler, *Land Titles*, Schedule D, Lot No. 11; Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 20-22; Bion J. Arnold, *Report on the Improvement and Development of Transportation Facilities of San Francisco* (San Francisco: To Mayor and Board of Supervisors, 1913), 423.

An *alcalde*'s duties included signing the papers granting specific lots from the town to petitioners. *Alcalde* Bartlett executed such signatures in November 1846 and as late as December 18 of that year. The next grants were signed by George Hyde, "Alcalde ad interim." Bartlett resumed signing on January 21, 1847. On the 30th he changed the town's name from Yerba Buena to San Francisco, and on February 22 he was recalled to his ship. In December Bartlett had left Yerba Buena with five men to go south "on one of the usual raids for cattle—that is he went to 'purchase' supplies." San Mateo rancher Francisco Sanchez, who had already lost livestock to similar expeditions, determined to stop the practice. With like-minded companions, he waylaid Bartlett's party and held them prisoners in the Santa Cruz mountains. Eventually U.S. troops from Monterey and Yerba Buena mounted a rescue expedition and, on the second day of the new year, engaged in the nearly bloodless "Battle of Santa Clara." A treaty and release of the prisoners were concluded on January 8, 1847. Eight days later, while the rescued Bartlett was still conveniently on leave, he bought the 100-vara lot at Mission, Third, and Annie. H.H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), V, 378-83; Wheeler, *Land Titles* Schedule E, *passim*; Soulé, et al., *Annals*, 178-79.

6. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Fron-*

tier (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1973), 39-40.

7. Dillon, *Iron Men*, 80; Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 22, 87; James H. Rosburgh, "First Street of Long Ago," *The South of Market Journal*, 23 February 1929, 6-7; San Francisco directories of 1860, 1879, 1901, 1908; Sanborn Map Co., *Insurance Maps of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Sanborn Map Company, 1905), 152, and (1913), 125.
8. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1879), 1089; G.R. Fardon, *San Francisco in the 1850s*, 30 *Photographic Views* (New York: International Museum of Photography and Dover Publishing, 1977), 29.
9. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1879), 1075; Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 38, 54, 55.
10. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1879), 1078, and (1872), 18-19; Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 38, 54, 55; Roger Olmsted and T. H. Watkins, *Here Today, San Francisco's Architectural Heritage* (San Francisco: Junior League and Chronicle Books, 1968), 93, 98, 119-21; San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, *Case Reports, Landmarks No. 4* and 6.
11. Edward Morphy, "San Francisco's Thoroughfares: Howard Street," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 March 1919; Fardon, *San Francisco in the 1850s*, 14, 21, 29; E. G. Fitzhugh, "Tar Flat," *Chronicle*, 15 September 1928; E. C. Jones, "The Purification of Coal Gas," *Pacific Service Magazine IV* (April 1913), 390 ft.
12. Roger and Nancy Olmsted and Allen Pastron, *San Francisco Waterfront: Report on Historical Cultural Resources* (San Francisco: San Francisco Wastewater Management Program, 1977), 292, 388; Jack Viets, "Old Dump Costing Builder a Bundle," *Chronicle*, 28 May 1985, p. 5, col. 1.
13. The 1860 census gives no location more precise than the electoral ward. For the following analysis, street locations were derived by matching names and occupations in the census with those in the 1860 and 1861

- city directory. However, even the directory did not give only the appropriate address, which "North side of Mission Street Third National Archives and Record Service, Population Schedules of the Capital Census of the Third District, 1880, California, San Francisco Tenth District.
14. National Archives, "Population Schedules," 1880, 10th District, 172; Irene Neill, *Chico City: The Town of San Francisco* (San Diego: Howell North, 1981), 34-38; Ed Cowley, *Land* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), 81, 173.
 15. Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 44-55; H. E. Kahn, *California Drive* (San Francisco: San Francisco: Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1976), 13-14.
 16. National Archives, "Population Schedules," 1880, 10th District, 175, 180-92.
 17. *Ibid.*, 175-79.
 18. *Ibid.*, 179; Spring Valley Water Company, *Tap Records* (manuscript), VI, 2237-38; U. S. Coast Survey, 1853.
 19. Langley or Crocker Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco, 1866-1900), passim.
 20. Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 27-29; Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1879), 36, 1082-1097; John Burton Trauner, "From Benevolence to Negotiation: Prepaid Health Care in San Francisco, 1850-1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Francisco, 1977), 22-26.
 21. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1879), 1073.
 22. *Ibid.*, 1078-79.
 23. *Ibid.*, 1067-1081; Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 38-39, 56-57.
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 25. Lately Thomas, *A Different Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 8-11; Walton Bean, *Box Kites* (San Francisco: Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 3-8; William A. Buckley, "The Steam Beer Handicap: Chris Buckley and the San Francisco Municipal Election of 1896," *California Historical Quarterly*, 54 (Fall 1975): 245-62.
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 27. Shumate, *Rincon Hill*, 42-47; Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1869-1870), 16; Olmsted and Pastron, *San Francisco Waterfront*, 175-178-82.
 28. United States Coast Survey, "Map of San Francisco," 1859; Real Estate Data Inc., *The Sanborn Building and Property Atlas: San Francisco* (Miami: 1989), 137.
 29. Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1869-1870), 17; Asbury Harpending, *The Great Diamond Hole* (San Francisco: James H. Barry Company, 1913), 114-22, 131-42; Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 248-50; Anne Bloomfield, "The Real Estate Associates: A Land and Housing Developer of the 1870s in San Francisco," *Journal of the American Historical Association*, 77 (March 1972): 23; Roger R. and Nancy L. Olmsted and Allen Pastron, *The City of Ralston Hill: Eastern Book 18th-24th Years Building Cases, Report to Historical Cal-*
 30. *Journal of the American Historical Association*, 77 (March 1972): 23.
 31. *Opposing Views*, 175; Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1869-1870), 17, and 1876, 1078, 1082, 1089, 1090, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 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2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2

- Abstracts, passim; Architect and Engineer, passim; files of the Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage.*
59. Corbett, *Splendid Survivors*, 27-36, 49-61, 255-58. See also Bloomfield's manuscript list of mid-twentieth-century buildings of the California Historical Society neighborhood, in the historical society's library.
 60. Arnold, *Transportation Facilities* frontispiece, 413, 418-20; Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1871), 20; Charles Smallwood, *The White Front Cars of San Francisco* (Southgate, CA: I.L. Swett for Interurbans Special 44, 1971), 55, 56, 72.
 61. National Archives, 14th Census, San Francisco Enumeration District No. 3; sample is pages 4B, 6B, 7A, 7B, and 8A, comprising some of the residents at 44, 76 and 87 Third Street and at 179 Jessie.
 62. Averbach, "Skid Row," 200-211.
 63. Ibid., 205-206; Anne Bloomfield, "A Preliminary Site History of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art Project" and "A Preliminary Site History of the Third and Mission Office Building Project" (two reports for Lee & Praszker, consulting civil engineers, 1989 and 1990). Crocker-Langley, *San Francisco Directory*, 1928 (San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Company, 1928), 1755-56.
 64. Averbach, "Skid Row," 200-211.
 65. Ibid., 210-214.
 66. "Peter Patrick Mendelsohn: An Oral History," in Ira Nowinsky, *No Vacancy: Urban Renewal and the Elderly* (San Francisco: Carolyn Bean Associates, 1979), 47.
 67. Averbach, "Skid Row," 215; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Censuses of Population and Housing: 1970 Census Tracts, San Francisco-Oakland and Adjacent Area* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), 11, 31, 69, 76 (San Francisco Census Tract No. K-1).
 68. Quoted in Catherine Hoover's introduction to Nowinski, *No Vacancy*, viii.
 69. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population and Housing: 1970, Census Tracts, San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.*, SMSA (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), P-46, P-118, P-190, P-262, P-335, P-363, H-46, H-118 (San Francisco tract #0176).
 70. Crocker-Langley, *San Francisco Directory*, 1928 (San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Company, 1928), 1305.
 71. Crocker-Langley, *San Francisco Directory*, 1923, 559; Polk's *Crocker-Langley San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: R.L. Polk, 1940), 615.
 72. Story of the struggle is told in Nowinsky, *No Vacancy*, and in Chester W. Hartman, *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1974). CHS sponsored an exhibit of Nowinski's photographs at the Center for the Arts Gallery early in 1995.
 73. Hartman, *Yerba Buena Land Grab*, 19, 108-112.
 74. Ibid., 113-14, 23-27; Nowinski, *No Vacancy*, ix-x.
 75. Hartman, *Yerba Buena Land Grab*, 23-27, 157, 185-191; Eric Brazil, "A Jewel for San Francisco, Big Step for The City's long-delayed Yerba Buena project," *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 October 1993, A-1, A-10.
 76. Sanborn, *Maps* (1913), 137; S.F. Bureau of Building Inspection, Building Permit Application No. 47441 (fence around empty lot), approved 5 February 1913; Flora C. Law, "Affidavit of Plaintiff," McEnerney Clear-Title Case No. 7210, 1908; S.F. Deeds, Old Series, Book 1941, 297; S.F. Assessor, *Sales Ledger* (1914-1938), Block 3707. Neither Hartland's grandson Ward Law nor Law researcher Sewall Bogart was able to provide any clues to Flora's identity.
 77. Bogart, *Lauriston; San Francisco Block Book* (1901), 328. One of Law's tenants from 1903 to 1906 was August Schillmoller's Independent Artificial Limb Co.; per Crocker-Langley, *San Francisco Directory* (1902-1905).
 78. *San Francisco Block Book* (1894), 302; Sanborn, *Maps* (1899), 132.
 79. Assessor, *Sales Ledger* (1914-1938), Block 3707; Bureau of Building Inspection, Building Permit Application No. 103599 (1921-1922).
 80. Building Permit Application No. 103599; *San Francisco Directory* (1908-1944), Knoll; Corbett, *Splendid Survivors*, 100, 117; *Architect and Engineer*, August 1913, 76-77, October 1915, 87-89; January 1920, 114, and September 1931, 81.
 81. Corbett, *Splendid Survivors*, 103; Building Permit Application No. 103599.
 82. City directories; Assessor, *Sales Ledger* (1914-1938), Block 3707.
 83. Assessor, *Sales Ledger*, 1914-1938, 1939-1947, 1948-1958, 1959-1966, 1967-1979, 1980-1989, Block 3707; *San Francisco Examiner-Chronicle*, 9 November 1980, "California Living," 58-60.
 84. *San Francisco Directory* (1923-1957), passim; San Francisco Builders' Exchange, 1993-1994, *Annual Roster and Membership Directory*, 6-7.
 85. Fred W. Beau de Zart, *Pointers for Builders, Contractors and Wood and Iron Workers* (San Francisco: C.W. Gordon, 1891), 179-90; The Builders' Exchange, *Official Hand Book*, 1895-1896; interview with Melanie J. Marques, Builder's Exchange staff, 31 October 1994.
 86. Builders' Exchange, *Official Hand Book*, 1895-1896; James A. Wilson, "History of the Builders' Exchange of San Francisco," *Official Hand Book of the Builders Exchange. 1913; "California's First Builders' Exchange, History," San Francisco Builders' Exchange Construction Directory, 1963-1964*, 9-10.
 87. Interview with Neil Malloch, 11 January 1995.
 88. *San Francisco Directory* (1928-1982), passim; Building Permit Application No. 193582 (1957); author, visit (1964).
- Loukaitou-Sideris, Sansbury, "Lost Streets of Bunker Hill," pp. 394-407.**
1. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the city is being called "postmodern" by geographers. See Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989); Michael Dear, "Postmodernism and Planning," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 4 (1986): 367-84. It is referred to as a city paradigmatic of urban forms of the future.
 2. In the nineteenth century, city boosters and real estate speculators used the city's good climate as an element of city promotion. Advertisements about the "land of Eden" or the "land of golden oranges" sought to capture the attention and money of farmers from the Midwest.
 3. For example, Bunker Hill, Chavez Ravine, West Adams, and the area around Central Avenue were all booming residential neighborhoods during the first part of the twentieth century. Now Bunker Hill has become the premier corporate office district of Los Angeles, with only a small percentage of high-rise residences; Chavez Ravine cannot be found on city maps, its residents being scattered to different parts of the city; West Adams is undergoing a process of gentrification; and the area around Central Avenue has decayed, with many of its businesses permanently closed and the homes now dilapidated.
 4. See, for example, Sam Hall Kaplan, *LA Lost and Found* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1987), which focuses nostalgic attention on the loss of Victorian houses and other architectural monuments in the city.
 5. The only streetscape in Los Angeles that has enjoyed attention, primarily because of its Hollywood glamour, is that of Sunset Boulevard. See Joe Kennelley and Ray Hankey, *Sunset Boulevard: America's Dream Street* (Burbank, CA: Darwin Publications, 1981).
 6. Such streets in the Los Angeles metropolitan area include City Walk in Universal City, Two Rodeo in Beverly Hills, One Colorado in Pasadena, and Third Street Promenade in Santa Monica. For a study of "invented streets, see Tridib Banerjee, David Sloane, and Greg Hise, "Invented and Re-Invented Streets: Designing the New Shopping Experience," *Lusk Review*, forthcoming.
 7. Pat Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story* (Glendale, CA: La Siesta Press, 1963); Arthur Hylen, *Bunker Hill: A Los Angeles Landmark* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Bookshop, 1976); William Pugsley, *Bunker Hill: Last of the Lofty Mansions* (Corona Del Mar, CA: Trans-Anglo Books, 1977); Leo Politi, *Bunker Hill, Los Angeles: Reminiscences of Bygone Days* (Palm Desert, CA: Desert-Southwest, 1964).
 8. In addition to the extensive photography collection of the Los Angeles Public Library, our search included the Huntington Library, the Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, and the Regional History Center, which is part of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library. We have also relied on several texts that gave us the necessary background as well as the theoretical tools for our analysis. To understand the process of redevelopment and restructuring and its effect on downtown urban form, the work of Robert Beauregard was particularly helpful. See Beauregard, "Representing Urban Decline: Postwar Cities as Narrative Objects," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 29:2 (1993): 187-202; Beauregard, *Economic Restructuring and Political Response* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989); Beauregard, "The Spatial

- Transformation of Postwar Philadelphia," in Beauregard, ed., *After the Urban Renaissance* (Tucson, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1989); and Beauregard, "Urban Form and the Redevelopment of the Central Business District," *Journal of Architectural Planning Research* 3 (1986): 183-89. For a sense of the political economy of downtown Los Angeles we have depended on the following works: Mike Davis, *The Infinite Game: Redeveloping Downtown Los Angeles*, in Diane Giarundo, ed., *City of Dreams: A Social Critique of Architecture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles* (London: Verso, 1990); and Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt, *Thieving Big: The Story of the Los Angeles Times* (New York: C.P. Putnam, 1977). The following newspaper articles and editorials were particularly helpful in conveying popular feelings of the time prior to redevelopment: Ray Hebert, "Los Angeles Central City Project Studied," *Los Angeles Times*, November 1, 1959, 1-2; Hebert, "Results on Central City Will Be Seen in a Decade," *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1959, 1-2; Hebert, "New Concept of City Envisioned," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1959, 1-2; and Hebert, "Rebirth Seen for Downtown Area," *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1959, 1-6. Finally, we have relied on Amos Rapoport's work about complexity and its effects on pedestrian settings in our evaluation of photographic images of streets in Bunker Hill: Amos Rapoport, *History and Precedent in Environmental Design* (New York: Plenum Press, 1990), and Rapoport, "Pedestrian Street Use: Culture and Perception," in Ann Vernez-Moudon, ed., *Public Streets for Public Use* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).
9. "Plan of Los Angeles by Henry Hancock, 1857" from the Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum; see also, "City of Los Angeles," a panorama by Clower (USC 0141.3078, #12887) from the USC Regional History Collection. For descriptions of early Los Angeles streets, see Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930* [originally published in 1967] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 25, 28.
 10. Tax sales were quite common during the 1860s, the result of foreclosures caused by the economic depression that followed a severe drought in the early years of the decade. See James Miller Guinn, "Exceptional Years: A History of California Floods and Drought," *Historical Society of Southern California Publications* 1 (1890): 33-39. For additional information on the land purchase by Beaudry and the provision of water and transportation services for his property, see Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis*, 39-40.
 11. Pugsley, *Bunker Hill*, 8; Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story*, 4-10.
 12. Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story*, 15.
 13. Pugsley, *Bunker Hill*, 8, 12-14.
 14. Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story*, 25.
 15. Pugsley, *Bunker Hill*, 24-25.
 16. For the history of residential hotels and rooming houses, see Paul Groth, *Los Angeles: The History of Residential Hotels* (Berkeley: Northridge State University of California Press, 1994).
 17. George Welling and L. Fleming Jones, *The Housing Movement in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).
 18. This street was named Third Street as permitted by a vote of its residents, but it did not want to be "Third City" (Pugsley).
 19. Pugsley, *Bunker Hill*, 10, 20, 21.
 20. The Sanborn Insurance Maps, updated in 1906 and 1964, represent City of Los Angeles and the City of Long Beach, respectively.
 21. Frank Grady Girdle, ed., *Sanborn Insurance Maps: A Geographical Dictionary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946). Girdle writes that most of the smaller named "minority ore" found in various parts of the state. It is likely that such names were in fashion during the great mining frenzies, or that it simply refers to the color of the clay on the site, or to the color of many Chinese lacquered boxes.
 22. Originally published in 1926 and excerpted in John Miller, ed., *The People's Story* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1991), 134.
 23. In 1901 a tunnel beneath Third Street was constructed from Hill to Hope streets to relieve east-west traffic. By 1924 two additional tunnels had been completed, one at the north end of Broadway, which connected with Sunset Boulevard, and the other, which linked downtown and Second Street. See Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story*, 28.
 24. Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story*, 31.
 25. John Fante, *Ask the Dust* [originally published in 1939] (Santa Rosa, CA: Black Sparrow Press, 1992). See photograph in the Boris Leven Collection, Los Angeles Public Library Photograph Collection.
 26. Stuart Simmons, *The People with Bunkers: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1990), 63-67.
 27. Beauregard, "Representing Urban Decline," 187-202. See the photos from the Housing Authority of Los Angeles, Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection, especially those taken by Leo Nadel.
 28. The terms "correction" and "unfavorable environment" are used in the annual reports; see Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles, *Annual Report*, 1963-64 (Los Angeles, 1960).
 29. The word "blight" first appears in the CRA's description of Bunker Hill in 1951; see Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles, *Annual Report*, November 1, 1951 (Los Angeles). See also Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles, *Annual Report of 1953* (Los Angeles), 7, which includes the following text: "Intelligent citizens throughout the city know that Los Angeles cannot continue to support the blighted districts here indefinitely without grievous effects on the lives of those who dwell there and depressing results to property values and tax revenue. Redevelopment is good business for the city."
 30. Mike Davis, "The Infinite Game: Redeveloping Downtown Los Angeles."
 31. Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles, *Planning Department: Bunker Hill, Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: May 1, 1968).
 32. Litigation against the Community Redevelopment Agency in 1960 questioned some of the findings and procedures followed by CRA and the city in adopting the federal grant. This, some years after the legal action was initiated by the residents of the area, led to the urban renewal process and presented action through the courts. The appeal, the Supreme Court in the State of California ruled against the CRA in 1963 and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled to accept the decision.
 33. Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles, *Developing Downtown Bunker Hill, Los Angeles, California*.
 34. Pugsley, *Bunker Hill*, 10, 20.
 35. The Bunker Hill Project, *Bunker Hill*.
 36. City of Los Angeles, Department of Public Works, Street Vacation File Document.
 37. Pugsley, *Bunker Hill*, 42.
 38. Adler, *The Bunker Hill Story*.
 39. Rapoport, *History and Precedent in Environmental Design*, 30.
 40. Politi, *Bunker Hill, Los Angeles*.
 41. Ibid.
 42. Ibid.
 43. Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972).

Shover, "Fighting Back," pp. 408-421.

1. For a study of resistance by urban Chinese-Americans, see Lou Raymond, "The Chinese American Community of Los Angeles: A Case of Resistance, Participation, and Organization" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1982).
2. Examples include Sucheng Chan, *This Bitter Sweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1880-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 370-73; and Kelly, *Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); George Mansfield, *The History of Butte County, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1918), 272-75; Joseph McGie, *History of Butte County*, vol. 1 (Oroville, CA: Butte County Board of Education, 1982), 127-28; Sim Moak, *The Last of the Miners and Early Life in Northern California* (Chico, CA: Privately published, 1923), 26-29; Wells and Chambers, *History of Butte County* (Chico, CA: Privately published, 1882), 22-26; Susan Brock, "Chinese Settlement in Butte County," *Journal of the California Historical Society* XVIII (Summer 1974): 11-22; Virginia Parker, "The Chinese Question of the 1870s," *Journal of the California Historical Society* XVIII (Summer 1974): 24-27; Grant Bramson, "Chico's Chinatown," *Chico News and Record* (January 1987), 2-5; Tim Boscaro, "Protecting the Chinese from Chico's 'Bad News' and 'Fire' (February 30, 1994), 21-23. The author of this article has outlined the first century of American resistance episode in a book manuscript that has neared completion.
3. *Editorial*, *Argonaut* (18-19 and March 1882); *Record* (18-19 and 25 July 1882).
4. Charles F. McClain and Jeanne W. McClain, "The Chinese Contribution to the Development of American Law," in

- Sucheng Chan, editor, *Entry Denied*, 3-24. The McClains argue that the Chinese were more than passive victims; they employed "skilled and eminent counsel" on their behalf (pp. 21-22).
5. This has been more fully treated in a chapter of the biography in progress of Augustus H. Chapman by the author of this article. The watchman, Ben True, receives attention in the first and second sections of the present article.
6. Edward Chapman was not related to nor associated with Augustus H. Chapman and his family of Chico.
7. *Record*, 14 October 1882. The section that follows is primarily based on the "Statement of Edward Chapman, et al., Before Esquire Hallet," May 5, 1885, and "Testimony for Defense: James Keefe—Sworn," Judicial Records, Northeastern California Collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; additional newspaper coverage attended each phase of this case.
8. John Bidwell Diaries, Northeastern California Collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; *Enterprise*, 23 January 1885.
9. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, "Chinatown Organizations and the Anti-Chinese Movement," in Sucheng Chan, editor, *Entry Denied*, 163-64.
10. Quoted in Geoffrey Ward, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 255. Information on the detectives that the Six Companies sent to Chico appears in Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 8-9.
11. *Record*, 15 February 1879, 19 and 26 April 1879, and 3 May 1879. This source was an anti-Chinese antagonist; however, it was printed in a straight news story and the *Enterprise* did not challenge it. Information on the San Francisco-based organization appears in "The Chinese Six Companies," *Overland Monthly* XXIII (January-June 1894): 518-26. In August 1877 the chiefs of the Six Companies testified to state senators that they stayed out of criminal cases; their attorney told the senators that they resolved Chinese criminal disputes among themselves. The Chico cases indicate a policy change by 1879; *Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral and Political Effect* (Sacramento: California State Senate Publication, August 1877), 105.
12. *Enterprise*, 23 January 1885.
13. "Statement of Edward Chapman"; *Enterprise*, 14 July 1882; Kathleen Gabriel, "James Lawrence Keefe, 1850-1901: An Ethnohistory of a Butte County Pioneer" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1981), 62.
14. Gabriel, "Keefe," 48.
15. *Record*, 14 October 1882. The cost of these trials severely undermined the Keefers' finances; Gabriel, "Keefe," 62.
16. In spring 1877, the press clearly reflected community sympathy with the young white men who were convicted of the Lemm Ranch murders.
17. *Enterprise*, 30 January 1885.
18. *Ibid.*, 22 and 20 February 1888.
19. *Ibid.*, 8 and 15 February 1881.
20. *Record*, 15 February 1879.
21. *Enterprise*, 19 June 1885.
22. *Ibid.*, 19 June 1885.
23. *Ibid.*, 26 June 1885.
24. *Ibid.*, 7 and 8 August 1885.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Michele Shover, "Sweet Memories and Bitter Moments: The Hom and Lee Families of Chico," *Diggins XXXII* (Winter 1988): 71-91.
28. *Enterprise*, 7 and 8 August 1885.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 15 and 29 January 1886.
31. *Ibid.*, 2 June 1886.
32. *Record*, 14 January 1886.
33. *Ibid.*, 29 January 1886.
34. *Ibid.*, 5 February 1886.
35. *Ibid.*, 12 February 1886. See also Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 97-98.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Susan Wiley Book, "Chinese Settlement in Butte County, 1860-1920" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1974), 14-16.
38. *Enterprise*, 5 February 1886.
39. *Ibid.*, 19 February 1886.
40. *Record*, 6 February 1886; *Enterprise*, 1 November 1878.
41. Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese*, 97-98.
42. Tenth Census of the United States: Population, 1880, Chico Twp., Butte County, California.
43. *Record*, 3 April 1886.
44. *Enterprise*, 26 March 1886.
45. *Ibid.* In 1891 George Dorn died while under the care of Chinese physician Ah Bong, from whom his family persuaded him to seek treatment as a last resort; *ibid.*, 9 May 1891.
46. *Enterprise*, 26 March 1886.
47. *Ibid.*, 26 March 1886 and 27 April 1918.
48. After John Bidwell eventually cut back on his Chinese hires for harvest work, he hired women and children, whose wage rate was the closest equivalent.
49. This octagonal house still stands on East 5 Street.
50. *Enterprise*, 26 March 1886.
51. *Ibid.*, 29 January 1887, 6 June 1887, 1 October 1887, and 4 June 1887. This is the fullest informal political statement printed in nineteenth-century Chico's press.
52. *Ibid.*, 26 May 1888. Cherokee was a gold mining community in the Sierra Nevada in Butte County.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, 21 May 1886.
55. *Ibid.*, 5 March 1886.
56. *Ibid.*, 12 March 1886.
57. *Record*, 20 February 1886. The caution against violence would prevail with the dramatic events of 1888; cf. endnote 67.
58. *Record*, 10 April 1886. Bidwell disputed this interpretation, but the fullness of Davison's story as supported by Pullman's experience lends weight to it.
59. *Ibid.*, 31 July 1886.
60. Mansfield, *History of Butte County*, 306.
61. *Enterprise*, 7 May 1886; also see the *Wheatland Graphic*, 27 February 1886.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1886.
64. Major Burns's role in Glenn County at that time was noted by Sucheng Chan in "Anti-Chinese Activities in Rural California in the Late Nineteenth Century," paper presented at the American Historical Association Meeting (December 27-30, 1985). The author is grateful to Professor Chan for a copy of this paper. See also her book, *This Bittersweet Soil*, 375.
65. *Enterprise*, 28 May 1886.
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67. Michele Shover, "Chico Women: Nemesis of a Rural Town's Anti-Chinese Campaigns, 1876-1888," *California History* LXVII (December 1988): 228-43.

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4. James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1988), 108, 130-31, 188.
5. Ellis A. Davis (editor and publisher), *Davis' Commercial Encyclopedia of the Pacific Southwest: California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona* (Berkeley, 1911), 51.
6. Beth Bagwell, *Oakland: The Story of A City* (Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1982), 192; Edgar Hinkel and William E. McCann, *Oakland, 1852-1938: Some Phases of Social, Political, and Economic History of Oakland, California* (Oakland: Oakland Public Library, 1939, published from a WPA report), 105.
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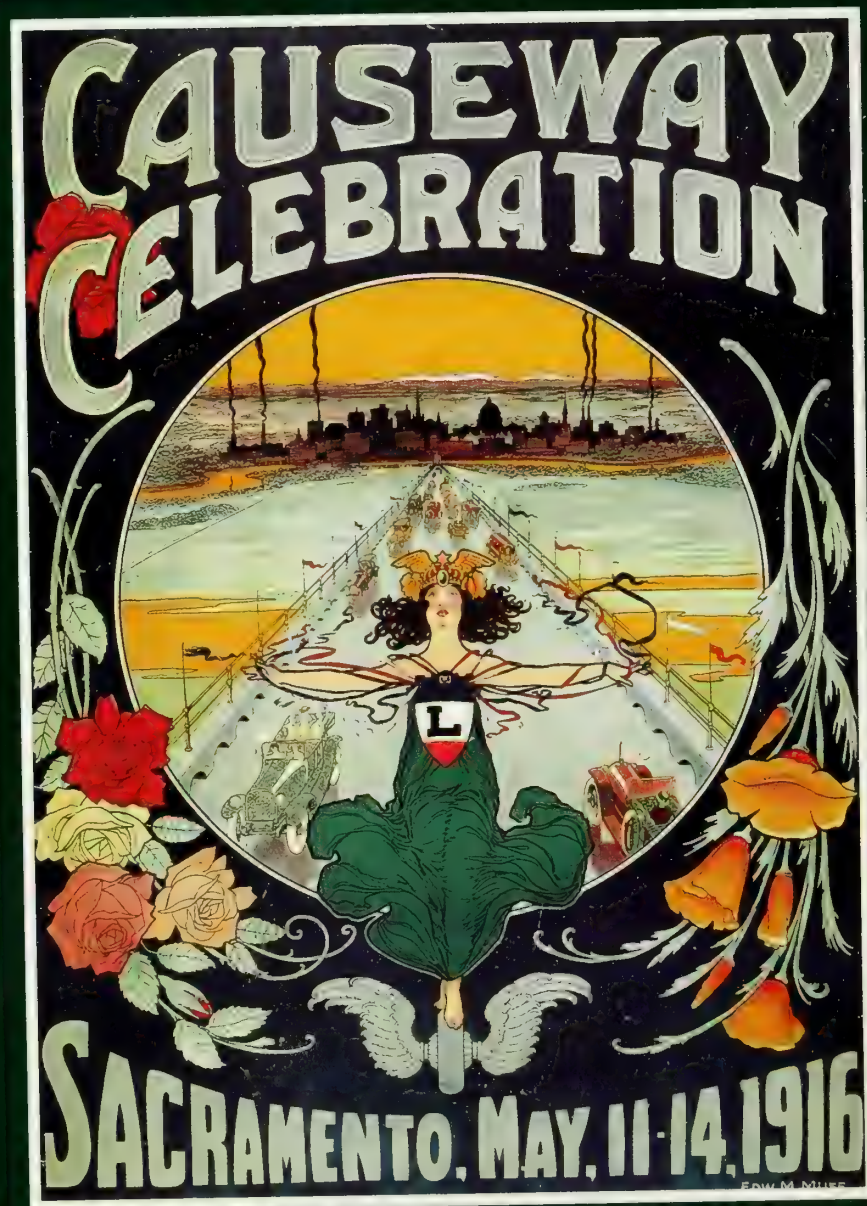
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